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"They are slaves who dare not be
In the right with two or three"

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INDEX

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[Titles of Articles are printed in capitals, titles of books reviewed in italics.]

	Page		Page
A		Clayton, A. C. ...	95, 253, 292, 351, 406 463, 528, 573, 633
AGE OF TIRUVALLUVAR, THE...	286	COLLEGE NOTES ...	52, 110, 167 220, 274, 329, 383, 435, 493, 553, 612, 669
Anantha Krishna Iyer, L. K.		<i>Commentary on Hosea</i> ...	316
B.A., L.T. ...	7, 188, 241, 299, 579	<i>Commentary on the First Epistle</i> <i>of Paul the Apostle to Timothy</i>	
<i>Ancient Rome</i> ...	593	(in Telugu) ...	103
ANNUAL ADDRESSES ...	445	Corley, Ferrand E., M.A.	445, 501
<i>Asoka</i> ...	417	CORRESPONDENCE ...	106, 317, 590
Austin, Harold, M.A.	...1, 389		
AUTHORITY OF THE BIBLE, THE.	561	D	
		DATE OF CHILAPPATIKARAM,	
B		THE ...	134, 177
<i>Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Sikkim.</i>	206	DAVIDSON, A. B. ...	618
BIBLE, THE AUTHORITY OF THE.	561	Davies, Arthur, M.A. ...	113
<i>Bible Studies in Evangelism</i> ...	316	<i>Development of the British Empire,</i> <i>The</i> ...	41
Bittman, J., M.A. ...	223	DREW LECTURE ON IMMORTA-	
<i>Body at Work, The</i> ...	206	LITY, THE ...	57
BOOK NOTICES ...	315	E	
C		EDUCATIONAL IDEALS ...	451
<i>Cambridge Essays on Education...</i>	478	<i>Epistle to the Hebrews, The</i> ...	40
CHILAPPATIKARAM, THE DATE		<i>Experiences of the War</i> ...	103
OF ...	134, 177		
<i>Children's Garden, The</i> ...	481		
<i>Christianity tested by Reason</i> ...	316		
CHURCH, THE TRUE ...	281		

	Page		Page
F		M	
FELLOWSHIP WITH GOD ...	1	Macartney, K. C., M.A. ...	66
FOUR ELIZABETHAN DOMESTIC TRAGEDIES ...	66	Macphail, E. M., M.A., B.D. 29, 335, 618	
"FRIAR BACON AND FRIAR BUNGAY," THE THREE QUARTOS OF ...	394	MAN'S QUEST ...	389
FROM SOCRATES TO ARISTOTLE.	501	MEDICAL PROBLEMS OF TO-DAY.	125
FUNERAL RITES OF THE HINDUS, THE ...	147	Miller, William, D.D., LL.D., C.I.E.	343
G		N	
<i>God's Plan for Soul-Winning</i> ...	104	NEW YEAR'S POEM, A ...	360
<i>Grounds for Belief in God</i> ...	315	<i>Njal and Gunnar</i> ...	39
H		NOTES OF THE MONTH. 37, 90, 151 202, 259, 306, 361, 410, 472, 534 585, 645	
<i>Hampi Ruins described and illustrated</i> ...	102	O	
Hogg, A. G., M.A. ...	561	<i>Our Duty to India and Indian Illiterates</i> ...	365
Hooper, J. S. M., M.A. ...	509	P	
<i>How my Life was changed</i> ...	103	PATH TO INDIA'S FUTURE, II, THE ...	343
I		Paul, Rajaiah, D., B.A. (Hons.)...	394
IMMORTALITY, THE DREW LECTURE ON ...	57	POEM, A NEW YEAR'S ...	360
IN MEMORIAM, J. M. RUSSELL...	617	POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF THE SYRIAN CHRISTIANS IN FORMER TIMES. 7, 177 241, 299, 579	
INFLUENCE OF RELIGION ON INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE ...	113	<i>Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillay from 1736-1761, The</i> ...	538
INFLUENCE OF THE WAR ON THE RELIGIOUS CONSCIENCE OF THE PEOPLES AT WAR ...	223	<i>Pronunciation of English, The</i> ...	156
K		PRUSSIA AND THE HOUSE OF HOHENZOLLERN, IX ...	29
<i>Kenilworth</i> ...	102	<i>Punjab North-West Frontier Province and Kashmir</i> ...	206
Krishnamacharya, K., B.A., L.T. ...	147	R	
KURAL, THE ...	509	Ramakrishna, T., B.A. ...	360
L		<i>Readings from Indian History for Boys and Girls, Pt. II.</i> ...	263
Lakshmana Pillay, J., B.A. ...	286	RECENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE ... 44, 109, 162, 212, 268, 322 371, 421, 486, 541, 599, 658	
<i>L'Ami Fritz</i> ...	654	Reid, Jean Margaret, M.A. ...	169
<i>Lectures on Style and Composition.</i>	40	REMEMBER AND FORGET ...	335
LITERARY NOTICES AND NOTES. 102, 156, 206, 262, 313, 365, 416, 478 538, 592, 652	39	Russell, A. J. H., M.A., M.D., I.M.S.	125
<i>Lord's Day, The</i> ...	316	RUSSELL, J. M., IN MEMORIAM..	617

	Page		Page
S		T	
SCIENCE NOTES ...	43, 107, 160, 209	<i>Tamil Hymns with Tunes</i> ...	40
266, 318, 369, 419, 481, 540, 596, 656		TEACHING OF SHAKESPEARE IN	
<i>Senior Essay Writer for Indian</i>		SECONDARY SCHOOLS, THE ...	169
<i>Students, The</i> ...	480	TRUE CHURCH, THE ...	281
Sesha Aiyar, K. G., B.A., B.L.,		<i>True Tales of Indian Life</i> ...	416
M.R.A.S. ...	134, 177	<i>Twelfth Night</i> ...	262
SHAKESPEARE IN SECONDARY		TWO MEDIAEVAL LYRICS ...	146
SCHOOLS, THE TEACHINGS OF ...	169		
<i>Short History of English Literature in the XIX Century, A</i> ...	653	U	
Skinner, W., M.A., D.D. ...	445	<i>Uniqueness of Christ, The</i> ...	316
Slater, Gilbert, M.A., D. Sc. ...	629		
<i>Some Nursery Rhymes of Belgium, France and Russia</i> ...	593	V	
SOME REVELATIONS OF THE		VILLAGE GOVERNMENT ...	629
WAR ...	292		
<i>Some Tracts for English Readers..</i>	592	W	
<i>Standard Telugu Readers</i> ...	104	WAR FROM AUGUST, 1914 TO	
<i>Story of Lord Kitchener, The</i> ...	158	AUGUST, 1917, THE ...	95
<i>Studies in First Corinthians</i> ...	481	WAR IN 1917, THE ...	351
<i>Studies in the Lord's Prayer.</i>	40, 183	WAR NOTES. 253, 406, 463, 528, 573	633
Subramanya Sastri, S., M.A. ...	454	WAR IN THE RELIGIOUS CON-	
Sully, T. D., B.A. ...	57	SCIENCE OF THE PEOPLES AT	
<i>Supreme Person and the Supreme Quest, The</i> ...	104	WAR, THE INFLUENCE OF THE.	223
SYRIAN CHRISTIANS IN FORMER		<i>Who is Our King?</i> ...	481
TIMES, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL		Williams, C. Kingsley, M.A. ...	281
CONDITIONS OF. 7, 188, 241, 299, 579			

CONTENTS

	PAGE
FELLOWSHIP WITH GOD :—By Harold Austin, M.A. ...	1
POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF THE SYRIAN CHRIS- TIAN IN FORMER TIMES :—By L. K. Anantha Krishna IYER, B.A., L.T. 7, 188, 241, 299, 579	579
PRUSSIA AND THE HOUSE OF HOHENZOLLERN, IX :—By E. M. Macphail, M.A., B.D. 29	29
THE DREW LECTURE ON IMMORTALITY :—By T. D. Sully, B.A., with an Introduction by A. W. Davies, M.A. ...	57
FOUR ELIZABETHAN DOMESTIC TRAGEDIES :—By K. C. Macartney, M.A. 66	66
THE WAR FROM AUGUST, 1914 TO AUGUST, 1917 :—By A. C. Clayton 95	95
INFLUENCE OF RELIGION ON INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE :— By Arthur Davies, M.A. 113	113
MEDICAL PROBLEMS OF TO-DAY :—By A. J. H. Russell, M.A., M.D., I.M.S. 125	125
THE DATE OF CHILAPPATIKARAM :—By K. G. Sesha Aiyar, B.A., B.L., M.R.A.S. 134, 177	134, 177
TWO MEDIAEVAL LYRICS 146	146
THE FUNERAL RITES OF THE HINDUS :—By K. Krishnama- charya, B.A., L.T. 147	147
THE TEACHING OF SHAKESPEARE IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS : —By Jean Margaret Reid, M.A. 169	169
THE INFLUENCE OF THE WAR ON THE RELIGIOUS CON- SCIENCE OF THE PEOPLES AT WAR :—By J. Bittman, M.A. 223	223
WAR NOTES :—By A. C. CLAYTON ... 253, 406, 463, 528, 573, 633	633
THE TRUE CHURCH :—By C. Kingsley Williams, M.A. ...	281
THE AGE OF TIRUVALLUVAR :—By J. Lakshmana Pillay, B.A.	286
SOME REVELATIONS OF THE WAR :—By A. C. Clayton ...	292
BOOK NOTICES 315	315
REMEMBER AND FORGET :—By E. M. Macphail, M.A., B.D. ...	335
THE PATH TO INDIA'S FUTURE, II :—By William Miller, M.A., D.D., LL.D., C.I.E. 343	343

	PAGE
THE WAR IN 1917:—By A. C. Clayton ...	351
A NEW YEAR'S POEM:—By T. Ramakrishna, B.A. ...	360
MAN'S QUEST:—By Harold Austin, M.A. ...	389
THE THREE QUARTOS OF "FRIAR BACON AND FRIAR BUNGAY:—By Rajaiah. D. Paul, B.A., (Hons.) ...	394
ANNUAL ADDRESSES:—By William Skinner, M.A., D.D., and Ferrand E. Corley, M.A. ...	445
EDUCATIONAL IDEALS:—By S. Subramanya Sastri, M.A. ...	454
FROM SOCRATES TO ARISTOTLE:—By Ferrand E. Corley, M.A. ...	501
THE KURAL:—By J. S. M. Hooper, M.A. ...	509
THE AUTHORITY OF THE BIBLE:—A. G. Hogg, M.A. ...	561
IN MEMORIAM:—J. H. Russell ...	617
A. B. DAVIDSON:—By E. M. Macphail, M.A., B.D. ...	618
VILLAGE GOVERNMENT:—By Gilbert Slater, M.A., D. Sc. ...	629
NOTES OF THE MONTH ... 37, 90, 151, 202, 259, 306 361, 410, 472, 534, 585, 645	
LITERARY NOTICES AND NOTES ... 39, 102, 156, 206, 262, 313 365, 416, 478, 538, 592, 652	
CORRESPONDENCE ... 106, 317, 590	
SCIENCE NOTES ... 43, 107, 160, 209, 266, 318, 369, 419 484, 540, 596, 656	
RECENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE ... 44, 109, 162, 212, 268, 322 371, 421, 486, 541, 599, 658	
COLLEGE NOTES ... 52, 110, 167, 220, 274, 329, 383, 435 493, 553, 612, 669	

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No. 1

FELLOWSHIP WITH GOD.

By HAROLD AUSTIN, M.A.

"I will not leave you desolate; I come to you."*—R. V. St. John xiv: 18.

ONE of the principal constituents of man's life is that activity which is known as religion: perhaps in times past this has not always been recognised so clearly as it ought to be. Philosophy realised that the phenomenon of the religious consciousness had to be explained somehow, but there was a tendency to regard it as an epi-phenomenon and not as an integral part of man's nature and a constituent part of his life and thought. It was a thing, they thought, which possibly with the advance of scientific knowledge would pass away. But nowadays it is becoming increasingly seen that the religious consciousness is a very important part of the totality of man's life and activities, and that if we are ever to arrive at a true account of man's function and place in the universe, his religious faculty must be fully taken into account. We have got to realise that it is not superstition, no ephemeral thing, but a deep and abiding aspect of man's life, so much so that instead of being what some might call a by-product of man's activities, it is probably the most important function of his life, and that if it is left out of account we have lost the key which explains the whole.

What is religion then? It is a belief in the existence of God, and a confidence that there is a relationship between God and men, which if man neglects he loses the purpose of his existence and possibly runs into grave spiritual peril.

* A sermon preached at Kotagiri on Whitsun.

consciousness of relationship may manifest itself in a variety of ways. It has appeared and does appear still in some quarters as an attitude of fear. The worshipper may have the conviction that the God whom he worships is a wrathful, cruel deity who is often angry and whose anger must be appeased by sacrifices and worship of a debasing nature. Connected with this is the belief that men are surrounded by countless dangers and evils brought about by the agency of malignant spirits and demons who are ever on the look-out for opportunities to do men harm and who must be constantly placated if men are to live in peace and safety. This leads on to that conception of religion which teaches that all worship, all prayers, all sacrifices are to be directed to obtaining various material benefits such as food, clothing, suitable weather, good crops, escape from the hands of enemies and such like. Closely allied to this is the idea of religion as a means of attaining a state of bliss and happiness hereafter, in which men will then have all the material benefits which they have sought for and not obtained in this life. In this conception, heaven or the life after death is generally painted in very many material colours. In connexion with this, we may say that a very similar idea exists in the minds of some Christians who would appear to be religious, not so much that they may serve and please God in this life without thought of any benefits which they may get in a life to come by so doing, but that by their meritorious action they may ensure for themselves hereafter a life of bliss and may escape the terrors of hell. But concerning all the above conceptions it may be said that they shew eschatological religion as a selfish thing. That is to say, men look upon religion as a way in which they may get various blessings for themselves spiritual or otherwise, without any thought of the disinterested worship and service of God. Their desire is not the service and love of God but their own good and safety from dangers spiritual or material. But surely this is a low conception of what religion means. Our highest instincts rebel against a scheme of religion which makes the worshipper's good its chief end. So what after all do men really seek in religion? They are looking for communion with God. They believe that the relationship between themselves and God of which they are conscious can only be truly interpreted in terms of communion

with Him. Religion in its true essence is fellowship with God, the realisation in all its fullness of the significance of the words of the *Book of Genesis*, which tell us that God created man in His own image. And further, this communion with God, though it is in truth the highest good that men can seek after, is not to be sought in a selfish manner or with unworthy motives but can only be attained by the giving up of the self to do the perfect will of God, without thought of any reward that may come after. This thought of fellowship with God lies at the back of primitive religion though it may have been overlaid as we have seen by fear of the deity or by selfish motives of gain of various kinds. Man has always sought for communion with God and has attempted to obtain it in various ways. Perhaps the chief of these has been sacrifice, in which by the killing of a sacred animal propitiation for sin has not been looked for but fellowship with the deity worshipped. It was only gradually that the ideas of propitiation and atonement became added to the original conception. Another way of seeking for communion with God is that recognised so largely in this country, namely, the thought that all we see around us is but appearance without reality, and that to obtain fellowship with God, or to be absorbed in Brahma as the Hindu would put it, we must become oblivious to and untouched by the things of sense and be lost in contemplation of the Deity. But is it to be said that men have reached what they sought for by these means or by others we might mention? Can it be said, for instance, that India with all her searching has found out God? Has she not rather been often led aside to trivialities and worse? Or again, have the multitudes of sacrifices offered by men in all ages of the world brought with them the satisfaction that was desired? Can man by searching find out God? It needed a revelation to make God known to man. Though let it not be supposed that in all their efforts God was not leading men towards the truth. The Christian Eucharist, of which the old sacrificial feasts were a foreshadowing, and which is the fulfilment of them, is a case in point. And men's efforts have found their satisfaction in the revelation of Himself which God has given. That revelation is to be found in all its fullness in Jesus Christ, whom we believe to be the Incarnate Son of God. He

has come and revealed God to us. *He, being the effulgence of the glory and the very image of His Person*, as the writer to the Hebrews says, has shewn to us the character and nature of God. And He has not only done that; He has made plain to us the way of union and fellowship with Himself and so with God the Father through the Holy Spirit, and in so doing He has interpreted to us the ideas of atonement and propitiation which had become connected with so many of the sacrifices offered by men. For when men consider their need of communion with God they also become aware of their emptiness for His presence: and it is through His death and resurrection that Jesus Christ has reconciled us to God, and opened a way to communion with Him.

Accepting the fact that it is through Jesus Christ that we attain to fellowship with God, we may enquire what this fellowship with God is. Is it not an immediate, real sense of the presence of God with us and in us—a veritable fulfilment of the promise given by Christ in the text written above, "I will not leave you desolate, I come to you"; in other words, the closest possible union with God in Christ?

Who have this unique thing, this unparalleled experience? Is it not true that Christians enjoy it? Those who have read the late Professor James' *Varieties of Religious Experience* will recollect his chapter on 'The Christian Mystics'. They were people who said that they had a special experience of the presence of God and that God had revealed Himself to them in an extraordinary way. They affirmed that this experience of theirs was unique and unlike ordinary Christian experience. But this is not demonstrable like a scientific fact. There are no means of proving the truth of their assertions, although from the language used by St. Paul concerning his own spiritual experiences when he speaks of being caught up into the third heaven and hearing unspeakable words we gather that such experiences are not impossible or even improbable. We are not concerned here, however, with the possibility of such states. What we would rather emphasise is the fact that whether certain persons have had such visions or not, each individual Christian who is seeking to serve and love Jesus Christ faithfully has the consciousness and knowledge of the presence of Christ in his heart; he knows

that Christ is with him, though unseen, and perhaps the perception of that presence is so clear at times that he cannot but believe that the unseen presence of Christ is nearer than any earthly presence could be; "closer is He than breathing, nearer than hands and feet."

This experience is closely connected with belief in the Resurrection of Jesus Christ. It is no mere historic Christ,—a Christ who lived and died long ago, with whom we have to do, but a Christ who is living and working in our hearts: *I am the first and the last and the living One; and I was dead, and behold, I am alive for evermore.* The sincere Christian is conscious of the living Christ in his heart and he knows that the promise, *Lo, I am with you always*, has been fulfilled to himself.

This is the basic fact of all Christian experience. This it is which differentiates all sincere followers of Jesus Christ from others. All true lovers of Jesus Christ have this knowledge of His presence, and this knowledge of His presence and this knowledge of His presence is the bond which unites all those who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity. It transcends the boundaries of the various divisions into which the Church is unhappily divided, and it is the moving force in our hopes and endeavours after outward unity.

Having arrived at this point we may ask how this presence of Christ is mediated to us. Some would say that it is through the Sacraments ordained by Christ Himself that His presence is vouchsafed to us. But, however firmly some may hold that it was our Blessed Lord's intention that by His own appointed means of grace His presence should generally be communicated to His followers, it is unnecessary to emphasise here what may only have the effect of stressing the points on which there is a difference of opinion among Christians and disguising the fundamental fact which underlies our varying opinions, namely, that as promised in the chapter from which the text above is taken, Christ comes for those who love Him in the presence and power of the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit is no impersonal power or influence sent forth by Christ to work upon and in our hearts, but He is Himself a person who will teach us the things of Christ. He is the personal Spirit of God in whose coming to us, God the Father

and God the Son are both present in our hearts, and His office is to work in us and through us for the glory of God, the advancement of His kingdom and the increase of our fellowship with God until we come to the time when we shall see no more in a glass darkly but face to face, and we shall know even as we are known. He works in us for our sanctification. We have seen that what we desire is communion with God, the presence of Christ in our hearts. But what is the condition of fellowship with God? Is it not holiness without which we cannot see God? And when we think of this which is required of us our hearts sink down and we are afraid, afraid with that godly fear which trembles before the awful purity of God. What are we that we should come into His presence? All our righteousnesses is as filthy rags, and the more we strive after that personal holiness which we need if we are to stand in the presence of God, the more clearly we see our entire sinfulness. Is it not true that it is the greatest saints who best know their own unworthiness to see God and hold communion with Him? Yet, as we have seen, it is the work of the Holy Spirit to purify our hearts and make us fit for the beautiful vision. And surely, if this is so, there is no ground for despair or giving up of effort on our part, but it is our duty to take courage and to go on bravely, assured that He who has begun the good work in us will perfect it until the day of Jesus Christ.

The Holy Spirit also works through us. That is to say, He has a purpose for the world through us. Our salvation through Christ, our being made holy by the Holy Spirit is not for ourselves alone. If it were so, then Christianity would be a religion of selfishness, such as we have seen some conceptions of it would make religion to be. If we could only realise more fully that God's normal instruments for the salvation of the world are ordinary Christian men and women, then our witness for Christ would be much stronger and we should see a great permeation of men's thoughts by Christian ideals and a greater advance of the kingdom of God thereby. We have this great treasure, this thing the secret of which all the world is seeking, namely, fellowship with God through His Son, by the operation of the Holy Spirit. Surely, if we are being sanctified by the Holy Spirit—and our lives occupied by Jesus Christ we shall show it in our walk

among men and they will be attracted to the Christ whom we worship. His presence will show itself in our faces, and we shall be Christ-bearers to the world. It was in no spirit of foolish pride that St. Paul wrote: *Be ye imitators of me as I am of Christ Jesus*. For it is the lives of Christians, sanctified by the Holy Spirit, illumined by the presence of Christ and growing more and more, into the perfect pattern He has given us, which will at last win for men what they have always longed for, namely, communion with God.

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF THE SYRIAN CHRISTIANS IN FORMER TIMES : VI.

MARRIAGE CEREMONIES—(Continued).

BY L. K. ANANTHA KRISHNA IYER, B.A., L.T.

SIGNIFICANCE OF MARRIAGE CEREMONIES.—“ Marriage ceremonies in all stages of culture,” says Crawley, “ may be called religious with as much propriety as any ceremony whatever,” and are intended to neutralise the dangers and to make the union safe, prosperous and happy. With this is connected the desire to bind one to the other so as to prevent, if possible, later repudiation. Marriage refers to the permanent joint life of man and woman, and the essence of the union is the “ joining together ” of the married couple ; in the words of the English service ; “ for this cause shall a man leave his father and mother and shall be joined unto his wife ; and they two shall be one flesh.”¹ This is a custom in non-Christian ceremonials and prevails among all Hindu castes. Before and in many cases after the marriage the sexes are separated by notions of sexual taboo.² In the higher stages, the ceremony lifts the union into the ideal plane, as for instance, in Christianity where marriage symbolises the mystic union of Christ with His church, or as in Brahman marriages, where the bridegroom says to the bride, “ I am the sky ; thou art the earth ; come let us marry.” These words refer to the great parents of the Aryan race, as the *Rig Veda* calls them

¹ St. Matthew, Chapter V.

² A. E. Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, 319.

Dyaushpitar and *Mother Pritivi*. The Church in her marriage service shows more insight than many ethnologists, when she repeats the words, "for this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall be joined unto his wife, and they two shall be one flesh." The word flesh does not refer to kinship or tribal union. Even in the original the individual meaning is a primary one; which is also recognised by the service. "So ought men to love their wives as their own bodies. He that loveth his wife loveth himself, for no man ever yet hated his own flesh."¹

The practice of throwing rice may possibly have originated in the idea of giving food to the evil influences to induce them to be propitious and depart, but in many cases it seems to have developed on the one hand into a sympathetic method of securing fertility, and on the other is regarded by some people as an inducement to stay. This custom is said to be a relic of the *panis* in the most honourable form—a Roman marriage.

A common kind of preliminary ceremonial is purification, the inner meaning of which is the desire to neutralise the mutual dangers of contact. On the night previous to the wedding the bride and bridegroom are bathed, and this purification of water forms an integral part of the customs of birth, baptism, marriage, death, and in fact at every critical period of the life of all Hindu castemen as well as of many Christians. Painting the palms and feet of the bride red before marriage, is to neutralise the active elements of poisons, and destroy the active potentialities of evil spirits. Red is regarded as the colour of life and well-being². After the return of the bride and bridegroom from the church they are directed to face towards the east to observe the sun whose fertilising power is useful and a blessing. There is an English proverb, "Happy is the bride whom the sun shines on."

Sight is the means of contagion in primitive science, and the idea coincides with the physiological aversion to seeing dangerous things and with sexual shyness and timidity. It is dangerous to the bride for her husband's eye to be upon her, this produces the feeling of bashfulness, which makes her shrink either from seeing him or from being seen by him. At one stage of the Brahman wedding ceremony the bride veiled approaches

¹ St. Paul, *Ephesians* V, vv. 29-31.

² A. E. Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, pp. 325.

the bridegroom and they see each other. It is called *mukadar-sanam*, each seeing the face of the other.¹ The above ideas may explain the origin of the bridal veil and similar concealments. The bride's veil is said to have originated from the East where the women always go closely veiled, and where very often a man never beholds his wife until after the marriage ceremony when he lifts the veil and gazes for the first time upon the countenance of his partner in life. Rebecca who saw her future husband at a distance took a veil and covered herself in token of her subjection to her lord. The bridal veil was used by the Anglo-Saxons, who held it over the bride and bridegroom to conceal the blushes of the lady from the company. This little compliment was not paid to a widow on her marriage.

Besides these, there is sexual shyness and the ideas that are associated with women—that these are improper as well as dangerous as they lead to effeminacy. Accordingly the bride spends the wedding day, with her girl friends and the bridegroom with the young men. The natural practice of being accompanied on these as on other important occasions, by a friend of one's own, sex has crystallised into the institution of groomsmen, bridesmaids and the like. In marriage ceremonial their original function is sympathy and assistance in a trying ordeal more or less fraught with spiritual danger, but sometimes their duty becomes more specialised.

Young men of the same age unite together and form a kind of society to help the bridegroom. The use of bridesmaids at weddings is said to be as old as the times of the Anglo-Saxons, among whom the bride was led by a matron who was called the bride's woman followed by a company of young maidens who were called bride's maids. In later times it was also among the offices of the bride's maids to lead the bride to church as it was that of the bridegroom's men to conduct the bridegroom thither. Part of the duties of the bride's maids consisted in dressing and undressing the bride, and the bridegroom's men performed the same offices for the bridegroom. Besides maids as mere ceremonial attendants at marriages among all Hindu castes, the bridegroom is usually attended by one or two intimate friends. This is a case of the chivalrous perversion of sympathy. The suggestion which has been made that the "best-man" was originally the strongest of the bridegrooms friends, that assisted

¹ *The Mystic Rose*, A. E. Crawley, pp. 308.

him in capturing the bride from the foreign tribe is refuted by this as well as by all other evidences. It is sex and not the tribe that is concerned.¹

When the bride and bridegroom return from the church, at the gate of the bride's house the married couple are met by the sister, mother, or some senior female relative of the bride, who marks the sign of the cross on the foreheads of both. This is done either to prevent spiritual danger or to bring holy influence on them. The giving of sweets in the *pandal* is to cement the union of both. Very often the consummation of marriage is deferred for a time. This is seen in all similar taboos and a temporary self-denial of a dangerous satisfaction is believed to prevent any risks that may follow its ordinary fulfilment. Feasting is recommended with the object of preventing evil influences entering into the system by men.

The wedding ring appears to have been introduced by the Jews. The form is said to symbolise eternity and truthfulness ; to be placed on a woman's left hand as a sign of submissiveness ; and on the fourth or ring finger, because it thereby presses a vein which was supposed to communicate directly with the heart. It is sometimes a custom for the bride and bridegroom to exchange rings as a pledge of mutual fidelity. The custom that the bridegroom should place the ring on the fourth finger of the bride is to be found in mediaeval romances. Formerly, the ring was used as a seal by which orders were signed, and the delivery of a ring was a sign that the donor endowed the person who received it with all the power and authority he himself possessed, as when Pharaoh took off his ring from his hand and put it upon Joseph's hand, and set him over all the land of Egypt. Some scholars think that by the gift of the ring to the woman, the husband authorised her to issue commands in the same manner as he himself could, and to act in all things as his representative. Similar ideas exist in the marriage hymns of the *Rig Veda* recited during marriage ceremonies of the Brahmans. The wedding ring in accordance with the old Roman custom seems to have been originally a pledge (or *arrha*) at the *sponsalia* by the bridegroom as an earnest of the fulfilment of his share in the contract. It is found in early non-Christian writers, like Pliny and Macrobius. Most remarkable of all is the giving of

¹ *The Mystic Rose*, A. E. Crawley, pp. 319.

gold and silver by the bridegroom to the bride. The Catholic rite directs that gold and silver be placed with the ring given to the bride, while the bridegroom says, "With this ring I thee wed; this gold and silver I thee give; with my body I thee worship and with all my worldly goods I thee endow." This is a survival of the old Germanic custom. This also has reference to the primitive sale by which a bridegroom paid a sum of money for the transference to him of the right of custody of the bride. It is also to be noted that according to certain rituals the *pallium* must not completely cover the bride, but only the shoulders of the bridegroom. This seems to be connected with the fact that the nuptial benediction is entirely devoted to the bride, and consecrates her to her special responsibilities.

*Polygamy, Polyandry.** Man is regarded by some as an essentially polygamous animal; the introduction of monogamy, where the number of women was limited, would thus be for him in the nature of a galling restriction. Everywhere it has been possible for him to escape the irksome bonds imposed on him by monogamy, and he has been quick to avail himself of the opportunity. Thus Christianity has not only abolished or diminished polygamy and polyandry among the savage and barbarous peoples, and substituted for them the ideal of an unadulterated monogamy, and has given to the world its high conception of the equality that should exist between the parties to the marriage relation. And yet the necessity of monogamy for Western society is proved by the very fact of its having maintained itself in spite

* The practice of polygamy, in vogue among the Syrian Christians in former times, was forbidden at the Synod of Diamper. The following account in that connection may be found to be interesting:—

"The Synod being informed that some of the Christians of the mountains have been married to several women in defiance of the Church, their first wife being still alive, to the great affront and injury of the holy sacrament of matrimony; doth command all vicars and curates at their first institution into their churches, immediately to make strict inquiry into this matter, and to force all such to live with their first wives; and, in case they refuse, to declare them excommunicate, until such time as they comply, and do turn away all their other wives, removing them from the place where they live, which shall be done to all, who during the life of their first wife have presumed to take others, until they shall be brought to live only with the first; and besides, they shall be punished with other punishments at the pleasure of the prelate, or of the holy office of Inquisition to which this doth belong¹."

¹ Synod of Diamper Session VII, Decree XIII, *The History of Christianity in India*, Hough, Vol. II, p. 640.

of all individual efforts to break loose from it from the early days to the present time.

The Gospel forbids a man to have more than one wife, and a wife to have more than one husband. "Have you not read," says the Saviour, "that when He made man in the beginning He made them male and female? And He said for this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall cleave unto his wife, and they two shall be one flesh." Jesus Christ recalls marriage to its primitive institution, as it was ordained by Almighty God. Now marriage in its primitive ordinance, was the union of one man with one woman, for Jehovah created only one help-meet for Adam. He would have created more, if his design had been to establish polygamy. The Scripture says that "a man shall adhere to his wife," not his wives. It does not declare that there shall be three or four but that the *twain* shall be one flesh." Hence Mormonism, unfortunately so prevalent in some parts of the United States, is at variance with the plain teachings of the Gospel, and is on that account condemned by the Catholic Church. Polygamy, wherever it exists, cannot fail to be a perpetual source of family discords and feuds. It fosters daily jealousy and hatred among the wives of the same household. It deranges the laws of succession, and breeds rivalry among children, each endeavouring to supplant the other in the affection and the inheritance of their father. Polyandry is strictly prohibited.

Adultery and Divorce.—The only way in which the Church could combat the excesses due to lack of restraint placed on the sexual feelings was by attaching to all sexual intercourse outside the married state a moral stigma. All gratification of the sexual feelings outside the married state implied the committing of "a mortal sin," and implied a grave breach of a moral law which could be atoned only by penance. Unflinchingly without regard to the opinions of the day, without paying heed to the inconvenience and suffering caused to individuals by the enforcing of so stringent a rule, the Church condemned every breach of the law of strict monogamy, never admitting any extenuating circumstances, never authorising any exception to be made on whatever plea it might be sought to obtain it.

Jesus Christ was too explicit on this point to be misunderstood. "He says: Every one that putteth away his wife and marrieth another, committeth adultery," and, "he that marries her who has been put away from her husband committeth adultery." (*Luke,*

ch. XVI, vv. 18). St. Paul teaches that nothing but death can dissolve the marriage bond. "To them that are married," he says: "not I, but the Lord commandeth, that the wife depart not from her husband. And if she departs, she remains unmarried or to be reconciled to her husband. And let not the husband put away his wife (*Corinthians* I, ch. VII, vv. 10—11).

As the union of Christ with the Church cannot be shaken, so the union or bond between the husband and wife is indissoluble. There is no cause that can justify, no power upon earth that can authorise the breaking of a legal and a true marriage bond between Christians after the marriage has been consummated.

Separation, except by mutual consent, is forbidden. For grave reasons, it is sometimes permitted to the innocent party to live separately, but this separation would only be improperly be called divorce, as in each case the marriage bond is not broken, and neither party can marry again during the life-time of the other; if ever, therefore, the word divorce is used, it is understood to mean only a separation from bread and board; but divorce properly and strictly so-called is forbidden by the law of God; and there is no reason that can justify, no authority on earth that can sanction it. This has been the teaching of the Catholic Church in all ages as proved from the writings of the Fathers. From the first five centuries the indissoluble nature of marriage is testified to by Hermas, Athenagoras, Tertullian, St. Leo of Alexandria, Origen, St. Basil, St. Ephraem, St. Jerome and St. Augustine. The impression common among Protestants, that the Church or the Pope has occasionally sanctioned divorce or the breaking of the marriage bond, allowing one or both the parties to re-marry during the life-time of the other is without foundation.

It should be noticed that there are some causes which render marriage invalid and null, as for example default of consent, close affinity, illegality of contact, defect of age and other invalidating causes. In these days the Church can, after enquiring into the matter, declare the union to be null and void from the beginning, and this has been done and may be done again. Strictly speaking, however, this is not dissolving an existing marriage, but really declaring that no marriage ever existed between certain parties on account of certain impediments which made the contract void. But a valid marriage completed between baptised persons cannot in any case be dissolved. God has joined together, and that

is so sacred a bond that no one, not even a Pope, can rend it asunder. Thus by the rules of the Catholic Church, an inviolable sanctity of marriage has been established by which numberless scandals, family strife and miseries are prevented, family life secured, and the weaker sex and children protected. The same principle is applicable to the members of other sects.

The obligation of self-control and of subordinating the animal and human nature to the reason and the spirit, and the possibility of fulfilling the obligation have to be taught in a most striking and practical manner. Humanity may thus be aided and encouraged to reach a higher moral plane. In the matter of indissolubility, and in that of the unity of marriage, the Christian teaching is in harmony with nature at her best and with the greatest needs of civilization. There is abundant evidence, says Westermarck, that marriage has on the whole, become more durable in proportion as the human race has risen to higher grades of civilization, and that a certain amount of civilization is an essential condition of the formation of life-long unions. This statement suggests two tolerably safe generalisations; first, that the prohibition of divorce during many centuries has been the cause as well as the effect of those higher degrees of civilization that have already been attained, and second that, the same policy will be found essential to the highest degrees of civilization.*

CUSTOMS CONNECTED WITH PREGNANCY AND CHILD-BIRTH.

When a young woman is about to become a mother, no special ceremony is performed for her; but during the seventh

* *Concubinage*.—Regarding concubinage the following account may be found to be interesting:

Whereas there are great numbers of Christians who for want of having the fear of God and the Church before their eyes, do cohabit publicly with concubines, to the great scandal of Christianity; the vicars shall therefore with great charity admonish all such offenders, three times declaring to them, that if they do not reform, they must declare them excommunicate, and if after so many admonitions they do not turn away their concubines, they must be excommunicated until they are effectually parted, and be punished with other penalties at the pleasure of the prelate, according to the time that they have lived in that sin, and when it shall so happen that their concubines are their slaves they shall constrain them not only to turn them out of their houses, but to send them out of the country where they live, that there may be no more danger of their relapsing, which shall be likewise observed as to all other women where there is the same danger.¹

¹ Synod of Diamper, Session IX, Decree XI, *The History of Christianity in India*, Hough, Vol. II, p. 675.

month the pregnant woman is taken to her parent's house, where she remains for three, five, or seven months after the delivery. The guests, maternal or paternal uncle and sister, who go with her are entertained, and at the time of her departure she is given a few cloths and other necessaries.

The new born baby is bathed in tepid water, and is fed with drops of honey in which gold has been rubbed. The women attending on her are considered unclean, and anoint themselves with cocoanut or gingelly oil, and become purified by a bath in a neighbouring tank, a stream or a well. It is only after this bath that the woman can enter the kitchen or touch any article outside the lying-in-room, or in the case of other women of other families enter their own houses. On the day following the delivery, the mother is bathed in warm water boiled with medicinal herbs. She is fed with rice during the first few days. The mother is said to be unclean for fifteen days after which she is purified by a bath, and her room is well swept and cleaned. The woman in confinement bathes several times during the first fifteen days and every day thereafter. She is subject to a course of treatment and diet, and does not go on with her usual routine until after ninety days. The Romo-Syrians observe no pollution for this, as for death. But the Jacobite Syrians in Cochin and Travancore observe in a way, a kind of pollution during the first fifteen days. Some medicine is taken to hasten the flow of milk and for a fortnight after the delivery, the mother may not drink cold water, nor take any kind of diet.

A horoscope is generally procured immediately at the occurrence of a birth from the *kaniyan* or astrologer, one of whom resides in every village. For this custom the apology is made that it is convenient for preserving the date as a register, but it is gradually dropping out of use.*

* The following directions for women after child-birth were given at the Synod of Diamper, and are quoted below :

Faithful Christians must not only avoid the ceremonies and superstitions of the Heathens, but the Judaical rites and ceremonies also, which were all abrogated by the sufficient promulgation of the Gospel ; for which reason the Synod, though it doth very much commend the holy custom of carrying children to church forty days after they are born, to offer them to the Lord, in imitation and praise of what was done by Our Lady the most holy Virgin ; nevertheless it condemns the separating of women for the said forty days after the birth of a male, as if they were unclean so as not to suffer them to enter into the church, imagining they would sin in doing it,

Baptism.—*Gnana Snanam* in Malayalam ('bath to attain wisdom') and *Mamodisa* in Syriac. It takes place on the fourteenth day among the Jacobites, but amongst the other divisions on the fifty-sixth day. The children are accompanied by sponsors. The water for baptism is first consecrated and the infant placed in the stone font and the water lifted up in the hand of the priest and poured or rubbed over the whole body of the child, and it is also anointed with holy oil on the forehead, ears, chest and feet, both before and after baptism. There is a long series of ceremonies besides the simple baptism—the exorcism of evil spirits, a strange custom of mixing warm and cold water, with the assertion that John mixed water for baptism, and Christ sanctified it, went down into it and was baptised, and an investiture of a baptised person with the priest's girdle and crown, of which the latter is removed by the priest seven days after the baptism, with the prayer that the child may receive instead of it a crown of glory. The doctrine of regeneration in baptism is strongly stated.

Among the Catholics—Romo-Syrians—it takes place on the seventh day, when the god-father and god-mother are treated to a feast. Baptism is the sacrament to cleanse man and woman from original sin and makes them children of God. It clothes their souls with the beautiful garment of Divine grace and puts into their hands the bright lamp with which they are to wait for the bridegroom. As soon as they are baptised the priest gives them the emblems of this special grace. He first puts over them the white garment and says, "Receive this white garment, and see thou carry it without stain before the judgment seat of our Lord Jesus Christ." Then he puts a candle into their

and eighty days after the birth of a female; both of which are Jewish ceremonies, that are now abrogated, and not only useless but prejudicial; as such, the Synod doth totally prohibit the observance of them, declaring, that if women have health and strength sooner, they shall be obliged to go to church to hear mass upon Sundays, and holy-days: and after forty days they may, according to their custom, carry their sons to church with devotion, understanding that there is no precept of the Church for it, but that it is only a pious devotion of faithful women that are willing to make such an offering of their sons to God in imitation of the most holy Virgin Mary, the Mother of God, taking her for the intercessor of the children thus offered to God both for spiritual and temporals.¹

¹ Synod of Diamper, Session IX, Decree V. Hough. *The History of Christianity in India*, Vol II, p. 671.

hands and says, "Receive this burning light and keep thy baptism so as to be without blame. Keep the commandments of God, that when the Lord shall come to the nuptials, thou mayest meet him in the company of all saints in the heavenly court and have eternal life, and live for ever and ever."

Baptism and the gift of the Spirit.—The Holy Spirit may be given in baptism. Thus, St. Peter said to the multitudes on the day of Pentecost, "Repent and be baptised every man of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost (*Acts II*, 38). It may be given before baptism as in the case of Paul (*Acts IX*, 17 and 18) and of the company baptised in the house of Cornelius (*Acts IX*, 44-46). It may be given after baptism as in the case of those baptised by Philip (*Acts VIII*, 16-17).

It is in order to safeguard yet more efficaciously the interest of the child that the Church has instituted "god-parents," that is to say, persons who are directly responsible before the Church, for the moral and material welfare of the infant-persons, who, being "parents in God," have the duty imposed on them of aiding and assisting the natural parents or of replacing the latter, should they neglect their responsibilities. With the decline of faith, the office of god-parent has come to lose all practical meaning; acceptance of it often signifies to-day nothing but the fulfilment of an empty formality for the sake of obliging a friend. When the god-parent has given a silver cup or some other present to his protégé the former considers his duties at an end. But we must not judge of the office of god-parent in the light of its present-day decadence. It must be remembered that this institution was created by the Church in order that the interests of the child might be more efficaciously safe-guarded, that its creation was due to the maternal solicitude of the Church for the welfare of those who cannot care for themselves, and of whom Jesus declared to his disciples that *theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven*. And the acceptance of the post, implied grave and onerous responsibilities, responsibilities on which the Catholic Church particularly insists in the exhortation with which the priest terminates the ceremony of baptism.

The Roman Catholic Church first of all reminds the god-parent that as a vigilant guardian of the faith and purity of the child, he shares with its parents the grave responsibilities of its Christian education. He will have, therefore, to see that the child is

instructed in time in the truths of religion and in its duty as a Christian. He will be careful always to help and assist it by his advice, his prayers, and his good example..... The Church in her maternal solicitude, goes yet further; she entreats him, in the interest of the child, to be careful that it be confided only to a Catholic nurse, whose morals are pure, should its mother be unable to nourish it; and later he will have to see that the child is handed over to the care of Christian teachers and masters.

The Church enjoins on him, also the duty of taking every precaution so as to preserve the child from all danger and to protect it from all accidents, until it has attained the age at which it can protect itself.....He will preserve, before God, safe and sound, pure and innocent, this little child that our holy religion confides to his affection and to his piety.

The god-parents are thus what their name implies, the spiritual guardians of the child, responsible for the latter's moral and material welfare. Immense is their responsibility before the moral law, and before God, to whom they will have to render strict account of their stewardship. But the responsibility of the god-parents by no means excludes that of the natural parents: the one merely supplements the other. The god-parents are an extra safeguard, the counsellors of the parents, those to whom falls the task of seeing that the parents fulfil their duties. The parents are not allowed to resign their powers into the hands of the god-parents; parental responsibility is, on the contrary, a responsibility that can never, under any circumstances whatsoever, be evaded. It is therefore that the parents who have to fulfil the parental duties. Only in the case of the parents proving themselves unworthy of their high and sacred mission, must the god-parents execute the task which should be performed by the parents. It was to prevent the innocent offspring suffering from the effects of parental unworthiness and parental neglect, that the Church created the institution of god-parents, but let not parents imagine that this institution was created in order to permit them to evade their own responsibilities.

With regard to baptism, the form of words used by the Syrian priest was, "N is baptised and perfected in the name of the Father, amen; in the name of the Son, amen; and in the name of the Holy Ghost, amen". It was different from the Roman formula, and was judged to be wrong. Further proper

fonts were not provided in the churches, the water was not blessed by the addition of the holy chrism, the priest administered in his ordinary dress without surplice or stole, and the ancient custom of having god-fathers and god-mothers, "was not in use in the bishopric."

Old Testament names were Judaically given to the children, the ordinance was not administered on the eighth day after birth, "according to the custom of the Universal Church," but was often delayed for months and even years and no baptismal registers were kept. Great carelessness was shown on every hand. Children in danger of death, the offspring, of excommunicated persons, foundlings, infants exposed by their parents, adult slaves who desired baptism, and children of slaves were not baptised, and no provision was made for the instruction and baptism of converts from heathenism. There were many persons in the diocese and especially among them that lived on the heaths and far from any church, who though they were not baptised, professed themselves to be Christians, and when they came to a church received the holy sacraments with others, and, out of mere shame of letting it be known that they had not been christened, died without baptism, and others because they could not pay the fees that were simoniacally demanded of them. Through this and similar acts of negligence on the part of Syrian clergy, considerable sections of the community relapsed entirely into heathenism.¹

The baby is also named on the day of baptism. The first born baby is named after the maternal grandfather or grandmother according as it is a male or female. The subsequent ones are named after the paternal grand-parents and those that follow take the names of those that have recently died in the family. In this connection it must be noted that while Hindus who follow the inheritance in the male line name the children after the paternal grand-parents, children of the Syrian Christians adopt the names of the maternal grand-parents. The custom appears to be a survival of that observed by their original Hindu ancestors who had the inheritance in the female line.

The common names among the Syrian Christians are:—

George (Gevarugesa, Vargisa, Varki); Thomas (Thomma, Thoman, Umman); John (Yohannan, Lonan); Luke (Lukosa,

¹ *Synod of Diamper Session IV, Decrees I to XX, Vol. II, pp. 559-572.*

Koshi); Matthew (Mathai, Mathan, Mathu); Joseph (Yoseph, Ouseph); Jacob (Chakko); Peter (Pathors, Pathappan); Alexander (Chandy); Isaac (Itty, Ittak); Abraham (Abragam). Most of the Gospel names are in use among them. It may be seen from the list of ordinary names given above, that they are in some cases so badly distorted as to defy identification.

The common names among women are:—Mary (Mariyam); Achi, Achambila, Sarah, Eliza (Elisa); Ali (Elizabeth), Anna, Annapennu; Eunica (Unichi); Susannan, Sosa, Rebecca (Akka), Rose, Rachael, Rachi, Raghael, Chacha, etc. The Synod of Diamper (1599) forbade the giving of Old Testament names.¹

Syrian Christians take the name of their father, their own name and that of their residence. Thus arise such names as Mathu, Philippos, Kunnumpuram, Thomman, Chandi, Chanda-kadayil, Joseph, Chommu.

Feeding the Baby.—The ceremony of first feeding a child with rice (the *annaprasanam* or *chorunu* of the Hindus) is celebrated in the sixth month after birth. Parents often make vows to have the ceremony performed in a particular church, as Hindu parents take their children to particular temples in fulfilment of special vows. On this occasion the maternal grand-parents supply a string of ornaments for a male child, the largest ornament being a gold cross; for a female, a golden ducat or coin suffices. Parents take great pains to have many and costly ornaments tied round the neck of the child. An ornament consisting of a tiger's claws set in gold, curiously carved, is worn round the waist or neck of children for good luck.*

Learning the Alphabet.—At about four years of age the alphabet is learned. The *kaniyan* of the village or a teacher of the community is invited, and a brass vessel full of rice is taken to him. A lamp being lit, the teacher holds the right hand of the child and makes him write a letter or two on the rice, which afterwards along with a few *chakrams* or *puthans* with some tobacco is presented to the teacher. On beginning the use

¹The Synod of Diamper (1599) Session IV, Decree XVI. *The History of Christianity in India*, Vol II, p. 569.

* Among the Northerners when an infant receives its first food from the hands of the priest it sits on its father's lap, whereas among the Southerner's on the same occasion it sits on the mother's lap. ¹

¹Thomas Whitehouse, p. 63. *Lingerings of Light on a Dark Land*.

of the pen a present is given to the teacher, and the children of the whole school are entertained with parched corn, plantains, cocoanuts, and jaggery, all distributed to the monitors. The lessons chiefly consist of grammar and poetry, Syrians prayers, and songs in the vernacular and Scripture stories, all written on palm leaves and committed to memory. Boys and girls are taught together as girls attend school: they are generally unmarried. Now-a-days after the alphabet is learned, they are sent to the local primary schools rather earlier.

Ear-Boring.—In the sixth year of a girl, ear-boring takes place. The operation is conducted by an elderly woman usually her aunt. The ear-lobes are distended by the insertion of pieces of cork, sticks or cotton, or by the suspension of small lead-weights. The wounds are healed by the application of medicated oil. The tops of the ear-lobes are also bored to hold heavy earrings.

Marriage and Family Life.—The Church has rendered great service by the precise recognition of the social import of marriage, by having sanctified and imposed duties that cannot be evaded by those who contract it—duties towards each other, duties towards their children, duties towards society. Marriage is regarded as a sacrament in the interests of the reproduction of the species. The Church earnestly enjoins on husband and wife, the duty of attachment, of mutual fidelity, of mutual love, the duty of bearing one another's faults with patience, of sacrificing their selfish desires for their common good, the duty of rearing their children in such a manner that the latter shall grow up in their turn good soldiers of Christ and good citizens of society.

The Christian doctrine relating to marriage affords a good example of the union of the two ideas of inequality said to be characteristic of the socialistic teaching of Christianity in general. The wife is to be subject to the husband, is to obey the husband; and yet the husband and wife are absolutely equal before the moral law. The social inequalities which prevail in this finite world of ours are necessarily reflected in the family which is the nucleus of society. Husband and wife are not equal in the eyes of the social law, because the social value of the work performed by each is different; and to the difference in the social value of their respective labour must be added the physiological labour between the two. The husband is the head of the family in virtue of a

natural law, which applies to every species, because he is stronger and it is to him that the duty falls of supporting his wife and children. The social value of the husband's labour in civilized society is necessarily higher than that of the wife's because it is the husband's labour that permits the wife in her turn to work and to accomplish her domestic duties. It also contributes to the maintenance and welfare of society as a whole. It is for this reason that St. Paul enjoins on wives the duty of submission to their husbands. Jesus also insists strongly on the duty of the husband, and He is careful to drive home with special force the idea of the real indissoluble unity of husband and wife. If they be one person, the husband must necessarily love his wife and care for her. The notion of the equality of the husband and wife, before the moral law strongly safeguards the rights of the weaker vessel.

Having assured the fulfilment by the husband and wife of their reciprocal duties, Christianity is careful to ensure that both fulfil their duties towards their offspring. St. Paul declares that those who neglect their children are worse than an infidel. Jesus insists more than once on the rights and dignities of children, and especially when He set forth the child-like heart as a necessary condition for entrance into the Kingdom of Heaven: Except ye repent and become as little children, ye shall in no wise enter the kingdom of Heaven.¹ As to those who are guilty of corrupting the innocent and of destroying the faith of one of these little ones: It were better that a millstone were hanged about their neck and they were cast into the sea.

The family is a school in which the individual cannot fail to learn the great ideas of duty, responsibility and what submission and discipline mean. The members of a family are linked together by ties, *sui generis*—ties at once of a physiological and psychological nature, which do not exist between the members of any other group, or of any other organisation. Hence, the supreme importance of maintaining intact these ties and the family structure without which the family functions cannot be performed. Unless the family be strongly integrated, the individuals composing it will never learn the great and fundamental social duties which family duties alone can inculcate; the family cannot be integrated, its cohesion and solidarity cannot be assured

¹ cf. *Mark X*: vv. 13—16.

unless husband and wife be fully conscious of the common duties and of their responsibilities, and unless they regard them as a solemn stewardship for which they have to render an account to society.

Thus the family is a great school of duty wherein each one learns the meaning of the word responsibility. There is no higher duty than this, no doctrine more eminently adapted to the wife by the condemnation of the husband's unfaithfulness, by the indissolubility of the marriage tie, by its insistence on reciprocal duties towards their children; and its having made of the family a great school of duty and responsibility, a great preparation for social life. Christianity, and particularly Catholic Christianity, has proved itself an invaluable factor of social integration and social stability which can only be assured by the integration and stability of the family.

In the doctrine opposed to the Catholic Church, and so greatly in favour to-day, marriage is said to be nothing but a social contract, a simple formality to be gone through before carnal desires are satisfied. In this case, the interests of the two persons, contracting marriage are alone considered, without recognition of the many duties imposed by marriage, *viz.*, duties of mutual love, and forbearance, mutual patience, mutual sacrifice, and of the numerous duties of parents towards their children. The physiological desire having been satisfied, it is found that after a time satiety sets in, and that marriage which has no more stable foundation than a physical basis, is founded upon sand. The family instead of being a school of moral training and discipline becomes a school of discord and anarchy.

The Syrian Christians like the Hindus maintain a joint-family-system. The father is the head of the family and the mother is the mistress thereof. Their whole interest in life is confined to the care, guidance and organisation of the younger members for the purpose of domestic management and the bringing up of children. It is further a training institution for the junior members to equip themselves with the necessary qualifications for the duties they may be called upon to discharge. Boys and girls of the higher and middle classes learn in the local schools, while those of the poorer families do work of some kind or other for their livelihood. The former continue to study till they qualify themselves for some particular line of work, while the latter discontinue their studies after marriage, when they attend

more to domestic duties and discharge the duties of maternity. A Syrian Christian family like a Brahmin family is patriarchal in nature, consisting of the father and mother, his brothers, sons and daughters all under the paternal care and guidance of the elders. The males work and earn money for their livelihood and the maintenance of the family, while the women young and old attend to culinary and other domestic work. As the family increases in number and the family house no longer accommodates the members, partition takes place among the brothers who set up separate families in houses of their own construction, either close to or in the neighbourhood of it. There is now a general tendency, owing perhaps to the influence of Western culture, towards the gradual extinction of the joint-family-system based long ago on economy and frugality.

It must be remembered that the ideas of relationship of any particular tribe or caste, depend upon its social system.* The terms of relationship prevailing among the Nayers and those who follow descent in female line, differ from those who reckon descent in the male line. An account of the terms of kinship as it obtains among the Syrian Christians who follow the inheritance from father to son is herein given. A list of kinship terms with their vernacular equivalents is given in a tabular form which is followed by a discussion of the exact meaning of each term.

No.	Relation.	Vernacular names of Syrian Christians.	Relation.	Vernacular names of Syrian Christians.
1	2	3	4	5
1	Father ..	Appan ..	Son ..	Makan.
2	Mother ..	Amma ..	Daughter ..	Makal.
3	Elder brother ..	Jyeshtan or Chettan ..	Younger brother ..	Anujan.
4	Elder sister ..	Pengal, Jyeshtathi or Chet-tathi.	Younger sister ..	Anujathi.

* Messrs. Spencer and Gillen in their *Native Tribes of Central Australia* have clearly proved that the Australian aborigines see no connection between marriage and the birth of children. They believe that any woman may be entered by the spirits of the dead, in the shape of a spirit child, who is born in due course. The token of the child is not necessarily that of either the father or the mother, but that of the token-centre at which the spirit-child is supposed to have entered the mother, (cf. op. cit. Pages 265, 337 and 124).

No.	Relation.	Vernacular names of Syrian Christians,	Relation.	Vernacular names of Syrian Christians.
1	2	3	4	5
5	Father's brother ..	Elder—Valiyappan, younger—Elayappan or Chittappan.	Brother's child ..	
6	Father's brother's wife	Elder—Valiyamma, younger—Elayamma or Chittamma.	Husband's brother's child.	
7	Father's brother's child	Jyeshtan—if elder, Anujan—if younger.		
8	Father's sister ..	Ammayi ..		
9	Father's sister's husband.	Aschan or Chettan ..		
10	Father's sister's child..	Elder—Jyeshtan, younger—Anujan.	Child ..	Marumakan.
11	Mother's brother ..	Aschan or Chettan ..	Sister's Husband's Sister's child.	
12	Mother's brother's wife	Ammayi ..		
13	Mother's brother's child	Elder—Jeshtan or younger—Anujan.		
14	Mother's sister ..	Elder—Valiyamma, younger—Elayamma		
15	Mother's sister's husband.	Elder—Valiyappan, younger—Elayappan.		
16	Mother's sister's child ..	Elder—Jyeshtan, younger—Anujan.		
17	Father's father ..	Appappan ..	Son's or daughter's	Son, daughter.
18	Father's mother ..	Ammamma ..		
19	Husband ..	Kettiyavan or Bharthavu—Mapila,	Wife ..	Kettiya val or Bharya.
20	Wife's brother ..	Aliyan ..	Sister's husband, Daughter's husband.	Elder—Jyeshtan Younger—Anujan.
21	Wife or Husband's father.	Ammanappan ..	Daughter's husband.	Marumakan.
22	Wife or Husband's mother.	Ammayamma ..	Son's wife ..	Marumakal.
23	Wife's brother ..	Elder—Aliyan, younger—Aliyan.	Sister's husband ..	Elder—Jyeshtan, younger—Anujan.
24	Wife's sister ..	Elder—Jyeshtathiar, younger—Anujathiyar.		
25	Wife's sister's husband.	Elder—Jyeshtan or mere name, younger—Anujan.		
26	Husband's brother ..	Younger—Anujan.		
27	Husband's sister ..	Nathun ..		
28	Husband's brother's wife.	Elder—Jyeshtathiyar, younger—Anujathiyar.		
29	Son's wife's parents ..	Jyeshtan, or mere name.		

The use of the kinship terms is an interesting study to the ethnologist, chiefly because they often exemplify certain social customs or afford broad hints for the explanation of those defunct or otherwise in-explicable. It also helps them to understand the proper place of physiological explanation in sociology. In discussing the exact meaning of each term it is better to begin with the father.

Father, Mother.—A man or woman's father and mother are called *appan* and *amma* respectively. There are no separate names to denote a father's brother and a mother's sister's husband. Both of them are addressed as *valiya appan* (big or elder father) or *elaya appan* or *chittappan* (younger father) according as he is senior or junior in age to the man or woman referred to. Their wives are spoken of as *valiya amma* (big or senior mother) or *elaya amma* younger or junior mother. They correspond in English to uncles and aunts.

Father's father, mother's father, father's mother, mother's mother—*appa appan*, *appan's appan*, father's father; *amma amma* or *amma's amma*—mother's mother—are the names to designate grandfather and grandmother on the paternal and maternal sides.

Brother, elder, younger.—The word brother is used to denote the relationship of a man or a woman to the sons of the same parents or to the cousins. Cousins on both sides are called brothers and sisters, whether they are the children of a brother or sister, but are distinguished as being elder or younger. The elder brother is *jyēshtan* or *chēttan*, and the younger brother as *anujan*, but the latter is addressed by the elder brother or the cousins by his real name. An elder sister is called *pengal* or *chittathī*, *kochamma*, and a younger is usually addressed by her name.

Father's sister's husband, mother's brother are spoken of as *aschan* and their wives as *ammāyi*.

Wife's father, husband's father.—A man or woman's father-in-law is known as *ammāyiappan* or *ammānappan*, while the mother-in-law is spoken of as *ammāyiamma*.

A wife's brother is called *aliyan*, and the elder sister *nāthun*.

Wife's sister, husband's brother's wife.—The terms *jyēshtathiyār* or *anujathiyār* are applied to a man or woman's sister-in-law who is senior or junior to him or her in age.

The terms uncle, aunt, cousin are used to designate various kinds of relationship as mentioned above.

An uncle may be either a father's brother or a mother's brother; an aunt may be either a father's sister or mother's sister.

A cousin may be the child of any one of these four uncles and aunts.

A mother's sister is a mother, her son is a brother. A grandfather's brother and sister are called grandfather and grandmother respectively.

Among the Syrian Christians, an elder may address an younger by name, but a younger must always use the term of relationship in speaking to an elder. It is also customary for a member of the community to address his neighbour as "my father," "my son," or "my brother," as the case may be; if not in any way related, he says "my friend."

The idea of relationship like that of marriage was founded not so much upon duty as on power, but with the evolution of the race, the latter has been subordinated to the former.

It is said that in the first stage, relationship may be regarded as a matter, not of blood but of tribal organisation; that in the second stage it is traced through the mother; in the third through the father, and that only in the fourth stage is the idea of the family reached as among the civilized races.

FUNCTIONS OF RELATIVES AT MARRIAGES AND OTHER CEREMONIES.

THE maternal uncle plays a very important part at marriages and other ceremonies. He is chiefly concerned in the negotiations, in leading the bridegroom inside the house, and in the festivities that takes place in this connection. He is presented with two pieces of cloth by the bridegroom at the end of the ceremony.

The paternal uncle plays only a subordinate part, taking the place of the father in the preliminary negotiations and the festivities.

The bride's mother receives the conjugal pair after their return from the church; so does the mother of the bridegroom when the bridal party returns to her house.

The bride and bridegroom's sister play equally important parts in all such ceremonies. (*Vide Funeral Customs* also).

Cousins act the part of the groom's men and groom's maids if they are of the same age.

The bride and bridegroom's father give the conjugal pair sweets on their return home, to cement the marriage union.

Conclusion.—From the foregoing account of the marriage customs of the various communities among the Syrian Christians, it may be seen that they vary in different divisions. Early marriage, as among the Hindus, was originally in vogue amongst them, but it now survives only to a small extent, and only among the Jacobite Syrians. The age of the contracting parties has been rigidly fixed among all the sects, the minimum age being

fourteen years in the case of boys, and twelve in the case of girls. It is generally the parents of the boys and girls that arrange for the marriage without their consent, in the belief that they are not likely to do what is not beneficial for them. Among the Romo-Syrians, the Reformed-Syrians and the Protestant Syrians, the consent of the contracting parties is obtained before marriage.

The dowry which is an essential feature of the Syrian weddings is not so compulsory a payment before marriage in the Cochin State as in Travancore. Even amongst them, as amongst the Brahmans and the other higher castes, university degrees have enhanced the bridegroom's price in the matrimonial market.

Many of the old Hindu marriage customs—paintings of the girl's hands and feet, the preliminary ceremony before the wedding and the entertainment of the guest during the four days and other rejoicings, which survived amongst them, have now almost disappeared partly on account of Christian influence and Western culture, and partly with a view to exercising economy owing to the expenses in other directions. The bridegroom returns with the bride to his house either on the same or on the next day. The nuptials are left to the convenience of the parties. The pregnancy rite or the ceremony of *pulikutio* somewhat similar to that of the Sudras, is no longer in vogue amongst them. Though widows can re-marry, very seldom do those of any respectable family with children think of a second marriage. Among the Romo-Syrians, many young men prefer a life of celibacy and become ordained: polygamy and polyandry are absolutely unknown and strictly prohibited. Adultery is punished by the authorities of the Church after due consultations with the elderly members of the parish. Divorce is unknown. Under social influences and that of the Church, the conjugal pair live in peace and happiness and seldom go wrong. In the majority of cases their family life is prosperous.

(To be continued).

PRUSSIA AND THE HOUSE OF HOHENZOLLERN, IX.

By E. M. MACPHAIL, M.A., B.D.

THE political movement in Germany which culminated in the Revolution of 1848 had, it may be mentioned again, two sides. There was first the demand for constitutional reform, for personal liberty and representative government. But along with this went the somewhat inarticulate desire for a united Germany. There were naturally different schools of political thought among those who desired a united Germany, and this helped not a little to complicate the problem. Some of the most extreme nationalists wished to see a German republic established. This of course would imply the disappearance of the German sovereigns, who still numbered between thirty and forty, and the merging of the particular states in a single unitary state. "Particularism" was however too strong to permit of this feeling being very influential. The Princes were naturally unwilling to lose their thrones, but there can be little doubt that their peoples also for the most part had no wish to lose their identity by becoming parts of a larger whole. Men were still Prussians, Saxons or Bavarians first, and not Germans. Federalism was really the only solution of the problem, but as soon as that was admitted a new problem appeared. In the existing loose confederation Austria was president, but if a real federal state were called into existence, especially one of a democratic nature with a national German Parliament controlling a national ministry which all the part states must obey, would there be room for Austria in it? Austria it must be remembered was only partly a German State. Three-fourths of the subjects of the Hapsburg Empire were not Germans but Slavs, Hungarians and Italians. Was the whole of this heterogeneous state to be included in the new Germany or only the German portions of it; and if so, what would be the relations between German-Austria and the other elements of the Austrian monarchy? On the other hand if Austria were excluded from the revived German State and Prussia obtained the headship this would spoil the dream of patriots like Arndt who sang that the German Fatherland was wherever the German tongue was spoken.

Having thus noticed some of the problems that awaited solution as soon as German statesmen began to attempt the work of reconstruction we may pass now to consider shortly the great attempt that was made in 1848. Even before the French Revolution of that year took place there had been, as we have seen, considerable political unrest in the German States, and there had been a good deal of talk about a national German Parliament. When the news of the Revolution in Paris reached Germany a great impetus was given to this idea. Heinrich von Gagern, a member of the Diet of Hesse-Darmstadt, brought up the question in it, and a number of leading Liberals met at Heidelberg and appointed a committee of seven members of whom von Gagern was one, to make arrangements for holding a preliminary Parliament. This *Vorparlament* met at Frankfurt in the end of March, 1848, and the republicans in it found themselves in a minority. The Diet meantime had bestirred itself and passed a federal law by which the *Vorparlament* ordered a national assembly to be elected to draw up a new constitution for Germany. The Diet itself tried its hand at constitution making. Dahlmann, a Prussian, drew up a constitution, but Frederick William IV, who had a fantastic scheme of his own, did not approve of it and it came to nothing. The National Parliament which was to draw up the new constitution met in Frankfurt in May, 1848, and contained a very large number of distinguished men. In two ways however it was defective. *First* it tended to be too doctrinaire, to pay too much attention to mere theory; and, *secondly*, it had no force of its own with which to back up its decisions, but was dependent upon the action of the separate States, especially Prussia and Austria. As an executive was required the Arch-Duke John of Austria, who had liberal sympathies, was chosen Vicar of the Empire as a temporary measure and the Diet delegated its functions to him. The different German governments recognised this appointment and the Arch-Duke chose a ministry. The Parliament then proceeded with its work of drafting a constitution. Before doing so, however, it spent much time in discussing and drawing up a statement of the fundamental rights of German citizenship, and the constitution itself was not completed until March, 1849. By this constitution the German Empire was to

be reconstituted as a federal state with two houses, and a hereditary Emperor. The lower house was to be upon a democratic basis and was to have the real control of the finances of the Empire.

During the months that had elapsed between the summoning of the *Vorparlament* and the drawing up of the constitution much had taken place. The revolutionary movement had largely spent its force and the reaction had set in. In Berlin and in Vienna the monarchy had reasserted its power, and it was clear that no constitution had a chance of being accepted which was not approved of by at least one of the great German powers. As the discussion of the constitution went on the problems to which reference has been made emerged very clearly. As the Austrian government became stronger it became certain that no solution would be accepted by it which left a large part of the monarchy outside the federation, while at Frankfurt the Parliament became gradually convinced that the only solution under those conditions was the complete exclusion of Austria. When at last in March, 1849, the Parliament adopted the draft constitution it was also to offer the position of hereditary Emperor of the German Empire to the King of Prussia, Frederick William IV.

Before this conclusion was arrived at by the Parliament Austria had indicated clearly that her aim was to try to restore the old confederation, and it had become clear also that the smaller monarchies in Germany were opposed to the scheme of the Parliament. It remained to be seen how the King of Prussia would act in the circumstances. A deputation waited on the King and asked him to accept the Imperial Crown, but he refused it, although some of his ministers and his brother William, the future Emperor, urged him to accept. He had quite good reasons for his refusal. His acceptance of the crown offered by the Frankfurt Parliament would have certainly led to a war with Austria for which he did not feel prepared, and would have offended Russia. His brother Kings also would have resented it. But besides these good and sufficient reasons Frederick William, like Bismarck, hated the Revolution and would have regarded a crown received from a democratic assembly as a "crown of shame." Further his peculiar tempera-

ment made him anxious to see the Empire revived with the Hapsburg as Emperor and with the Hohenzollern as German King or as supreme war lord. He replied to the Parliament that he could not accept the crown without the consent of the German Princes, and as every one knew that that would not be given his reply was equivalent to a refusal. Soon afterwards, in April, 1849, the Prussian government intimated to the Parliament that it could not accept the new constitution, though the Prussian Parliament had voted for its acceptance, and, as the only chance for the constitution was that Prussia should support it, before many months had passed the great German National Parliament had ceased to exist. In the end of 1849, the Vicar of the Empire, the Arch-Duke John, resigned his powers into the hands of Prussia and Austria. The refusal of some of the States to accept the Frankfurt constitution led to risings in different parts of Germany, but these were suppressed by Prussian troops.

Now that the attempt of the National Parliament to make a new constitution for Germany had failed the question as to future arrangements naturally arose. In spite of his regard for Austria Frederick William was not unwilling that Prussia should occupy a more prominent place in Germany than she had done under the old constitution of 1815. Under the influence of Radowitz, a liberal minister, he promised in May, 1849, that he in consultation with his allies would draw up a new constitution for Germany which would be submitted to a national parliament. The constitution which Radowitz drafted was not unlike that which ultimately became the constitution of the North German Confederation of 1867. Frederick William invited the other German Kings to send plenipotentiaries to Berlin to consider this draft constitution. They did so, but it was soon seen that Bavaria would have nothing to do with it, and though Saxony and Hanover agreed to it they did so with the reservation that their acceptance was conditional on its being accepted by the other German governments. Most of the smaller states joined the Union and a parliament was summoned to meet at Erfurt in January, 1850. Saxony and Hanover, however took up the position that the consent of Austria and Bavaria to this action was necessary, and

ultimately seceded from the Union. The Erfurt Parliament expressed its approval of the constitution, but Frederick William in view of the opposition with which his scheme had met abandoned it. Bismarck and his conservative friends, it may be mentioned, were all along keenly opposed to it.

During 1849, Austria had had its hands full with the Hungarian insurrection, but when, with the help of Russian troops, she had succeeded in crushing it, Schwarzenberg, the Austrian minister, was free to turn his attention to German affairs. His aim was to restore the old Confederation, only he desired if possible that the whole of the Austrian monarchy, which had now been made more unified as the result of the unsuccessful national movements, should be admitted to the German Confederation. In the summer of 1850, representatives of Austria, the four smaller German kingdoms, Bavaria, Hanover, Württemberg and Saxony, the two Hesses, and four smaller states met at Frankfurt and constituted themselves as the Diet of the Confederation. The antagonism between Prussia and the other larger German States was now as manifest as it was sixteen years later, but the conflict was delayed for the reasons already indicated. Prussia was not yet strong enough to fight, the Tsar was on the side of Austria, and finally King Frederick William himself did not wish to break with Austria. And yet war very nearly broke out over the question of Hesse-Cassel. The Elector of that state was one of the most incompetent and unpopular sovereigns in Germany. He had dismissed his ministers and dissolved his parliament for refusing to vote the taxes, and had appointed as minister a very unpopular reactionary named Hassenpflug. His subjects refused to obey and he asked the small Diet at Frankfurt to come to his assistance. The self-constituted Diet decreed a "federal execution" and ordered Bavarian troops to occupy the Electorate. This was too much for Frederick William and the Prussians. The army was mobilised, troops marched into Hesse-Cassel, and a skirmish actually took place between Prussian and Bavarian outposts at Bronzell near Fulda. Then Prussia gave way. The young Emperor Francis Joseph, who during the revolution had been made Austrian Emperor instead of his uncle Ferdinand, agreed to a proposal made by Frederick William that there

should be a conference between Schwarzenberg and the Prussian minister Manteuffel. The two statesmen met at Olmütz, and as Prussia practically surrendered all the points in dispute an agreement was soon arrived at. The old Confederation was to be resuscitated and Austria was again to hold the Presidency; the federal execution in Hesse-Cassel was to go on; and a conference was to meet at Dresden to settle details. There was much haggling at the conference, which met in December, 1850. Prussia tried hard to be recognised as having an equal right to the Presidency with Austria, while Schwarzenberg was anxious that Austria as a whole should be admitted to the Confederation. Manteuffel at last proposed that the old Confederation should be restored just as it was in 1815 and this was finally agreed to. Again it may be noted that in this crisis also Bismarck showed himself a keen conservative. It is interesting to read the words in which he opposed the warlike policy of Prussia, and depicted the horrors of war. He was still the staunch supporter of a policy of friendship with Austria and he had absolutely no sympathy with the unfortunate subjects of the Elector of Hesse. The "surrender of Olmütz" therefore was in his eyes not the humiliation that it seemed to most Prussians, but a wise piece of statesmanship, and it was a satisfaction to him that the scheme of Radowitz had broken down and that its author had had to resign his office as minister.

In the events of the momentous years 1848-49 one question to which as yet no reference has been made played a very important part—the Schleswig-Holstein question. As this was to play an even more important part in German politics a few years later it is necessary to turn to it for a little. It was once said that there was only one man in Europe who had ever mastered the Schleswig-Holstein problem completely and that he had forgotten a good deal of it. Still it is not difficult to understand the main outlines of it. Schleswig is the southern part of the Danish peninsula, and Holstein is the part of Germany lying immediately south of Schleswig between the Elbe and the Baltic. In the tenth century when under the great Saxon monarchs the Germans began to conquer the neighbouring peoples. Holstein became one of the marks or boundary lands of the German Empire. Beyond it too German influence spread

and a German bishopric was established at Schleswig. While the country of Holstein, however, became an integral part of the German Empire Schleswig in spite of its being largely Germanised remained under the Danish crown. In the latter part of the fourteenth century Queen Margaret of Denmark gave the Duchy of Schleswig as a fief to the Count of Holstein to secure his support, and since that time Schleswig and Holstein have been united. In the next century the crown of Denmark was offered to the Count of Holstein. He declined the offer but secured it for a nephew, who like himself belonged to the Oldenburg family. Before doing so however he made his kinsman promise that Schleswig and Holstein should never be united to the crown of Denmark. On his death without children, however, the sovereignty of Schleswig and Holstein naturally passed to the King of Denmark. As his promise to his uncle blocked the way the estates of the two Duchies—Holstein also became a Duchy—assumed a power they had never had and both elected the king of Denmark as their sovereign, on the understanding that the union with Denmark did not imply any right on the part of the Danish king to be their ruler.

The growth of the spirit of nationality in the nineteenth century had a twofold effect so far as Schleswig and Holstein were concerned. While the German element shared in the German national ideals the Danes became more anxious to incorporate Schleswig in the monarchy, though it was now preponderantly German. Antagonism arose between the Danes and Germans in Schleswig, and in Denmark there was a strong party known as the Eider Danes because they sought to make the Eider, the southern boundary of Schleswig, the boundary of Denmark. When Christian VIII came to the throne of Denmark in 1839 he found the German national movement in the Duchies already very strong, and during the nine years of his reign the antagonism between the Danes and the Germans became still stronger. There was at the same time a growing desire in Denmark as elsewhere for a constitution and the King hoped that by the grant of a constitution for the whole of his dominion he might be able to unite them. His son Frederick VII, who succeeded in the beginning of 1848, carried on his father's plans, which aimed at the permanent union of the Duchies with Denmark.

The whole question was still further complicated by the fact that Frederick VII had no children. By the "Royal Law" of 1665, the succession to the crown of Denmark might go through the female line, but the Duchies claimed that in their case the nearest heir in the male line should succeed. This, if true, would imply the separation of the Duchies from the Crown of Denmark after the death of Frederick VII, as the Duke of Augustenburg was the nearest male heir. In 1846 King Christian VIII published a declaration that Schleswig at all events had the same succession as Denmark, and hence this might imply the separation of Schleswig from Holstein.

When the draft constitution was published in the beginning of 1848 there was an outcry from Schleswig-Holstein. A revolt took place and a provisional government was set up at Kiel. All the nationalists in Germany of course strongly supported Schleswig-Holstein, and when the Danes began to send troops to the Duchies to put down the insurrection demanded that help should be sent. In March, 1848, Prussia had become a champion of the popular national movement however much it might be disliked by conservatives like Bismarck and it recognised the autonomy of the Duchies and the claims of the Duke of Augustenburg. It sent troops to the assistance of the insurgents, though Frederick William had little sympathy with rebels. In April the Diet recognised the provisional government at Kiel and regularised the action of Prussia by asking her to carry out the federal execution in defence of the rights of Holstein, which was one of the states of the Confederation. This led to the first Schleswig-Holstein war, which went on intermittently till 1851. The Danes succeeded in holding their own. The King of Prussia and his conservative advisers did not like the war, and Russia was friendly to Denmark, while the Danish fleet blockaded the German coasts and injured trade. In August, 1848, a truce for seven months was made at Malmoe between Prussia and Denmark. The German nationalists were furious with Prussia for this and the Parliament at Frankfurt at first refused to ratify the agreement. So great was the excitement in Frankfurt that a popular rising took place and two prominent Prussian Deputies, Prince Lichnowsky and General von Auerswald, were murdered by the mob. The truce of Malmoe in fact helped

to emphasise the powerlessness of the national German government in Frankfurt if a strong state like Prussia refused to carry out its wishes.

During the continuance of the truce the Great Powers tried to bring about a settlement of the question, but the solution proposed was not accepted by Denmark and war began again in April, 1849. Some fighting took place, but in July a truce for six months was concluded by which it was agreed that Schleswig should be evacuated by the German troops.

(To be continued.)

NOTES OF THE MONTH.

THE most striking features in the War during the past month have been the re-entry of Russia into the struggle, and the dramatic exit of Constantine from the throne of Greece. At no period in the world's history have revolutionary changes followed one another with such kaleidoscopic rapidity. Russia is an autocracy to-day and a republic to-morrow, China is a republic to-day and a monarchy to-morrow. Constantine after torturing the allies for two years suddenly resigns his crown to his son, and Venezelos becomes the uncrowned king of Athens. So far the changes have been entirely to the good, but he is a far-seeing man who can tell how long the present regimes will continue. The resumption of the offensive by Russia under Brussilof and the capture of nearly 20,000 prisoners have filled Petrograd with enthusiasm. Striking victories would do more to cement the jarring elements than any amount of haranguing. If this should prove to be the beginning of a really new and great offensive, then Germany is going to have a hard time during the next few months. The removal of Constantine to a more peaceful home may have far-reaching effects on the Greco-Bulgar frontier. Hitherto the efforts of the allies have been fitful and feeble because of the possibility of a stab in the back. That fear need no longer, at all events so long as the present condition of things lasts, paralyse the movements of the allies.

On the western front the Germans are being slowly forced to yield village after village. Reinforcements have been brought from the east and thrown in masses into the struggle, but so far without material gain, except for a portion of a trench here and there. The superiority of the allies in man-power and in material becomes daily more visible and, though there is no sign or expectation that the end of

the war is near at hand, there is abundant evidence that victory is only a question of time. But for the delay of Russia the end would have been nearer to-day.

THE efforts made by the Central Powers to secure peace through Socialist agents must not delude us into the belief that Germany is at the last gasp. That she desires peace is no doubt true, but she wants it now because she has largely obtained her objectives. What she desired above all was the extension of her power eastward to Constantinople, and thence to the East. Peace to-day would place India at her mercy in the years to come. If India is to develop peacefully in coming years as she has done during the past half century the road to the east must be barred to Germany. When that is accomplished and when France and Belgium are free of the enemy we may talk of peace, but not till then. Peace to-day means that the blood of the allies has been shed in vain. Is it sufficiently realised in India that we are fighting to-day as truly to prevent India becoming in the near future another Belgium as we are fighting for Britain? This statement at the beginning of the war would have seemed fantastic, but the revelations of documents have shown conclusively Germany's ulterior aim. Her object in promoting this war was to carve out her path to the east. Her object in the next war would have been to make herself dominant in the east. Had Great Britain not entered the struggle now her objects would have been attained, so far as human foresight can discover.

HERR MAXIMILIAN HARDEN, one of the clearest sighted of Germany's publicists, frankly recognises the supreme importance for Germany of setting her house in order before America is ready with her millions. The following extract from an article contributed by him to *Die Zukunft* is not without significance.

America, had she remained neutral, could have amassed incalculable wealth, and it would be an act of criminal self-deception to ignore the fact that President Wilson is to-day the trusted favourite of an overwhelming, and ever-increasing majority. Perhaps that cool philosopher Mr. Balfour is now at work in Washington on the linking together of America and Great Britain with China and Japan, a *rapprochement* which we have often predicted and one which may to-morrow include free Russia. The same blind stupidity which compared the British Army to Falstaff's recruits now jeers at America as unable to do anything.

The intervention will have the most far-reaching effects if the war does not end before America has completed her preparations. The western armies who hold Baghdad, Mecca, Valona, Gorizia, part of the Trentino, Salonika, and the German Colonies, and who in twelve days in April counted 34,000 prisoners to their credit, do not see

before them a future so enshrouded in gloom that it invites them to lay down their arms. The millions of men who are now hostile to us will not depart humbly to their homes before the gigantic weight of the United States has been thrown into the scale.

What now is our best course? It is a clear recognition of realities, a return to the freedom of dignified criticism, a setting in order of Germany's house, that it may no longer be an abomination in the eyes of the world. Democracy rings us round. The responsibility for the peace which will be concluded must be borne not by one Prince nor by one family but by the entire nation with unbended neck. Democracy is irresistible and its help may to-morrow become urgently necessary to Princes. Germany's people can only conclude this peace when they have reached a full realisation of the facts and this they must and will do.

THE Bureau of Education in India has reprinted and distributed copies of Part II of "The Final Report of the Commissioners of the Royal Commission on University Education in London." This Commission consisted of Lord Haldane (Chairman), Lord Milner, Sir Robert Romer, Sir Robert Morant, Mr. Lawrence Currie, Mr. W. S. McCormick, Mr. G. B. Sargant and Mrs. Creighton. The second part of the report deals with the essentials of a University in a great centre of population. The weighty character of the Commission renders the opinions expressed very valuable, and in the light of the probability of modifications in our Indian Universities at some early date it is well that this Report should be carefully studied. The Report rejects wholly the idea so prevalent here that the end of a University Education is the attainment of a degree, it draws attention to the essential difference between school education and university education and it emphasises the points that should be kept in view in a real University.

LITERARY NOTICES AND NOTES.

Njal and Gunnar: A tale of Old Iceland. Re-told by H. Malim, M.A. Macmillan and Co. Price one shilling.

MR. MALIM has re-told in this little book what in our opinion is the most thrilling of all the Icelandic sagas. He has based his version on Sir G. W. Dasent's well-known translation, which is now available for all in 'Everyman's Library.' Mr. Malim has prefaced his book with a brief introduction on Iceland and its people and added a list of names; but we think that for Indian schools and colleges a good deal more help will be necessary to enable the student to feel at home in such a remote atmosphere. A simpler saga for beginners is the *Saga of Eric the Red*, or *The Finding of 'Wineland the Good.'*

Tamil Hymns with Tunes.—Edited by the Rev. H. T. Lazenby, 336 pages, octavo. Rs. 5. Christian Literature Society, Madras.

THIS is an edition of the well-known Union Tamil Hymn-book used throughout the whole of the Tamil districts of South India, with a tune for every hymn. The selection is admirable. The printing is well done. Every one who plays the organ or harmonium in a Tamil church or guild or Christian Endeavour meeting ought to have this book. It will do much to make the musical part of the service more helpful.

The Epistle to the Hebrews with notes.—By the Rev. Dr. Lazarus, 217 pages. Christian Literature Society, Madras.

DR. LAZARUS has prepared a brief commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews. The introduction deals with such matters as date, authorship, style, and is followed by a commentary on the text taken paragraph by paragraph. Dr. Lazarus mentions Westcott, Barnes, Farrar and Meyer as his chief authorities. Dr. Lazarus has compiled this handbook because he believes that the great lessons contained in the Epistle to the Hebrews 'will prove most beneficial at the present juncture when the doctrines and practice of the religion of Christ are claiming the undivided attention of all Indian Christians.'

Studies in the Lord's Prayer.—By the Rev. W. Stanley Dodd, 79 pages. Price 4 annas. Christian Literature Society.

THIS volume contains twelve expository addresses on the Lord's Prayer. Mr. Dodd means them specially to help those who have to preach to village congregations, but they will be of real service to any Tamil preacher, and might well be made the text-book for the devotional meetings of a Christian Endeavour Society or of a Bible Study Circle. They are practical in purpose and simple and direct in style.

Lectures on Style and Composition.—By E. Classen. Macmillan and Co.

THE aim of this book is to point out in some detail the chief characteristics of that expression of personality in writing which is called style, and to show the main principles of the ordered and clear enunciation of thought in literary composition. There are chapters on style, composition, the paragraph, the sentence, the order of words in a sentence, and on the qualities that should mark a sentence. Words, errors, punctuation and figures of speech are also discussed.

It is curious to note that in a very full discussion of punctuation, Mr. Classen does not mention the rule of the Oxford University Press that single 'quotes' are to be used for the first quotation and 'double quotes' for a quotation within a quotation. The omission of an index is also not to be justified. But the chapter on style is distinctly good; there is much useful exposition and advice throughout these lectures; the examples given are numerous and satisfactory; and the Indian student will find it a careful and helpful manual of ordinary English prose composition.

The Development of the British Empire. By M. Prothero, M.A. Macmillan and Co. 1917. Price four annas.

MR. PROTHERO has attempted to give in a booklet of eighty pages the growth of the British Empire, but we fear it is far too condensed and crowded to be a suitable reading-book. It is excellent as a little work of reference. The story of the development of the Empire is in reality a marvellous romance, but its extent is so great, and its ramifications so wide, that any attempt to compress the narrative into a few chapters leads to the making of a handbook of information rather than of a history. The booklet is published at the low price of four annas.

LITERARY NOTES.

ONE of the outstanding problems calling for settlement after the War will be the treatment of education. The cleavage between England and Germany is nowhere more acute than in this field; and experts are still far from agreement as to what, and how much, we need to learn from the enemy himself. A valuable review of the educational problem, in this large sense, is furnished in *Higher Education and the War* (Macmillans, 4s. 6d. nett), by Prof. Burnet, of St. Andrew's. We commend the book, which is in every way the work of one who knows.

AN amusing, but at the same time profoundly suggestive, product of the War is the secret Press of Belgium. The *Madras Mail* recently referred to the "rag" *Dictionnaire Boche*, by Dr. "Kolossal Kandidate." Those who wish to know more of the genesis and activity of this underground Press will find it set forth in a recently published French work, *La Presse Clandestine dans la Belgique Occupée*, by Jean Massart (Paris, Nancy: Berger-Levrault, 6 francs).

AN interesting account of General Botha's campaign in German South West Africa may be found in *A Doctor's Diary in Damaraland*

(Arnold, 7s. 6d. nett). The author, Dr. H. F. B. Walker, went through the campaign in charge of a field ambulance, and gives a vivid account of the courage and endurance by which the Germans were outmanoeuvred.

IN reviewing *The New Map of Africa* (The Century Company, \$2.00 nett), the *Times* reviewer takes up the question of the restitution of the German colonies after the War, and puts the matter from a point of view which we cordially approve. "The answer," he says, to the question, Is Germany to be readmitted to her old place, "depends on the view that is taken of African peoples. If they are regarded simply as fair game for Europeans, there is no more to be said than, if it pays to let Germany back into Africa, let her back. But, if a nobler and saner view prevails, that Europeans in Africa are, or ought to be, trustees, then the record of the present war cries out against handing over any non-German people, of any race or colour, to the tender mercies of Germany."

INDIAN readers will note with special interest the publication of an account of Sir Rabindranath Tagore's school at Bolpur, under the title *Shantiniketan*. It is the work of Mr. W. W. Pearson, one of the poet's English helpers, and is published by Macmillans (4s. 6d. nett). The *Times* concludes an appreciative review with the suggestion that Sir Rabindranath's experiment "is among those things which give ground for hope that when the latent forces in the Indian spirit have found their true scope India will . . . make its own unique contribution to the life of the world."

WE have, in previous numbers, referred to the valuable accounts of certain Roman provinces (Spain and Syria) written by Mr. E. S. Bouchier. He has now published another—*Sardinia in Ancient Times* (Blackwell, 5s. nett).

IT is with special interest that we note the publication of a volume of *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer, B.A., with a foreword by Sir S. Subrahmanya Aiyer (Rs. 5). Several of the papers here collected appeared first in the *Magazine*, and historical students should be grateful that they are now made accessible in book form.

THAT strange people, the Eskimo, still offers a good many puzzles to the historian and anthropologist. A valuable contribution to our knowledge of them is the Memoir (No. 14, Anthropological Series)

recently published by the Government Printing Bureau at Ottawa. It is by Mr. E. W. Hawkes, who has had experience of the Eskimo both in Alaska and Labrador, and bears the title, *The Labrador Eskimo*.

OUR readers may be interested in a recent literary transaction of a memorable character. The library of the late Professor Gwatkin was for sale; and it was decided to offer two important collections (250 books on Ecclesiastical History and rather more on Medieval History) *en bloc*. A lady wrote to the *Times* to suggest that some generous friend might buy one or both collections for the benefit of the library which is being formed in England to assist in the equipment of the restored University of Louvain after the war. This project has happily been executed, three generous donors having responded to the suggestion by telegram. A pleasing feature of the story is that the Ann Arbor University, of Michigan, who were first in the field, magnanimously waived their right of priority as soon as they knew that the two valuable collections were to be bought for Louvain.

SCIENCE NOTES.

A NOTE in *Nature* gives interesting particulars of work on antiseptics. One set depends upon hypochlorites. Professors Ritchie and Lorrain Smith commemorate in the name of their product *Ensol* its origin in Edinburgh University. Dr. Dakin has produced a solution bearing his name, which is widely used, and also paratoluene sulphochloramide, called in Europe *chloramine-T* and in America *chlorazine*. It is readily absorbed by textiles and so provides gauges of higher potency than were available before; and as it is non-toxic and less unpleasant in smell it is particularly useful in injuries to the face.

THE other group consists of dye-stuffs. It was Ehrlich who brought into prominence the idea that as microscopists use dyes for staining which are absorbed to very different extents by different structures, the proper dye-stuff (combined in his work as a rule with an inorganic poison such as arsenic) would give us the means of killing bacteria without damaging the tissues of the host. The most promising of these substances is one actually patented by Ehrlich under the name *trypaflavin* and now called *flavine*. While it is very fatal to bacteria, it leaves the phagocytes (white corpuscles) still active, and it gains in potency in the presence of serum. Other dyes, such as

malachite green, have been tried. A German surgeon is employing methylene blue (sometimes used in obstinate cases of malaria) and methyl violet, the latter of which is usually the better. As they are non-poisonous in the quantities used, they can be put inside a dirty wound, either in powder, or paste, and left there.

THE stainless table cutlery now advertised is made of steel containing up to 13 per cent. of chromium. Invar, an alloy of nickel and steel containing 36 per cent. of nickel, is well known as scarcely expanding at all with heat, and having a very constant rigidity. If the proportion of nickel is slightly increased (to 42 per cent.), the alloy has the same co-efficient of expansion as glass, and so is known as *platinite*.

RECENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

THE *Contemporary Review* for June opens with an article in which Mr. W. H. Dickinson, Chairman of the League of Nations Society, replies to some of the criticisms that have been directed against the proposal to establish a League of Nations for preserving peace. Mr. Dickinson remarks, in the first place, that those who originated the proposal are not so foolish as to suppose that they can set up a League of Nations complete in form, perfect in organisation, and ready to supply to order all the demands of the world for peace, justice, and security. But they do think that the state of public opinion after the present war will be such as to render it possible to take one further step forward towards the establishment of international arrangements better fitted for preserving peace than those which have existed hitherto. At the close of the War, there will be two factors in the situation which will be of assistance. In the first place the people of all nations will be sick of war, and in the second place there will be no money available for carrying on war.

Before going on to deal with criticisms of the scheme for establishing a League of Nations Mr. Dickinson explains briefly the main idea underlying it. It is proposed, he says, that the League consist of those nations who will agree that, if any dispute arises among them, they will in the first instance have recourse to some method of peaceful settlement or investigation before taking any forcible action, and every member of the League will bind itself to employ all its

economical and military forces jointly with the other members to compel the observance of this pledge. This means that any nation that breaks the peace in defiance of its agreement to submit its case for preliminary enquiry will find ranged against it the united forces of the League, whatever may be the rights and wrongs of that case. The question at once arises as to the kind of international machinery to be set up for the peaceful settlement of disputes. At present certain kinds of disputes are being successfully dealt with by arbitration, but there are other disputes for the settlement of which no attempt has yet been made to introduce machinery for mediation permanently into the social organization of the world. Mr. Dickinson proceeds to explain what his Society proposes to do in the matter, and then goes on to meet the criticisms that have been directed against the machinery proposed. Incidentally he replies to those who say that the Hague Court of Arbitration has failed. It failed to prevent the present war; but, says Mr. Dickinson, its constitution was not suited for such an emergency as arose in July, 1914, and it has actually settled a large number of international questions which might have led to war. It has done more; it has introduced to the world ideas of international justice and has proved to the nations that questions in dispute between them can be settled by peaceful methods. It has educated mankind to accept more readily more thorough and effective methods of dealing with international complications.

Among the objections taken to the proposals of the League of Nations Society is that they entail the use of force, and may therefore encourage militarism rather than discourage it. Mr. Dickinson replies to this objection, pointing out that it is puerile to expect the immediate disappearance of militarism from the earth. The problem is not so much how to abolish militarism as to prevent it from reasserting its supreme and ghastly power over civilised mankind.

Lord Charnwood contributes what he calls desultory reflections on 'America and the War.' He calls attention to the intensity of feeling which was called forth in England by the entrance of America into the struggle, and says there are probably some Americans who can hardly credit it. He has a good deal to say on America's delay in entering the war. Among the governing minds of America there was at the outset division of opinion as to the true significance of the events which were happening in Europe. And as in Britain there were the honest pacifists. America would not go to war while these were unconverted. Again there were those who seriously entertained the hope that America might after a while fulfil an intermediary mission. It is to their credit, says Lord Charnwood, that they did not let go this quite illusory hope. There was something entirely honour-

able also in the determination of the American Government not to be driven from the course it meant, if possible, to pursue by outrages which could possibly be counted as isolated acts, and it was not from insensibility but on simple Christian principle that flagrant insults to the nation were ignored. But when the German Government had completed its demonstration that it was actually at war against the fundamental notions of right which honest pacifists have all the while cherished more than peace itself, the very forces which had hitherto determined America to keep out of the War became by inexorable logic forces which will keep her in the War till the tremendous end is achieved.

Lord Charnwood calls attention to the fact that the American people is scattered over an enormous area as one of the causes of the slow interchange of ideas and to the American tradition of aloofness from European affairs as making the people slow to interfere in them. He remarks also that though the directing mind of America has fundamental things in common with the English mind, there is still a marked divergence of American and English tradition in things not quite so fundamental. This, he says, is due to the fact that the main lines of American life and character began to be traced long before the War of Independence. In conclusion, he would like Americans to understand that the Mother Country did not grudge them their independence much, that England is a home of democracy quite as effective as their own, and that Englishmen are not guilty of condescension towards them.

Mr. Noel Buxton deals with the very important question of 'The Destiny of the Turkish Straits.' The *Entente* is still officially pledged to 'the turning out of Europe of the Ottoman Empire as decidedly foreign to Western civilisation,' which has been generally understood to denote the Russian annexation of Constantinople, though the Revolution has quite changed the attitude of Russia towards the question. Surely, he says, now that the Russian Government, representing the views of its new-born democracy, has framed a foreign policy on totally new lines, the other members of the *Entente* must reconsider their attitude.

In order to throw light on the question of proposals for the future destiny of the Turkish Straits, Mr. Buxton sketches briefly the treaties and events relating to these Straits in the past. He remarks that there seems to have been an extraordinary lack of continuity in our Turkish policy, and recalls Russian declarations against any desire on her part for the acquisition of Constantinople. He also refers to Russian ambitions in that direction and the check which they received at Berlin in 1877, and to the continuous increase in recent years of

German influence in Turkey. He is of opinion that the objections to Russian annexation are as urgent to-day as they have ever been, and that the only guarantee of lasting peace is the destruction of the motive for Imperialist ambitions in the Near East by the establishment of some international system of control of the Straits. He agrees with Sir Edwin Pears in thinking that a free, international Constantinople is the only solution of the problem. He says there are several precedents for international action, and gives interesting details regarding the operation of the European Commission of the Danube, the Council established for the International Administration of the Ottoman Debt, and the organisation for the joint British and French Government of the New Hebrides. The Straits must be controlled by an administration which will be supreme in the territory on both shores and as far inland as is necessary to safeguard the strategic position. The success of the plan of internationalisation depends, he is ready to admit, on the inauguration of a League of Nations which would automatically remove the reasons for national rivalry and intrigue.

In an article entitled 'The World War and the Small States,' Mr. Johan Castberg calls attention to the immediate moral effect which the German invasion of Belgium had on the people of Great Britain. In the long run, he says, Britain would have been unable to keep outside a war in which France was to be crushed, but so strong was the will for peace that it would have been some time before she would have thrown herself into a world war for the sake of France. But the invasion of Belgium, contrary to an agreement to which she and Germany were parties, aroused the moral indignation of the nation and made it demand the immediate declaration of war. Mr. Castberg alludes to the outrages which the small neutral powers have had perforce to suffer and appeals to the powers that have command of the seas to make their burdens as light as possible. He says emphatically that Britain's sea power has not been abused, and that she has maintained the freedom of the seas.

Dr. Walter Kidd in an article entitled 'Undesigned Experiments' shows how man, intent upon immediate values and reaching them by empirical methods, has been the active agent in many experiments which have, on the one hand, fortified some existing doctrine, and, on the other, led up to certain new discoveries. By reference to the various means which man has employed for the preservation of organic substances, the circumstances relating to the discovery of the cause of puerperal fever, vaccination, homoeopathy, mutilations, and the organic changes brought about by the use of harness on horses, he shows that a few undesigned experiments by man have taught or

fortified the doctrines of the germ-theory of disease, the septic origin of puerperal fever, the doctrine of biogenesis, the value of the *vis medicatrix nature*, and of suggestion as an aid to medicine, and have made two contributions, one positive and the other negative, towards the controversy regarding the inheritance of acquired characters.

The Rev. Willard L Sperry writes on 'Orthodoxy and Heresy in the New Day.' Whatever else the War has done, it has shifted the whole centre of our religious thinking from the speculative and critical problems of our religion to its practical problems. Whereas formerly we were chiefly concerned with efforts to define the inspiration of the Bible, to discover what happened at the Resurrection, to decide how far miracles can be squared with modern science, to propose some new psychological doctrine of the divinity of Jesus, we are now wrestling with such questions as these:—What exactly did Jesus mean when he said that we are not to resist evil but are to overcome evil with good, and that we are to go out of our way in advance to be reconciled with our brother and to love our enemies; and how do these injunctions relate themselves to the particular problems with which we are to-day confronted?

Sir Courtenay Ilbert gives an interesting account of Sir William Sleeman's *Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official*, a book which he recommends for the study of Indian civilians and of aspirants to that position. Mr. W. M. J. Williams writes on 'Parliament and Expenditure,' urging the necessity for better control over expenditure, and suggesting the appointment of a Committee of the House of Commons, with instructions to report with all possible despatch on financial proposals; and Mr. Eustace Miles deals with 'The Economics of Personal Energy,' pointing out how essential it is, in view of the terrible losses caused by the War, that those who are left should know how to develop their powers and how to use these powers to the best possible advantage. Mr. Ernest Betham discusses a scheme that has been proposed for the better housing of agricultural labourers; and Mr. Joseph Cowen writes as a strong advocate of 'The Jewish Claim to Palestine.' 'O. de L.' contributes the second instalment of his article on Poland, and Mr. A. W. G. Randall has an article on 'The German War and the German Poets.' The literary output in Germany during the present war has been tremendous, Mr. Randall says, and while much of the poetry written is of the jingo description, there are many signs that militarism has not entirely conquered German intellectuals. To the Literary Supplement, which contains reviews of some interesting books and which concludes the number, Mr. J. E. G. de Montmorency contributes a short article entitled 'The New Schoolhouse.'

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER.

THE May number of *The Nineteenth Century* seems to reflect in many ways the high hopes which were entertained in England last April that the War would be over this year, hopes which might well have been realized but for the Russian Revolution. The first article, by Dr. Arthur Shadwell, *Towards the End*, is a warning against too exuberant optimism on this point. Dr. Shadwell's articles are always remarkably interesting, and this is one of the best he has contributed to this review during the War. His line of argument is that Germany has admitted the impossibility of victory, but she is still a long way from admitting defeat. He points out that the present situation on land is completely contrary to the traditional and entirely sound doctrine of the German General Staff that the 'business of an army is to attack.' Nowhere on any land front is Germany or any of her allies attacking; the fundamental function of an army is being performed only by her enemies. This argues that Germany believes victory on land to be out of the question. But what about the sea? On this point Dr. Shadwell is most illuminating. He points out that what Germany now wants is peace on as favourable terms as possible in order to be in a position of advantage in a second attack. She realizes that her only enemy capable at the moment of continuing the War single-handed, if need be, is England. Consequently she cannot hope for a peace which would ward off her own defeat until England is willing to negotiate. She does not hope to defeat the British Navy by submarinism, but to destroy British trade, and to reduce the merchant navy to such dimensions as to cause the British Government to consider proposals for an armistice to repair losses. The submarine campaign is simply a preliminary to negotiations for a German peace, that is to be an inconclusive peace. The all-important question is, can Germany attain her end by this means. The article thinks not, on one condition, namely that everyone supports the Government without strikes and without waste. As always in these calculations the dominating factor is time. If Germany is given time she might do her work, but the only thing that can give her the necessary time, say two and a half years more, is dissension at Home. On the other hand, the entry of America into the War has practically nullified her chances. It is probable that Germany hoped to do in nine months what it would take three years to do, and in consequence took the risk of war with America. As things are, with discipline the losses of the merchant navy can be much more than replaced before the period at which they would become serious.

The Russian Revolution: a Review by an Onlooker, by Mr. John

Pollock, is an extremely interesting article. It is probably one of the most difficult of human tasks to write an unbiassed account of a Revolution. Mr. Pollock has not done this, but he has come very near to it, and his predispositions are perfectly clear and are kept apart from the story of the facts. He was in Petrograd from March 8th to 16th, the revolutionary period, and he gives a clear account of what happened. The bloodlessness of the Revolution is clearly a myth. Its success was due entirely to the amazing incompetence combined with a still more astonishing self-esteem of the Minister of the Interior. This person, named Petropopov, used the gendarmes against the troops, and made the defensive dispositions in such a way that it was easy to overcome the isolated parties of police.

Mr. Pollock is emphatic in declaring that the Revolution was not during the first two days anti-dynastic in any sense. The wildly repressive measures of the Minister of the Interior caused violent rioting, involving mutinies among the soldiers. This situation called for strong measures, which the Duma besought the Tsar to take. All news was however kept from him by a Pro-German gang of officials until too late. The Duma was forced into an unconstitutional sitting which involved a political revolution.

The concluding part of the article deals with Mr. Pollock's forebodings for Revolutionary Russia, forebodings which have been more than fulfilled. Nothing but the tact of the Government and Duma seems to have averted a breach with the 'Workmen's and Soldier's Deputies,' a body whose one object is to end the War, destroy discipline and ruin industry. One cannot help writing bitterly of these people who have virtually murdered so many British, French and Italian troops on the other fronts, by forcing the Russian Government to remain inactive. It is with immense relief that we learn from the article that the Provisional Government have no responsibility whatever for the anarchical passivism of the mob leaders.

Mr. Ellis Barker has contributed an article on the question *Will Germany follow Russia's example?* Mr. Ellis Barker knows more about modern Germany than most people, and he is a very attractive writer. It is, therefore, well worth while to read what he says. His thesis is that Germany is really very democratic and is likely to throw off the Hohenzollern yoke. To prove this he appeals to history: to Tacitus and Luther. The Lutheran Reformation is recommended to us as a democratic work, and so is the Peasants' Revolt, but Mr. Barker does not treat of the relation between the two. There have been German democrats, but many more German nationalists; history seems to show that Germans are far better imperialists of a certain absolutist type than democrats.

FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.

DR. DILLON writes on the 'Russian Upheaval.' It is the first complete victory of social democracy, and Russia may take the lead in experimental socialism; she will burst conventional shackles, for the Russian is naturally generous, and has a horror of limitations. The Revolution has not come about from a desire to end the War; it was due in August or September 1914. The ferments supplied by the press, the schools, the professions, the Zemstvos, the factories, had done their work.

The end of each great war has been marked by internal reform. At the end of the Napoleonic Wars, Alexander I promised free institutions from the throne; the promise was not fulfilled, but it served as an inspiration. Nicholas I, was a strong reactionary, but the Crimean War forced Alexander II to set free the serfs, allot them communal land, purify the administration of justice, and create the Zemstvos or county councils. These changes he brought in with great, perhaps too great, discretion.

They did not satisfy the progressive party, some of whom desired parliamentary government, others more land for the peasants. The dictator, Loris Melikoff, whom the Tsar appointed to relieve himself of responsibility advised the summoning of a dummy parliament; on the day the Tsar signed the decree he was assassinated.

Alexander III was a reactionary; the press was severely censored, schools were shut, certain sects were proscribed, and the Universities turned into government departments: but he had the strength of will for the task. Nicholas II, his son, showed himself to be a man of great personal charm, considerable intelligence, and a retentive memory; "but he was deficient in will-power, wholly devoid of a sense of the fitness of things, and incapable of fully grasping the law of causality." He lacked even the courage to express his thoughts; on the same day were published two rescripts, one conferring on M. Kokofftseff the title of Count for the valuable services he had rendered the country and the other accusing him of having allowed the state finances to drift into a hopeless muddle. Ministers learnt from the *Gazette* that they had asked and obtained permission to resign for reasons of health.

The War with Japan and the revolutionary movement that followed exposed the Tsar's weaknesses. While publicly and sincerely proclaiming his love of peace, he adhered to a policy which forced Japan into war, a policy, too, not in the interests of the State, so much as that of certain chartered companies. "While professing to conduct the campaign with vigour, he prescribed measures which

rendered defeat a dead certainty. Before deciding to entertain peace proposals, he first obtained the written opinions of his principal generals and statesmen and then disregarded them—rightly in my judgment, but quite wrongly in his own. At last he sent Count Witte to Portsmouth to make a treaty with Japan, and never forgave him for accomplishing the task." Then, when the Revolution was breaking out, he could scarcely depend upon his army, for he had steadily kept away from it; he delayed sending for Count Witte till it was almost too late, and then intrigued with Witte's rivals to have the constitution changed. (One cannot but be reminded of Charles I).

But the Liberal leaders were almost as foolish. Count Witte sent Dr. Dillon to secure their support; Witte could consolidate the constitution, and thus prevent reaction; his rule would be a useful transition to democratic government proper: but they saw in him only a bureaucrat, and refused to help.

When the reaction came, the Tsar encouraged the worse elements among his supporters, and discouraged the most reputable; so when the Revolution came in March, it found none to support the Tsar. The officers were in accord with the Duma, and the soldiers sick with the neglect of their needs, ammunition, food and clothing. Many in the Church were scandalised or embittered by the nomination, at Rasputin's instigation, of ignorant and unworthy monks to the principal episcopal sees.

As the Revolution progressed, the Council of Workers and of the Army gradually gained power at the expense of the Committee of the Duma.

COLLEGE NOTES.

Now that the order of the Madras Government prohibiting students taking part in political meetings is being assailed in some sections of the Press as unnecessary, undesirable, and unwise, while other sections regard it as none too early in coming, it may do good to recall the utterance on the general subject of Students and Politics, of an Indian political leader whose premature death has removed some of those internal restraints in the public life of the country, which prevented love of liberty from degenerating into love of licence. In July 1911 when the late Mr. Gokhale visited Madras, the students of the local colleges combined to do him the honour of presenting him with an address enclosed in a silver casket. What did Mr. Gokhale do to express his gratitude to the young men who had in the fullness of their generous

enthusiasm gathered round him? Did he content himself with returning compliment for compliment? Did he speak sweet words of self-satisfying idealism? Did he indulge in flattery? No. He took up for his address a theme on which he knew a good number of his young friends at the time differed from him and dealt with it in a spirit of fairness and candour which only sincere regard can inspire. Since his death in 1915 Mr. Gokhale has become a kind of patron saint whose picture hangs in many a student's room, and one may suppose that his words spoken on that occasion have not lost their power of appeal. We therefore reproduce here a summary of the speech as published in our pages at the time.

At this meeting Mr. Gokhale took the opportunity to define the exact limits within which the interest of students in the controversies which agitated grown-up members of their community should be confined—a subject on which there is no public in India who could address his younger contemporaries with greater, not to say equal, authorities. Mr. Gokhale was an educationist before he gave himself up to the service of the public. The transition from the professorial chair to the public platform and the council chamber was in his case so gradual and inevitable as to constitute a natural evolution and his activities as a politician have never ceased to be inspired by educational aims. Speaking, then, with the double authority of an educationist and a political reformer, Mr. Gokhale pointed out that youth was the period of glowing enthusiasm and of generous sentiments and nothing was more easy than to exploit this generous enthusiasm for partisan purposes. But students should be on their guard lest they fall an easy prey to persons whose first care is not their welfare. They should remember that those who do really care for them and undergo no little sacrifice on their account, go through all this trouble designedly and of set purpose that their wards may be enabled to live, if only for a short time, a life sheltered from all the worries and anxieties which it is their own lot to endure, a life sheltered from the necessity of having to form practical judgments on current affairs and to act upon them with a sense of responsibility for the consequences. This provision on the part of parents made it obligatory on their sons to keep out of the way of all movements calculated to divert them from the pursuit of knowledge and the attainment of a high character. First of all, said Mr. Gokhale, they had to lay by a store of knowledge which not merely would suffice to meet university requirements but would help them in later life. Then there was another requisite, namely, character. It was almost a truism to say that more depended on character for success in life than even on knowledge, but he would urge them to attach as much importance to character as to

knowledge. And since, even if they acquired a fairly high character while at school or college, it was not always easy for them to retain that character in later life because they were sure to be acted upon by those around them, it was very desirable that they should attain a particularly high level of character during student days. One of the means by which this character could be realised was through co-operation with fellow students for well approved ends. After twenty-five years in public life, Mr. Gokhale did not hesitate to say that if Indians were deficient in one quality more than another it was in that instinct and habit of co-operation of which the foundation could be laid in them only during school or college days. Another element in the formation of character was submission to discipline, whether imposed by the will of parents, of teachers or of the rulers of the land. One of the finest traditions of the East was obedience to parents, and reverence to teachers, and Mr. Gokhale would regard it as nothing less than a national calamity if this tradition was to be seriously weakened in this land. No student, in Mr. Gokhale's view, was justified in doing anything to which his teacher took exception. It was often said that the present relations between pupils and teachers were purely mercenary. This, said Mr. Gokhale, was not only a wrong but a disastrous view to take. For if it were a right view whence would come that true spirit of discipline which subordinated personal gain or glory to the common good, and which, next to co-operation, was so invaluable, nay, so indispensable for healthy public life? Was not the disruption of public movements in this country due in many cases to the absence of this true spirit of discipline? There was nothing degrading to the individual in submitting to the will of recognised leaders. Restraint voluntarily and cheerfully submitted to added dignity and strength to one's nature.

PROCEEDING to define the right attitude of students towards the Government, Mr. Gokhale said that they owed a duty to the rulers, to the Government who were the supreme authority over them all. The time would come when they might have to criticize and judge the actions of Government. As a matter of fact, when they had finished their studies and had to set up for themselves in life, it not only would be permitted to them but would be their duty to pass such criticisms. *But they must bide their time.* It was no part of their work as students to criticize those who were above them. Students, with their generous minds and unsophisticated hearts, naturally fell an easy prey to the stirrings of emotion, but that very circumstance unfitted them, to some extent, for exercising an independent and

careful judgment on current affairs. While they were students their attitude to the Government of the country, such as it might be, good, bad or indifferent, should be one of acquiescence, passive, loyal acquiescence, and they should do nothing whereby their relations with the authorities would be disturbed. They might study all public questions, but must wait for their time to come to play the part of critics. Recent experience had shown that the participation of students in public movements tended to produce three undesirable results. It tended to discredit higher education in the eyes of those who had the control of higher education in their hands. It embarrassed all responsible leaders of public movements. It created an uneasy feeling of suspicion and insecurity among the ruling classes.

They owed it to themselves, said Mr. Gokhale, to see that a handle was not put into the hands of men interested in running down the spread of higher education. They might take it from him that, so far as their leaders were concerned, they were more embarrassed than benefited by the exuberance of their enthusiasm. The enthusiasm of students was a delightful thing to contemplate when it did not hamper their leaders. Again, they would find that, even when they were not actually pulling the other way, very often the association of students with public movements enabled critics to cry down such movements. So far from strengthening public movements, they actually weakened them by participating in them. In any movements in which either their parents or their teachers or the authorities generally had any objection to their participating for the present, students were bound to submit to restriction. During the last few years the tendency had been most marked for students in almost all parts of the country to indulge in criticisms against Government of a somewhat excited character. Nothing but failure could follow such action. Some temporary purpose might be served; some strong opinion might be conveyed to Government; but this little advantage was secured at a very heavy cost.

THEY must bide their time: this was the burden of Mr. Gokhale's message to the students of Madras. Not that they owed no duty to the outside world at present. There was a great deal of injustice, suffering and want which called for remedy, and the time would soon come when they should do their share of the work of remedying these evils. And it was not wise that they should enter the world perfectly ignorant of the conditions existing around them. There was plenty of scope for their intellectual and moral energies if they would apply themselves immediately to the task of studying the needs of the people, their conditions and their struggles, and cultivate the habit

of practical sympathy. The saying that the *students* of a country are its future hope was specially true in India where those who had come under the influence of modern education were comparatively few. It was, therefore incumbent upon Indian students to take advantage of the opportunity given them and equip themselves for the work that lay before them. Upon whatever career they might ultimately be led into they should bring to bear all their enthusiasm, their spirit of discipline and co-operation, and that character and knowledge which Mr. Gokhale hoped they would strengthen themselves with in their student days. At present what they should do was to study carefully, read widely, observe accurately, and ponder deeply; and when the time for them to form their judgment arrived, they should judge wisely.

We wrote at the time that there was no doubt that Mr. Gokhale's address had made a profound impression on the student mind of Madras. "Every one present felt that he spoke as a constructive statesman with his eye fixed on the present and future welfare both of his youthful auditors and of the country at large; and he unfolded his views with such frank reasonableness that if ever there was in Madras the danger of students failing to see the wisdom of abstaining from participation in public movements that danger has been dispelled for many a long day to come." Such was our hope then,—a hope which was on a fair way to fulfilment. Nor are we now without hope that as the result of co-operation on the part of parents, teachers and the State, if not publicists also, students will remain students and not become practical politicians.

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*THE DREW LECTURE ON IMMORTALITY.**

By T. D. SULLY, B.A. (Oxon),

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY A. W. DAVIES, M.A.

My first word this evening must be to congratulate the Drew Society, of which I have the honour to be Patron, on the happy thought which has prompted the special form in which this second celebration of the anniversary of Mr. Drew's death is being observed. Last year after a brief ceremony in this Hall we walked in solemn procession to the cemetery, and after a short service laid our flowers on his grave. But we could not hope that the feeling of personal love and reverence which dictated that procession could long continue in a society shifting so rapidly as a College, and it is therefore peculiarly fitting that we should find this other way of perpetuating the memory of one who left so deep a mark on the College and the lives of those who knew him here.

For the subject of to-night's lecture is one which the death of Mr. Drew pressed upon us with insistent force. There are men to whom the grave is the quiet end of a slow descent—there are those for whom it is the happy release from a withered, blighted life. But there are others (and they are passing to-day in their thousands on the battlefields of this grim war) who are cut off with the promise of great achievement unrealised—men who have lived long enough to let us know how deep our loss is. Such a man was Professor Drew. Behind him lay that strange experience in South India—fourteen years in the most orthodox Hindu College of Madras (Pachaiappa's), and at the last its

* Delivered at St. John's College, Agra, on September 7, 1916, and reprinted by permission from the *St. John's College Magazine*.

Principal—a period in which he had fought his way from an open sympathy with Hindu religious ideals and practices, through Theosophy, to an ever clearer profession of faith in the great Christian verities—a profession so open and fearless that it cost him his place in the College and sent him back to England with no knowledge of how he should support his wife and family.

All that was behind him, and then came his call to St. John's. He joined the College in October, 1912. On September 7, 1914, he died of enteric fever in the Thomson Hospital. Students of both Colleges accompanied his body to its grave in the little cemetery by St. Paul's Church.

St. John's has seen the death of many of its staff during the past few years, but no death has left so deep a mark as his. For with him came a new conception of what teaching, and in particular the teaching of Philosophy, might be. Judged merely by his skill in preparing students for examination his gifts were extraordinary; yet that was the least remarkable of his powers. He evoked in his students a passionate love of sincerity and truth, which was a dim reflection of his own. Impatient, fearless, outspoken, he won their confidence and their love, and it was rare to see him without a group of students about him, whether in College or in his bungalow or in the open street. His influence was felt in the University. He changed the character of the logic examination, and threw himself enthusiastically into the work of the Philosophy Board. The fame of the philosophy teaching of St. John's was known throughout the University, and a young and inexperienced Principal felt that the success of the College was assured with such a giant on the staff.

And at a stroke he fell. Eager to the last he dictated his University papers to me before I took him to the Hospital; and there, after a struggle for life for a few weeks, he died in calm and peace.

He left the College widowed; and our meeting this evening is testimony to the impression which his death made upon it. The thought uppermost in many minds then and now is this—Where has that boundless energy gone to? He who believed with all his heart in a great purpose, did his own death only prove the futility of all his grand beliefs? It cannot be. Here, if ever, is one of whom Stevenson's splendid words are in full measure true, "Death was not suffered to take so much as an illusion from his heart. In the hot fit of life, a-tip-toe on the highest point of

being, he passed at a bound on to the other side. The noise of the mallet and chisel was scarcely quenched, the trumpets were hardly done blowing, when, trailing with him clouds of glory, this happy-starred, full-blooded spirit shot into the spiritual land."

Those who would know more of his life will find in the October issue of the *St. John's College Magazine* of 1914 something of what a printed page can tell. They will see a picture of Mr. Drew faced by the moving poem which was composed by Maulvi Ali Ahmed Khan, and which was read at his grave. Then there is the beautiful appreciation in which, under the name of 'a student of Philosophy,' Professor Mark records his impressions of Mr. Drew as a teacher and a man; and finally there is the eloquent sketch of his life from the pen of Mr. Raju under the title of "My Master." These and his philosophy books are his memorial, and this Society which bears his name. I trust that this evening's ceremony marks the inauguration of a series of annual lectures on the subject of Immortality, and I have great pleasure in calling upon Mr. Sully to deliver the first.

IMMORTALITY.

SOMEWHERE about the beginning of the fourth century B.C., a year or two after the death of Socrates, we are told of a conversation between two men of little note in a city of Southern Greece. The great Peloponnesian War, which had convulsed the ancient western world, was already a thing of the past, and Athenians were beginning once more to indulge their fondness for travel even in the enemy's country. So that in the little town of Phlius, where only vague rumours had arrived hitherto from Athens, Phaedo the Athenian might be heard narrating to an old friend the details of that last day spent with Socrates in the Athenian prison house. That narrative—and the name of Phaedo with which it is associated—is famous, for it is the greatest contribution of the ancient world to the problem before us this evening. Yet I think it would be true to say that what the world treasures is not so much the arguments which Socrates is said to have given for the immortality of the soul—few but scholars could tell you much about them: but it is that figure of a man who claimed that philosophy had given him and could give to his companions in the hour of death a sure confidence and hope. That figure has always caught the imagination of the world.

Do you remember the message which he sent on that last day to his poet friend Evenus of Paros—Evenus who imparted virtue at 5 annas a day? "Tell this to Evenus," he said to Cebes, "and bid him be of good cheer: say that I would have him come after me if he be a wise man, and not tarry; and that to-day I am likely to be going, for the Athenians say I must." And he goes on to explain to his wondering circle of friends how philosophy should make a man willing to die.

So in the minds of many of us to-day there arises that figure of our Master, Eric Drew, who left us two years ago, appealing to us perhaps with far more weight than philosophic arguments. Yet may we not claim that somewhat of that quiet and simple confidence in God and in the reason which God has given us, was a fruit of philosophy?

How then does philosophy contribute towards this attitude towards death? That is my subject, and in such a many sided and much discussed subject as that of immortality, it is necessary to mark out sharply the course I propose to pursue. I am not dealing to-night with the special contributions of religion, vital though they be to the subject and inseparable from a complete treatment of it; nor do I propose to speculate on the particular nature of the future state; but I wish simply to consider what philosophy has to say on the universal hope that physical death is not the end of the persons whom we knew.

Philosophy has had a good deal to say on the subject, and at first sight the prospect is not encouraging, for the philosopher seems to the ordinary reader to talk in an unknown tongue about things of which he has no comprehension, instead of giving a straight answer to his question. I may illustrate my meaning from the *Phaedo* itself. We find there first an argument, perhaps only half serious in Plato's mind, based on the idea that everything takes its origin in alternation from its opposite, heat from cold, waking from sleeping, and so on. So, Socrates concludes, as death follows life, so also must life take its origin from death. Again the essence of the soul is life, the soul is the only thing which moves itself, or the soul is not susceptible to external forces but only to its proper evil, vice—such are some of the reasons which are given to show that the soul must survive the destruction of the bodily organism. And then we have the peculiar argument from "reminiscence" to prove a previous existence, and thus indirectly a future one. We all possess

certain universal principles of thought which cannot be given to us by experience. How do we come by them, reasons Plato, unless by the process of remembering the lessons of a previous life?

In modern times we find similar arguments bereft of the human interest of the Phaedo and producing still less conviction. Mendelssohn, the contemporary of Kant, argued that because the soul was a simple substance it must be incapable of dissolution, much for the same reason that a true chemical element must be regarded as indestructible.

You remember that when such arguments as these had been put with all the charm and persuasiveness of Socrates and with all the influences of the occasion, Simmias, and Plato I think through him, confesses that he cannot help feeling uncertain in his own mind, when he thinks "of the greatness of the subject and the feebleness of man." Why is it that these arguments and others like them have always failed to bring conviction? Surely it is largely because we feel all the time that the philosopher is talking about something which neither he nor anyone else knew. The criticism is by no means true of all Plato's argument, but undoubtedly is of a good deal. We knew Mr. Drew, some of us, but who ever knew this simple essence, living indeed and moving itself, and carrying along somehow with it an odd collection of ideas or universal truth from life to life, but in itself simple and indestructible? Do we really care very much whether such an impersonal essence is eternal or not? Can we face the empiricist or the Kantian critic who demands what business we have at all to talk about that of which we have neither experience nor knowledge?

Now I do not wish to talk of abstractions here, but, taking the very concrete human personality which we all know but find it hard enough to define, I shall seek to sketch out the lines along which modern metaphysics must answer the problem. The scientist investigates some chosen aspect or part of a man—his physical constitution, or his life; the metaphysician, on the other hand, should take man as a whole, in the whole of his context—the real world; but both must agree in one fundamental assumption, *viz.*, that their subject matter is explicable and intelligible—that however strange its riddles may appear, they have an answer, and an answer which is wholly rational. A denial of this assumption in any department of thought would plunge us

into universal scepticism. In the nature of the case, though we may be able to give good reasons why *we* cannot yet solve the riddle, we could give no reason why one part of the universe were irrational and not the rest. But we cannot be consistent sceptics and live; in our lightest word and most trivial action we shall practically adopt this assumption which in theory we deny. Our word conveys a meaning and our act seeks an end in a universe which has no meaning and admits of no purpose. Really therefore the metaphysician only differs from the ordinary man in seeking to carry out the consequences of this assumption more thoroughly into every corner of his thought.

Now in the case before us what has to be explained is a man—and that, we should notice, is not merely a person that feels and thinks and acts in certain particular ways, but one who acts and thinks in relation to consciously realised principles and standards. We ask, was Plato's system true? is the Taj Mahal really beautiful? was Arjun right in fighting at Kurukshetra? and though we may hesitate to give an answer, we all understand what is meant by the question. The question would never be asked, if the only answer possible were that it seems to *A* true, but to *B* false; to *C* good, and to *D* bad. There must *be* but one answer to each of these questions—an answer in terms not merely of what *seems* to you or to me beautiful or good, but of what *is* beautiful and good—a standard implied in all our converse, however little we may have thought out what it means. This standard is absolute and independent of time; if Arjun *was* right then his act stands as eternally right in this world history.

I am not, of course, claiming that there is an absolute truth in an incomplete human system of thought, or absolute goodness in a single act taken out of its context of time and place; but that we could not thus judge the relative truth and beauty and goodness of things were there no absolute standard to which they may be relative. It is this very contrast between the standard and the actual finite achievement which forces us to take the next step in the argument. How are we to explain this faculty for appreciating the absolute and of achieving partial successes relative to it, when we find it in a creature cut off from anything but the veriest fragment of realisation of it? There must be a standard—a perfection which completes these fragments.

Where is this completion to be found? Undoubtedly the answer must be, "in God." We are following the lines of the

great ontological argument for the existence of God, (which should be familiar to those of us who heard Mr. Raju last year), when we demand that these supreme and eternal standards of value require their perfect realisation in the supreme and eternal God. But the argument must carry us further. How, we must ask, does a completeness in God solve the problem of the incompleteness in man? When my watch has stopped for lack of mainspring, the fact that your watch is perfect does not put things right, though it may provide a standard of comparison and reveal what is missing if I did not know it before.

If human personality is to be explained fully, we need a completion not outside and contrasted with him, but of his own nature; for these standards are such that he must claim them as the truth and fulfilment of his own being. This is the general basis for metaphysical argument for immortality, the most prominent form being that which takes the aspect of the incompleteness within the finite human life of moral retribution. But broadly stated in this form it leaves open the question whether the completeness is to be sought in the human individual or the human race. Is it the beauty, the truth, and the goodness which must be preserved and achieved perhaps by an infinite succession of passing individuals; or is it the beautiful individual character, the true man and the good citizen himself, wherever he may be found?

Modern philosophy does not leave us in any doubt as to the answer to be given to this difficulty. The whole trend of thought has been towards the recognition of the supreme worth of the concrete personality—beside which beauty, truth and goodness are mere abstractions. And if it is the society of the good and true, rather than goodness and truth, which is to be the goal, then personality has to be conserved, and we cannot explain why one personality should be sacrificed as a mere means of attaining another. It is not sufficient now to say that evolution in the universe and in the race is leading up to such a perfect consummation that the final and perfect man will be and know himself perfect. For the end is the end of the process, and its perfection cannot be separated from the process. There are values in the process itself which would be lost on such a view.

But our hope of immortality does not rest solely on the recognition of our incompleteness. What real right have we to expect completeness? We shall approach the subject from another

point of view. If we may claim that God, however He may transcend the grasp of our finite understanding, is yet rendering Himself intelligible to us in a rational world, so that we may bring to our thought about Him the ordinary demands of our reason, then, I think, we may see a manifest inconsistency in any conception of God which leaves Him as a solitary subject of intellectual or aesthetic appreciation.

Let us consider the case of Truth first. It is not sufficient for an objective system, a scientific explanation for example, to be consistent within itself. Many an illusion may be consistent so far as it goes, and even if it goes throughout the whole universe and becomes all that is, this extension of consistency will not of itself make it possible to distinguish the system as true from illusion. To differentiate the truth of reality from the consistent illusion, the only ultimate appeal is to a sharing of it; and this is not merely a convenient test which we all use in practice when we distrust our own senses, but I believe that we shall always find that it is only when consistent thought is communicated from one person to another, whether through the symbolism of word or of orderly created universe, that we can strictly talk of truth and reality. But if this is so, I think that we may dare to apply this even to the case of supreme Intelligence, and claim that if the supreme Intelligence is to be intelligible, he cannot know and appreciate in solitary isolation. There can be no "truth" or "reality" in a solitary Absolute. And I would appeal to the history of thought for confirmation, where we see the inevitable tendency of absolutism, whether in the system of Sankaracharya or of Spinoza, to leave the world an illusion.

In the case of aesthetic values the difficulty I encounter is to separate the aesthetic altogether from the other aspects of value. So far as this may be done it might seem perhaps that the artist and his creation, united in the aesthetic intuition, form a unity independent of aught else. Yet I feel too that there is a deep truth in the dissatisfaction symbolised for us in the story of Pygmalion—the desire of the artist that his statue, perfect though it may be, live and breathe and come to know and reciprocate the love he has for it. The perfection of creative art is attained when in God we have the unity of creation and Fatherhood, a unity to which the whole creation leads.

When we turn to the case of moral value, the truth of the

view is too obvious to need labouring—goodness being essentially a matter of the relation of person to person, the outgoing of one in loving service to another. History again confirms us by showing how absolutism would deny morality to the deity or to the perfection of man, as though by the dualism implied in the moral relation it were inadequate for such high purposes.

In each case, then, we see that where God is regarded as an Absolute, One without a Second, complete Reality gathered into a Unit with no differences, there it becomes impossible to find in Him, or rather in It, either truth, beauty, or goodness: these categories are left a meaningless illusion. But if these categories are the highest terms which reason possesses—terms which relate themselves directly to God as the supremely perfect Being—then we must conclude that God cannot be alone, nor even alone with a lifeless creation. Are we to say then that the human soul is necessarily eternal, a necessity without which even God Himself could not be? Can we lift ourselves in impious self-confidence, and dare God to destroy us? Our God is then left to us superior indeed, but not supreme—a mere super-soul in a pluralistic universe. Such a conclusion must force us back to reconsider our thought about God.

The alternative to this unbearable and blasphemous conclusion, the only solution that I know, is to be found in that doctrine, hard indeed to grasp, yet a strange light in these dark speculations, the doctrine of the Trinity. God Himself, the Three in One, is from all eternity both Knower and Known, Lover and Loved; and only thus can we satisfy reason's demands that those great standards of Truth, Beauty and Goodness shall be absolute and eternally real—that in our highest judgment we are not vainly raising an illusion, but sharing in the divine reason.

Where then do we leave human immortality? No longer as a matter of necessity—as a right to be claimed from the Almighty; and yet surely none the less certain, but rather more. For if *such* a God, not of necessity or for anything that He lacked in Himself, but of His infinite Grace, has made us for Himself, giving to us to share here and now in that wonderful union of the spiritual reality with its eternal values, can we doubt that such sharing is destined to be eternal? can such infinite Grace be cut short by death? And then for him too, our master, Eric Drew, because we know that he held communion

with those eternal realities, we may rest assured that he still is and will be, with that passionate truth and beautiful goodness that we saw in him, when to us too it may be given by the Grace of God to join with him in that fuller realisation and consummation of our hopes.

FOUR ELIZABETHAN DOMESTIC TRAGEDIES.

BY K. C. MACARTNEY, M.A.

MUCH has been written upon Elizabethan Domestic Tragedy as a most interesting isolated phenomenon, and as such it well repays study. But of late years it is gradually becoming recognized that Domestic Tragedy has a counterpart in what may be called, for want of a better name, Bourgeois Comedy. Under this head should be included the most notable work of Dekker, the figure of Candido in *The Honest Whore*, and the play by which he is best known, *A Shoemaker's Holiday*. To this genre Heywood has also made considerable contributions, in such plays as *The Four Prentices of London*, *The Fair Maid of the West*, and so forth. Because his name will be mentioned later on in this article, we may here add to the group William Rowley's *A Shoemaker a Gentleman*.

With Shakespeare as almost the sole exception, Elizabethan Drama seems to have followed the classical tradition, as distinct from the classical models, much more closely than is sometimes admitted. It attained a marvellously complete portrayal of the life of the times, by the representation of typical characters, more or less skilfully disguised. Of course, all are agreed about Jonsonian comedy and the imitative work of the school of Jonson. This was not, however, confined to comedy; one, at least, of the weaknesses of Fletcherian tragi-comedy and tragedy is the type characterization, and the similarity in the more popular tragic themes, produced automatically tragic types, analagous to the comic types—for example, the Hieronymo-Hamlet type of hero and the Italianate villain. As will be readily admitted, even Shakespeare is not free from this general tendency, though he undoubtedly attained a new kind of universalism by

painting men from the inside, independently of their social status, or occupation.

It is remarkable, however, that Shakespeare has left us no really sympathetic picture of the rising bourgeois class to which he himself belonged. It may have been that he was prevented by his personal connection with it. But from whatever cause, the world of shop-keepers hardly interested him at all as a dramatist. The great Jonsonian school, however, with the exception of Chapman, hardly ever left this class when writing the satiric comedy in which they excelled, names like Middleton and Marston, and the Beaumont and Fletcher of *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, immediately occur to one as examples. But none of these ever wrote Bourgeois Drama.

In comedy and tragedy alike, the names of Heywood, Dekker and perhaps Rowley, are the natural ones to take as those of the vindicators of the new class, half merchant, half shop-keeper, which was rising into prominence under Elizabeth and James, from the caricature of it, often falling into mere scurrilous and obscene abuse, which the cumulative work of Jonson and his disciples has drawn for us. In passing, it may be observed that whatever were the sins of the Puritans against the stage, they were avenged to the top of their power by the playwrights and the actors. It is with considerable relief that we turn even to the over-patient *Candido*, from the citizens, and even more from their wives, as represented in *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*, or *A Trick to Catch the Old One*. In comedy of the more sympathetic type the Bourgeois School has certainly achieved something notable. Not that they attempted to deprive themselves of the romantic setting of courts and gallants and high adventure; that was not their aim. Rather it was to show that the true citizen of London was as capable of performing these adventures, and of associating with these exalted personages, as any the most renowned knight of the world. If the claim seem exaggerated, it must be remembered that it was of Elizabethan Londoners that Heywood and Dekker wrote, many of them plain men who had indeed done most astonishing things. And even as one writes, the thought comes to one that the small shopkeeper of ten years hence in London will in most cases, if he still exists, be a man with much romantic high adventure in

his past. And so Dekker and Rowley mix up kings and cobblers in the true Shakespearian manner, only their chief interest is with the cobblers; while Heywood sends his prentice nobles to recover the Holy Places of Christendom, and dares to link together the defeat of the Armada and the founding of the Royal Exchange as events of equal importance, and we moderns dare not say that he was wrong.

But directly these citizen dramatists turned to tragedy, they became the legatees of an older school. This is generally admitted, but the fact of their real difference in spirit is not always seen. As we shall presently understand, the main interest of the earlier domestic tragedies is in the sensational events, while the later are more interested in the effect of the events upon the characters, in the attempt to disprove the Aristotelian theory that in order to produce the true tragic effect, the hero must be in an eminent social position. That these writers had any conscious intention of confuting Aristotle is improbable, but it is not nearly so improbable as that they were ignorant of his theory, which is next to impossible; they knew Ben Jonson. It is, however, hard to remain unconvinced that the work of Heywood, Dekker, and Rowley when independent of writers belonging to the other schools, was a conscious protest at the same time against the schools of Jonson and of Fletcher.

Considerations of date, matter, and obvious purpose, make it impossible to apply the last remark to the whole of domestic tragedy, we must, therefore, remind our readers that the origin and growth of the drama under Elizabeth is to be explained fully only by a careful study of popular taste. Human nature changes very little in three hundred years, and it is fairly safe to say that the taste for melodrama and strong sensation was at least as great then as now. In modern times the audiences which collect at theatres where melodrama is the staple industry, demand stirring incident and an obvious moral with almost equal insistence. They dislike subtlety in anything or any one. Humour is boisterous, pathos unimaginably pathetic, wickedness and virtue, villainy and repentance, all are of the decided kind, and the genuineness of each is beyond doubt, the hero is applauded before he has well shown himself a hero, and the villain hissed on every possible occasion. This is just the sort of

thing that the Elizabethan groundling wanted, and not only the groundling, and his taste fixed the type of each successive dramatic kind.

This kind of taste could hardly be better satisfied than by the staging of sensational crimes, and scandals, domestic tragedies of lust and blood. It was an additional attraction that the stories were true, and the drama was at that time a much more effectual way of catering to this demand than such pamphlets as Kyd's account of the murder of John Brewen, or even the ballads which were composed in plenty on these themes.

Of the large number of plays belonging to this class, the names of which are known, only a few have come down to us. I propose to discuss four of these which are easily accessible; *Arden of Feversham*, *A Yorkshire Tragedy*, *A Woman Kill'd with Kindness*, and *The Witch of Edmonton*. The first two may be found in *The Shakespeare Apocrypha*, published by the Clarendon Press, and the last two in the Mermaid Edition of the plays of Heywood and Dekker respectively. The number of questions arising out of any thorough consideration of this group of plays is very considerable. To begin with, they cover a period of at least thirty years, and those the richest in our dramatic literature. They form also a striking example of the unevenness of the work of the period; the earliest play is certainly not the worst, nor the latest, in all respects, the best. The anonymity of two has led to their attribution to Shakespeare, the third raises all the problems of the "double plot" obsession of the period, and the last presents us with the problem of multiple authorship in an almost insoluble form. Besides these, general questions of the use of prose and verse, of construction, characterization and versification, crop up in almost every act. But all through the group, and binding it together, runs the attempt to produce the tragic effect by the presentation of life on a lower level than in either classical or "romantic" tragedy. For the sake of coherence, therefore, it is natural to make this the connecting thread of our enquiry.

The earliest of the four plays, *Arden of Feversham*, was first published in quarto in 1592. The murder which forms the subject of the play, took place on February 15th, 1558.

The hold which this crime exercised over the popular imagination is evidenced by the detailed account of it given in Holinshed's *Chronicle* in 1577. The exact date of composition of the play cannot be ascertained with any great accuracy. It is certainly based upon Holinshed; the use of blank verse interspersed with prose, points to a date after 1589; and the very considerable skill shown in working up the catastrophe points in the same direction; for a variety of reasons, it is hard to suppose that this play preceded *The Spanish Tragedy*, of which it is constantly reminiscent in a way which suggests imitation rather than common authorship. The anonymity of the Qq. of 1592 and 1599, and the intrinsic value of the play, aided no doubt by a laudable, though uncritical, local patriotism, led a certain Mr. Jacobs of Feversham to claim the play for Shakespeare in the middle of the eighteenth century. Since then, really eminent English critics have been strangely divided on the point. On a matter of this kind, it is impossible to give the same weight to foreign as to English criticism, for the only possible method of establishing authorship must be an analysis of style. Elizabethan silence is against the theory, and the complete absence of any trace of return to a similar theme in Shakespeare's canonical works adds to the presumption that he was not the author. Further, why should it have been excluded from the Folio of 1623? Certainly not because it was inferior to any early tragedy included. In fact one of the difficulties in the way of assigning the play to Shakespeare at so early a date is its merit. When we turn to more technical points, the Shakespeare of 1592 had not intermingled prose and verse in this way in tragedy, nor did he do so until considerably later. At the same time, except in *Love's Labour's Lost*, where it is extremely weak, characterization was never so undistributed in Shakespeare's plays as in *Arden*. Finally in his early period, Shakespeare's verse is noticeably smoother than that of *Arden of Feversham*, even when we have made allowances for a much larger proportion of archaic pronunciations than is usual with Shakespeare. Against the theory that Shakespeare may have touched up the piece, one cannot contend, because of its vagueness. But if it bases itself upon a postulate that all really poetic lines in Elizabethan drama, not indubitably the work of some-

one else, must be Shakespeare's, all sensible people must demur. Shakespeare may, for aught I know, have re-written a line or two, or even a passage here and there, but if so, he has disguised his hand in such a way as to make it impossible for anyone to convince anybody else that this or that passage is undoubtedly his. It seems to me that nowhere in the play do we get the elaboration which is one of the characteristics of the young Shakespeare, nor do I find even the verse of the "purple patches" his. This is, however, a purely personal opinion.

The story is as follows. Alice Arden, a gentlewoman of Kent, of good family, having been married to her husband Master Arden of Feversham, a gentleman of equal birth and considerable fortune, augmented at the expense of others by the favour of the Lord Protector, falls in love with a certain Mosbie, once a tailor, but who had risen by industry or servile arts to be the steward of a nobleman, and to be received on equal terms by Arden and his household. The intimacy between Alice and Mosbie having become an open scandal, Arden first insults him, and then, on the advice of his friend Franklin, decides to go to London, hoping that his absence, and the removal of all restraint, may also remove his wife's infatuation. She has, however, been forced by Mosbie's fears already to plan her husband's death. The rest of the play is simply an account of how she carries through her purpose, in spite of five failures, and involves, besides Mosbie and herself, six other persons in the murder.

There are several devices and circumstances in this play which had a long subsequent stage history. Here we meet with poisoned crucifixes and poisoned pictures, with typical murderous villains in Shackbag and Black Will, with a startling and rather unconvincing, though not impossible, conversion in Alice and a highly improbable stoicism in Mosbie. Finally the death of Arden himself is accompanied by retributive circumstances, fulfilling a curse laid upon him by one of those whom he had dispossessed.

The greatness of the play owes much to the genius for story telling of Raphael Holinshed. The interest throughout is in the action, and the characterization is hesitating and variable—One character dominates the play, the wife murderess Alice Arden. She is the one dynamic force, whose persistence supports the

conspiracy. Mosbie is a coward, whose whole action is self-interested, and the only other conspirator with any motive to conspire is Greene, one of those whom Arden has dispossessed. He is, however, more anxious to procure the murder, than to do it himself. Arden would undoubtedly have died in his bed, but for his wife's pertinacity. Those who assert the Shakespearean authorship of this play, find support for this view in this strong character, which they compare, with some justice with Lady Macbeth. But *Macbeth* is usually assigned to the year 1606. To turn the character of Alice to account, we should have to find an analogue in a canonical play not later than 1595, or thereabouts, and I do not think this can be done. Tamora is the nearest, but she is quite different, and inferior. Besides the authorship of *Titus Andronicus* is freely controverted by some.

It is quite clear that *Arden of Feversham* interested its original audience mainly as dramatized police news; we are supplied with an epilogue which rounds off the play with an account of what became of the murderers and their accomplices. But the author could also write poetry. The following passage is one in which Arden describes an ominous dream as Clarence does in *Richard III*; those interested in the question of Shakespearean authorship may compare the two:—

This night I dreamed, that being in a park,
A toil was pitched to overthrow the deer,
And I upon a little rising hill
Stood whistly watching for the herd's approach.
E'en there, methought, a gentle slumber took me,
And summoned all my parts to sweet repose;
But in the pleasure of this golden rest.
An ill-thewed for'ster had removed the toil,
And rounded me with that beguiling home
Which late, methought, was pitched to cast the deer.
With that he blew an evil-sounding horn,
And at the noise another herdman came,
With fauchion drawn, and 'bent it at my breast,
Crying aloud 'Thou art the game we seek!'
With this I waked and trembled every joint,
Like one obscured in a little bush,
That sees a lion foraging about,
And when the dreadful forest King is gone,
He prys about with timorous suspect
Throughout the thorny casements of the brake,
And will not think his person dangerless,

But quakes and shivers, though the cause be gone :
 So, trust me, Franklin, when I did awake,
 I stood in doubt whether I waked or no :
 So great impression took this fond surprise.

ACT III, Sc. iii.

When we turn to examine *Arden of Feversham* more narrowly as an example of Domestic Tragedy, we find that the main actors are of the upper class, though definitely below the rank of nobility. The villain Mosbie is intentionally made more odious by continual reference to his humble origin. But Arden has the characteristic vices attributed to the citizen class in a high degree, the vices of avarice and jealousy. In mind he is a bourgeois, and shews it in almost everything he says. This, together with the sordid criminality of Alice, entirely obliterates thier gentle birth from our minds. But this same sordidness destroys, except at rare moments, the tragic impression of the play. No one but Alice is ever tragic, and she by no means always. The quarrels between Mosbie and herself, which might have become tragic, remain extremely commonplace. Her occasional revulsions of feeling, when she turns away in disgust from her purpose, are never allowed to develop sufficiently for us to feel that there is any real mental struggle going on. The most tragic moment is, as it should be, immediately after the murder, when her fear of discovery arouses her remorse, and perhaps we are intended to understand that the selfish terror of Mosbie, without one thought for her, forces disillusionment upon her.

At almost every other part of the play, one is oppressed by the atmosphere of squalor and criminality, which reaches its climax in Alice's assertion that Black Will stands next in her affections to Mosbie. No doubt it is not intended seriously, but what a means to use to rouse the courage of a man whose one passion is money ! On the whole, we are obliged to admit that except when Alice forgets her surroundings the play is too squalid for tragedy. The actors are neither above us, nor our equals, we feel their inferiority, it is impossible to identify ourselves with them. It would, of course, be absurd to suggest that titles of nobility would make any difference to these people, they are squalid by nature, not by rank, but the question does remain ;

are the limits of a single household too narrow a stage for tragic drama?

The dates of publication of the other three plays are; *A Woman Kill'd with Kindness* 1607, *A Yorkshire Tragedy* 1608, and *The Witch of Edmonton* 1658. From evidence of different kinds, it is possible to assign the writing of *A Woman Kill'd with Kindness* to about the period 1603-4, *A Yorkshire Tragedy* to a date not earlier than 1605, say 1606, the year usually assigned to *Macbeth*, and the *The Witch of Edmonton* to some time after 1621 but before 1625, perhaps 1623. It will be seen that the order of publication is the same as that of composition. I emphasize this, because I propose to depart from the order of chronology and to take *A Yorkshire Tragedy* before *A Woman Kill'd with Kindness*. My reason for doing so is that this play is doubly connected with *Arden of Feversham*. Its chief interest is manifestly in the crimes of the central figure, and it, like *Arden*, has been attributed to Shakespeare.

In 1608 a play was published in quarto by Thomas Pavier with the following title-page; "A Yorkshire Tragedy. Not so new as lamentable and true. Acted by His Majesty's Players at the Globe: written by W. Shakespeare." At the top of the first page of the text appears a second title: "All's One, or one of the four plays in one called A Yorkshire Tragedy, as it was played by the King's Majesty's Players." In the play itself, none of the actors, except the serving-men, are given names, they are distinguished by titles; husband, wife, knight, master of a college, and so forth. The play is very short, consisting of about 700 lines, divided into scenes, not acts; the normal length of a play is about 2,200 lines. About one-third of this piece is in prose.

The crime which forms the subject of the play attracted considerable attention; the events leading up to it form the basis of Wilkins's *The Miseries of Enforced Marriage* (1607). Stowe in his *Chronicle* gives the following notice of it, under the year 1605; "Walter Calverly of Calverly in Yorkshire Esquire, murdered two of his young children, stabbed his wife into the body with full purpose to have murdered her, and instantly went from his house to have slain his youngest child at nurse, but was prevented. For which fact at his trial in York he stood mute and was judged to be pressed to death,

according to which judgment he was executed at the castle of York the 5th of August."

From the title of a pamphlet we learn that the date of the crime was April 23rd of that year. A ballad was also composed on the subject.

The story of the play follows the general outline of the other accounts. The husband's recklessness is shown in his refusal of the advice of friends, and of offers of honourable employment made by his wife's relations, and by his ill treatment of her, and his indifference to the miserable plight into which he has drawn his younger brother, a student at the university, who has been imprisoned, because he had made himself responsible for his elder brother's debts. The motives assigned for the actual murder are despair and the fear of seeing his children begging their bread. In the last scene the murderer is brought to repentance by the sight of his wounded but forgiving wife and his murdered children.

Naturally the first question asked by the reader is; did Shakespeare write the play? The evidence on the title-page is bound to weigh something with those who are not special students of Elizabethan literature and booksellers; the ordinary textbooks are too much occupied with other matters to devote attention to the methods and characters of these gentry, and the general reader reads the book for itself without caring much about its literary history. Still his curiosity is aroused by the attribution to Shakespeare of a play not in the canon. He will doubtless feel that the case for genuineness is strengthened by the fact announced on the title-page that the play was acted by Shakespeare's company in Shakespeare's theatre. But against this circumstantial evidence, we should have to place the exclusion of the play from the First Folio. To my mind, the First Folio is the most weighty piece of evidence, of a purely circumstantial kind, that we have. There is enough rubbish in that volume to exonerate the editors from any dishonest partiality for Shakespeare's reputation, and though it is possible that Shakespeare may have written much that he would willingly have consigned to a decent oblivion, his editors would hardly have excluded a popular melodrama on that plea.

As a matter of fact, Shakespeare's popularity among his

contemporaries made it worth the while of booksellers to ascribe to him plays for which they wanted a sale. Really the attribution of the piece to him on the title-page is utterly worthless as evidence. No independent evidence exists at all, we must, therefore, turn to the play itself for any proofs or arguments in favour of Pavier's statement.

The shortness of the play and the sub-title referring to its having been produced with three other plays at a single performance, both point to hurried composition, and this impression is borne out by the play itself. We should, perhaps, on this account be ready to make allowances because of the circumstances in which the play was written. We admit freely that even Shakespeare did not do his best work in a hurry, but if he wrote this play, he wrote it at the time when he was producing his very best work; it is this which staggers our belief at the outset. When we come to examine the play itself, we find that there is not a line of it which is inevitably his. There is fine prose and some few poetic touches in the verse, but there were many dramatists capable of writing them, and they are not in Shakespeare's manner. For example, the very fine soliloquy of the despairing husband is in prose. If Shakespeare wrote this "purple passage," he departed from his general custom of soliloquizing in verse. Without reference to Shakespeare one dare not speak positively, but I am inclined to think that the plays of the period during which *A Yorkshire Tragedy* must have been written contain no serious soliloquy in prose. *Antony and Cleopatra* is near enough to the period to be considered, and I am not sure that Enobarbus does not soliloquize in prose, but he is a semi-comic character. That the soliloquy is of a kind which we should expect Shakespeare to have put into verse will be readily admitted by everyone. The reflections of the husband are caused by his despair on being forced by the Master of his brother's college to realize that he has not only ruined himself, but his whole family, including his brother. When he is alone, he reflects:

Oh thou confused man! thy pleasant sins have undone thee, thy domination has beggared thee! That Heaven should say we must not sin and yet made women! gives our senses way to find pleasure, which being found confounds us. Why should we know those things so much misuse us?—oh, would virtue had been forbidden! we should then have proved all virtuous, for 'tis our blood to love what were forbidden, what man would have been fool to a beast and zany

to a swine, to show tricks in the mire? What is there in three dice to make a man draw thrice three thousand acres into the compass of a round little table, and with the gentleman palsy in the hand shake out his posterity thieves or beggars? 'Tis done, I ha' done't, i' faith: terrible, horrible, misery,—How well was I left! very well, very well. My lands showed like a full moon about me, but now the moon's i' th' last quarter, waning, waning: and I am mad to think that moon was mine: mine and my fathers', and my forefathers'—generations, generations: down goes the house of us, down, down it sinks. Now is the name a beggar, begs, in me! that name, which hundreds of years has made this shire famous, in me, and my posterity, runs out.

In my seed five are made miserable besides myself: my riot is now my brother's jailor, my wife's sighing, my three boys' penury, and mine own confusion.

There are phrases in this soliloquy which are good enough for Shakespeare, the tone is well sustained, but why is it not in verse? As a matter of fact, from this point the soliloquy is continued for a few lines in verse of which the Shakespeare of 1605-1608 could hardly be guilty. One of the striking things about this piece is that the prose is so much better than the verse.

It would be a mistake to suggest that the verse is really bad, it is only mediocre, and mediocrity is just the quality which Shakespeare never possessed. There is occasional poetry scattered here and there, but when it occurs it is in similes and comparisons, and just at this time Shakespeare was writing the poetry of *King Lear*, *Macbeth*, or *Antony and Cleopatra*. Such lines as;

He sits and sullenly locks up his arms,
Forgetting Heaven looks downwards.

OR,

I see how ruin with a palsy hand
Begins to shake the ancient seat to dust.

are at least respectable as poetry, but no one would claim that they are inevitably Shakespearean, and the verse never rises above this level.

When we turn to the characterization, we notice at once that it lacks the distinctness and differentiation which we associate with Shakespeare. The anonymity of the actors seems in a subtle way to have deprived them of personality. The husband and wife are the two most prominent characters; he is reckless, desperate, the slave of his own passions and of a false pride of race; she is the perfect wife, and like most perfect things,

just a little insipid--her one quality is wifely obedience carried to excess, and this hardly constitutes a complete human character.

The most realistic part of the play is the dialogue of the serving men, which is certainly good, but it is un-Shakespearean in that the various persons taking part are not clearly differentiated. Even the minor characters in a Shakespeare play of this period are distinct personalities. On the whole, it is clear that characterization forms a small part of the interest of this piece. It is, therefore, not easy to apply to it tests of tragic excellence which depend upon character.

Very great stress is laid upon the social portion of the murderer, with the implication that his tragedy is heightened by, even if it does not consist in, his fall from social prosperity into adversity. But one of the essentials of even passable tragedy is that we should be interested in the central figure, and, as we have already pointed out, the author is mainly interested in the events. These are so abnormal, that without a very careful and sympathetic study of the hero, we cannot be made to identify ourselves with him in his strange situation, we neither pity nor fear. In other words, this piece is no tragedy, except in the crudest conception of the term, when the extent of the tragedy is the sum total of the bloodshedding, and nothing more.

If we attempt to find the causes for this failure, the principal one has already been indicated, the utter failure to arouse interest in the characters as individuals. But besides that, I think we may say that the events lack background. They are not significant; the ruin of the murderer involves little more than himself, and he richly deserves it.

If we now turn to Heywood's play, the best known of the group, we find ourselves in an entirely different atmosphere. Thomas Heywood was a man of considerable education; according to one tradition he was a Fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge, but this is scarcely an undisputed fact of his biography. He was clearly well-read in the classics, and shows an intimate knowledge of the manners and life of country squires and gentlemen. He was a most prolific writer, and, as has already been pointed out, shares with Dekker the credit of rescuing English middle class life from the misrepresentation of the Jonsonian school. At the same time, *A Woman Killed with Kindness* does not deal

with the middle class but with what Camden calls the lesser nobility, the country gentlemen, and their retainers. The scene of this particular play is laid in Yorkshire, as is the case with *A Yorkshire Tragedy*; there is, however, no sort of connection between the two.

So much has been written about this play, that only the barest outline is necessary to remind readers of the story. The play opens with the marriage of Master Frankford, a Yorkshire gentleman of large estates and noble connections, with Anne, or Nan Acton, a lady of equal birth and great accomplishments. The marriage remains happy until Frankford's generosity leads him to introduce into his family Wendoll, a gentleman of meagre fortune. Wendoll succumbing to the temptation of Mrs. Frankford's beauty, seduces her with surprising ease. This being discovered by the husband, Wendoll flees from the house, and Frankford dismisses his wife to a distant manor house, where she starves herself to death as a proof of her penitence. On her death-bed she is visited by her husband who forgives her.

This main story is accompanied by, rather than interwoven with, an under-plot. Sir Francis Acton, Mrs. Frankford's brother, having been defeated in a coursing and hawking match by Sir Charles Mountford, begins a quarrel in which Sir Charles unfortunately kills two of his retainers. Sir Francis Acton pursues his adversary relentlessly, until he is completely ruined. Then, by chance, he sees Sir Charles's sister Susan, and being attracted by her beauty, he rescues Sir Charles from his desperate situation in the hope of thereby overcoming her resistance to his dishonourable suit. Her firmness, however, brings about his conversion, and he then marries her, and assists her brother to re-establish his position completely.

This under-plot is connected with the main story simply by the relationship between two principal actors in each. It is a glaring example of the utter destruction of the unity of action wrought by this convention of the Elizabethan stage. To go into the whole question of the double-plot in Elizabethan drama would require a separate essay. Its origins lie far back in the mingling of comedy and tragedy for no other reason than to give variety. But most of those who read this paper will know it best as a brilliant artistic device in the hands of

Shakespeare, for intensifying the effect of tragedy, or providing a means by which the main theme may be approached from a different point of view. But Shakespeare did not invent, nor was he the last to use the double-plot. Even at the moment when he brought the device to its highest perfection in *King Lear*, it was being used by other writers, either for the old reason of producing variety, or to enlarge the canvas on which the action was depicted, or to produce the necessary lowering of the tone between scenes of excessive tragic intensity. Any, or all, of these reasons are, of course, entirely legitimate in themselves, provided that they do not constitute a breach of the unity of the plot. But, unfortunately, outside Shakespeare's masterpieces they usually do, and certainly the double-plot in *A Woman Killed with Kindness* is a flagrant example of this. It has, therefore, become the fashion to ignore the under-plot in this play altogether, and when the play is being considered as a specimen of domestic tragedy, there is no particular harm in doing so, but if it is to be judged as a complete work on its own merits, the practice is at least unwise. As a matter of fact, this habit of treating part of the play as though it were the whole has led to a disproportionate opinion of its merit as an artistic work being held by most people. As a complete play, it is not only disconnected, but uneven, and were it not that the piece begins, and ends with the story of Frankford, and that the under-plot is intrinsically too uninteresting to hold our attention, it would be confused. We need not, however, trouble further with the general question of the double-plot, or with the inherent absurdities of the particular under-plot of this play, as the story belongs in its improbability to the world of Arcadia rather than domestic drama, though it possesses only a very little of the Arcadian idealism.

It is generally said of Heywood's work as a whole that the main interest is in the story rather than the characters. This is true, but not in the sense in which it is true of the two plays already noticed. Heywood loved to place his characters in strange circumstances and among romantic adventures, but having got the required situation, he studies them carefully. Sometimes his hurry to get the situation complete leads him to make his characters act inexplicably. This is, of course, the case both with Mrs. Frankford and the erring wife in *The English Traveller*.

In both cases the women yield to the temptation of their lovers with extraordinary and inexplicable facility. But the main reason for this is that Heywood is not nearly so interested in the sin of the wife and her lover as in the effect of it upon the husband. We may add, too, that Heywood's moral code is robust, and he does not care to produce the casuistical arguments which Ford would have provided, in order to give an appearance of excuse for an action, which the whole course of the play was bound to condemn. Neither of these reasons excuse the artistic blemish of this subordinating of probability to the desire to establish a given situation, but they go far to explain it.

When we come to examine the characterization carefully, we realize what inroads the idea of the type had already made into the drama. The minor characters are all types, differentiated in some cases by a single characteristic; but even the faithful servant Nicholas has little but his fidelity to distinguish him from his fellows, unless it be a certain tactless bluntness which is habitually associated with his type. There are really only three characters which need any special notice, Wendoll, Mrs. Frankford and her husband.

Wendoll, the villain of the piece, is made more villainous by the fact that he owes his comfort and the opportunities for his treachery to Frankford's unsuspecting generosity. At first he fights against temptation, but his resistance is overcome by the knowledge that to remain virtuous involves leaving Frankford's house, and the loss of his present comfort. From the moment he decides to capture Mrs. Frankford's love he acts with a mad recklessness which cannot be explained, and when the inevitable discovery comes, he flees the country thinking only of his own lost credit, except for a momentary desire to comfort Mrs. Frankford induced by a sight of her misery. One would have expected some compunction from a man whose sense of honour and obligation to his friend had once been strong, and whose motive for intrigue was represented as genuine affection. We are made to feel that Heywood's interest in Wendoll is perfunctory, and that he has not troubled to work out his character.

Mrs. Frankford is in the same way not easily explained. She is represented as accomplished, naturally virtuous, loving her husband and children, and yet yielding to Wendoll's importu-

nity, not from inclination so much as from fear that he might kill himself. Heywood represents her throughout as reluctant, though yielding to her lover's entreaties. It is, therefore, easy to accept her repentance, the difficulty is in her departure from virtue. To postulate strong will-power on Wendoll's part is unwarranted by anything in the play, and yet some kind of compelling will-coercion alone would account for her behaviour but such an explanation would relieve her of most of her guilt, and receives no support from the text.

Frankford himself in the midst of his unhappiness is clearly the subject which really interests Heywood. Throughout the play he is represented as a man of grave demeanour, generous impulses, and high principles, beloved alike by his equals and inferiors. He is a man whose position is assured by birth and fortune, and the entire absence of extravagant tastes. In fact, Heywood's real difficulty is to prevent our feeling that he is something of a prig. I am not sure that he is always successful, but in the main crisis of the play, the intensity of his suffering raises him far above that danger. Heywood is at great pains to emphasize the fact that it is religion and not sluggishness or cowardice which restrains him when confronted with ocular proof of his wife's infidelity and his friend's treachery. At the same time, the absence of passionate action would make it difficult for an audience to realize quickly the depth of his feeling. I think it probable that this play produces a much stronger impression when read than when acted. Frankford is clearly Heywood's ideal of a good man, one incapable of hasty or unjust action, but his attitude of dispassionate aloofness a little damps the ardour of our sympathy. His magnanimity in allowing Wendoll to escape should, no doubt, arouse our respect, but we cannot help feeling that it would have been well if that villain had been prevented from wandering about the world deceiving other trusting souls. His attitude to his wife, too, seems to lack the warmth of real anger, or the passion of real grief. It is when he is alone that we really feel the tragedy of his situation, and, what is more important, that he really feels it. There is one great speech, a soliloquy, quoted by Lamb, I think, as one of the great things of English literature, in which the calmness, which is the chief barrier to our sympathy,

disappears entirely, and we feel that Frankford is a human being like ourselves after all. I have called it a soliloquy for, though it is actually spoken in the presence of the faithful servant Nicholas, it is not spoken to him. It is just after his return from the bed-chamber where he discovered Wendoll and Mrs. Frankford asleep in each other's arms, that he speaks :—

Stay, let me pause awhile.
 O God, O God ! that it were possible
 To undo things done ; to call back yesterday !
 That Time could turn up his swift sandy glass,
 To untell the days, and to redeem these hours !
 Or that the sun
 Could, rising from the west, draw his coach backward,
 Take from the account of time so many minutes,
 Till he had all these seasons called again,
 Those minutes, and those actions done in them,
 Even from her first offence ; that I might take her
 As spotless as an angel in my arms !
 But, oh ! I talk of things impossible,
 And cast beyond the moon. God give me patience !

When one reads lines like these, one understands what Lamb meant when he called Heywood a prose Shakespeare. The situation is handled as Shakespeare would have handled it, the words are hardly expressive of the feelings of a man just at the moment when he discovers his own dishonour, but they do express a thought which must come to him later, when he realizes his own loneliness and longs for the shattered past.

On the whole, I think that Frankford is a pathetic, rather than a tragic figure—This is, of course, to assert that *A Woman Killed with Kindness* fails to produce the full effect of the greatest tragedy. I believe that the cause of this is not, as in the other cases examined already, the narrow stage on which the action takes place, for we do not feel that it is narrow in that sense at all, but in the relation of Frankford himself to his own misfortunes. The Aristotelian theory of tragedy lays it down that the misfortunes of the hero should be brought about by his own error or frailty. This seems to be a sound principle. It is true that Frankford does himself introduce Wendoll into his household, and by his trust and favours give him the opportunity to seduce his wife, but we are never allowed to feel that he is in any real way respon-

sible for the catastrophe. Again, the ruin wrought in the play is to his happiness, but this is to some extent repaired by his reconciliation with his wife on her death-bed. No doubt the craving for a happy ending, which destroyed so much good work in Jacobean drama, was already at work when Heywood wrote this play. But, from whatever cause, the general effect is not tragic. For a moment Frankford rises to true tragic proportions, but only for a moment. It is, however, important to notice that the failure in this case is of a different kind, from that is *Arden of Feversham* or *A Yorkshire Tragedy*; it only just falls short of success.

And now we can turn to *The Witch of Edmonton*, the last of the four plays to be considered. Like each of the others, it has its problem not directly connected with our main subject. In this case it is one of authorship; not the attribution of the whole play to one writer, but the division of the work between three, Dekker, Rowley and Ford. Joint authorship in this period is, like the double plot, a possible subject for a long article, The general reader touches the fringe of it in the study of Shakespeare, more particularly in connection with some of his earliest and latest plays, but it becomes an ever more complicated problem as the period goes on. Our present play is a late one, and it is impossible to discuss the division of labour in this case without being far more elaborate than space could possibly permit. In all probability the witch scenes belong to Dekker, the rustic comedy and perhaps the opening scenes of the main story to Rowley, at least in conception, and the figures of Frank Thorney, Winifred and Susan are probably mainly Ford's share. But it is possible, even probable, that the collaboration was so close that all had a share in every part.

Of the three authors Dekker, was probably the senior. His best work whether as dramatist or pamphleteer is connected with the life of London. This was also the chief dramatic field of Rowley, a person whose talents have been obscured by his obvious defects, but who certainly possessed a sense for dramatic situations unsurpassed by most of his contemporaries. Ford's gifts as a poet, and student of human character in rather morbid tragic situations are too well known to need mention even by way of reminder.

The story of *The Witch of Edmonton* is briefly as follows: Frank Thorney, the son of old Thorney, a gentleman whose estate is greatly encumbered with debt, while in the employment of Sir Arthur Clarington falls in love with Winifred, a maid-servant in the Knight's household. A clandestine marriage is arranged between them with the connivance of Sir Arthur. Hardly has the irreparable step been taken, when Frank Thorney is summoned by his father to return home to marry Susan, the daughter of a rich yeoman named Carter. By her dowry the father hopes to pay off all his debts and leave his estate disencumbered for his son. At first the young man refuses, but he is afraid of the consequences of confessing his marriage, so that, remaining silent upon the real bar to his obedience, he is threatened and cajoled into a bigamous marriage with Susan. Almost immediately afterwards he is driven by remorse to seek escape by flight with his true wife Winifred, who is disguised as his man-servant. As he sets out on his journey, pretending urgent business, Susan accompanies him for a short distance on foot. Embarrassed by her grief at the moment of parting, and suddenly coming under the evil power of Mother Sawyer's familiar spirit, he is impelled to reveal to Susan the truth of his relations to her, and her own terrible situation. Then, acting upon sudden impulse, he murders her, and in order to avert suspicion from himself, wounds himself and binds himself to a tree, where he is found immediately afterwards by his father and carter. He then accuses two rejected suitors of Susan of the murder. He is taken home to Carter's house and tenderly nursed by his sister-in-law Katherine and Winifred, still disguised as his man. A chance accident, into which Mother Sawyer's Familiar is again introduced gratuitously, causes his guilt to be discovered, and he is duly tried and executed.

This main story has really nothing to do with Mother Sawyer, who belongs to the under-plot of a certain Cuddie Banks and his rustic friends. The most striking thing about this part of the play is the sympathy shown by the author for the poor old woman, persecuted by her neighbours into beseeching the powers of evil to aid her in obtaining her revenge. It is this attitude of understanding, and insight into the causes outside herself, oppression, poverty and misery, which caused Mother

Sawyer to turn witch, that almost certainly marks off her part as Dekker's work. After being beaten by Old Banks for collecting sticks from his hedge, and tormented by his son and his companions, the poor old woman breaks out, when left to herself :

Still vexed ! still tortured ! that curmudgeon Banks
Is ground of all my scandal ; I am shunned
And hated like a sickness ; made a scorn
To all degrees and sexes. I have heard old bedlams
Talk of familiars in the shape of mice,
Rats, ferrets, weasels, and I wot not what,
That have appeared, and sucked, some say, their blood ;
But by what means they came acquainted with them
I am now ignorant. Would some power, good or bad,
Instruct me which way I might be revenged
Upon this churl, I'd go out of myself,
And give this fury leave to dwell within
This ruined cottage ready to fall with age,
Abjure all goodness, be at hate with prayer,
And study curses, imprecations,
Blasphemous speeches, oaths, detested oaths,
Or anything that's ill : So I might work
Revenge upon this miser, this black cur,
That barks, and bites, and sucks the very blood
Of me and of my credit. 'Tis all one
To be a witch as to be counted one ;
Vengeance, shame, ruin, light upon that canker !

Act II, Scene i.

In spite of the intrusion of witch-craft into the main action of the play, the characterisation of this piece is more careful than in any of the other three. After all, though it appears at the critical moment of the action, the witchcraft does not really affect it. It is merely a spectacular link between the two parts of the drama, otherwise quite disconnected. Frank Thorney is a weak young man, prone to take the line of least resistance. He marries Winifred without much thought of the inevitable consequences of the act ; he takes upon himself the most serious of all responsibilities without the power to fulfil them. He loves his wife and is not naturally vicious ; he has at least an affectionate regard for Susan, and yet the fear of his father's anger causes him to desert the one, and do both irreparable injury—Such a character would almost certainly have murdered Susan to free himself from the embarrassments of a double life, without the intervention of black magic. Magic had nothing

to do with his bigamy, and it need have had nothing to do with the murder. In the same way, sooner or later, he would himself have revealed his own guilt; he was not of the stuff that criminals are made of. It was a kind of remorse which made him a murderer; a similar remorse would have made him betray himself. Since Frank Thorney's crimes are, in a sense, all due to his weakness of character, his repentance at the end of the play is a foregone conclusion, and, indeed, a logical development. While bigamy is not a usual crime, Frank is only the exaggeration of a very normal type; perhaps it is this which gives to his story an atmosphere of universality which the incidents certainly do not warrant. Although he is a murderer and a bigamist, and by his misdeeds ruins the happiness of all the chief actors, I think that the ordinary reader pities his fate far more than he feels contempt for his weakness; this is a tremendous tribute to the skill of the authors. It is because Ford excels in the power of arousing our sympathy for young men whose characters are intrinsically worthless, through their weakness more than their vice, that the part of young Thorney is usually assigned to him.

Next to this character, the two most important are the two women. We may say at once that the distinctions between Winifred and Susan are external; in themselves they are women of the same type, true lineal descendants of that patient Griselda, whom all men pity but nobody quite believes in. Each is wronged, though unwillingly, by the other, but neither hates her rival; in fact they both suffer for the thought of the other's wrong: we are spared the rage of termagants, but we lose something of human nature. They have both lost all thought of self in their love for the man who has wronged them; this is heroic altruism, but it kills characterization.

Of the other actors Old Thorney and Caster are both well drawn types of their different classes, though they are sufficiently individualized to give the impression of being real persons; and on the whole this is all that need be said of the minor characters.

When we turn to the consideration of the play as a tragedy, we are conscious of a curiously mixed impression. If we analyse the action and the characters carefully, we cannot

explain to ourselves satisfactorily the general effect of the play as a whole upon us. This general effect certainly is more near to the true effect of tragedy than is the case with any of the other three plays. Ford, or the three writers together, have succeeded in arousing our interest in Frank Thorney, and almost in persuading us that his villainies are not his own fault. The fact is that we see his dilemma when confronted by his father's order to marry Susan, so entirely from his point of view, that we seem to forget that his decision involves the happiness of two innocent women. It is not fair, I think, to judge a play by the impression produced in careful reading, if that differs from the impression produced by acting. I believe that up to the scene where Susan is murdered, and including that scene, the impression produced on an audience would be tragic. From that point onwards, I am doubtful. The moral cowardice and irresponsible selfishness of Frank Thorney's character, which were up to that time not so obvious, then become physical cowardice and the instinct of self-preservation in a most repulsive form. Thorney does not cease to be natural, but he ceases to be in any sense heroic; he sinks to a level to which our vanity flatters us we would not sink. He has become merely sordid.

To conclude a paper of this kind is no easy task. So many matters have been touched upon by the way that the connecting thread has been greatly obscured. We set out to examine how far Aristotle's theories about the hero of a tragic poem are supported, and how far disproved, by a group of Elizabethan domestic dramas. We have discovered that in three of the four plays examined considerable stress is actually laid on social eminence, but that in three plays the truest impression produced by tragedy is destroyed by other causes. On the other hand, in the last play no special stress is laid on social position, and for a large part of the action the impression produced is genuinely tragic. We have however, hesitated to pronounce any one of the four plays in its entirety to be a true tragedy. What, then as to the general question? I believe that what the Aristotelian theory comes to is, that anything merely sordid or mean destroys the tragic possibilities of a story, and it is certainly this which has had that effect in the case of three plays out of the four.

The case of *A Woman Kill'd with Kindness* is covered by another Aristotelian rule.

Aristotle is just as emphatic when he lays it down, that a man's misfortunes must be the consequence of his own acts, or character, as when he insists upon social eminence for his hero. As to the rightness of his view in this case there can hardly be two opinions, and the effect of something unreal in the story of Mr. Frankford's misfortunes is, I think, due mainly to the very slender connection between his own actions and them. It is true that he invites Wendoll to live with him, but he is represented as keeping open house to all his neighbours, and there is absolutely no reason suggested why he should have suspected Wendoll, who was his brother-in-law's friend, and received freely in the society of the county.

Perhaps another cause contributes in this play to destroy the tragic effect. Both Wendoll and Mrs. Frankford sin too easily, and she repents almost immediately, for her continued complaisance is forced by "custom," not by love. In the same way, as has already been pointed out, Frankford's calmness and deliberation after the first burst of passion is admirable, but it weakens our impression of his unhappiness. I may be told that the sympathetic reader will be able to read between the lines, and this is to some extent true even of an audience; but just as one finds so much more in Shakespeare when he is read than when he is acted, even by a scholar actor, so the acting impression of Heywood's play is bound to be less tragic, because less subtle, than the impression formed by careful reading.

In passing in reviews the four plays, therefore, we come to the conclusion that they are none of them complete and perfect tragedies. And yet one clings to the opinion that two of them might have been, and certainly figures like Alice Arden, Frankford and the younger Thorney and Susan Caster, have their tragic moments. They fail either because they become absorbed by the sordidness of their crimes, or because their characters are not sufficiently in touch with human experience. But Shakespeare has shown that a criminal need not be sordid, and the absence of this quality does not really depend upon any social position but upon some other kind of eminence. It is the want of this sense of individual distinction which causes the failure

of Elizabethan Domestic Tragedy, and surely it was this individual distinction which Aristotle was contending for in his assertion that the hero of a tragedy must be eminently renowned and prosperous; this is one, though not the only way of reaching that aim; it is also the easiest under stage conditions.

NOTES OF THE MONTH.

A STEP of tremendous significance for the future government of the country was taken in the last weeks of June, when the House of Commons by an overwhelming majority voted in favour of Women's Suffrage. We are surprised that even fifty-five men could be got to oppose a demand so obviously right. The work that women have done during the War has won them the right to share in the Government. That the vast majority of educated women desire it, is now perfectly obvious; and they have secured their desire, not so much by their appeals, as by the heroism and self-sacrifice of their lives. We take the following interesting account of the final vote from the correspondent of the *Madras Mail* :—

"LONDON, 20th June.—The great Women's Suffrage controversy came to an end this week by a "free" vote in the House which adopted the principle by 335 votes to 55, or a majority of 330. Thus, even if all the 670 members had been present, and all the absentees had been opposed to the proposed step, the result of the vote would have been none the less the same. This point is worth mentioning, because Mr. Arnold Ward, the son of Mrs. Humphrey Ward, the novelist and the pioneer of the "anti" campaign, who leaped into prominence by a very free and vigorous speech, contended that the army and navy as a whole were strongly opposed to Female Suffrage, and he suggested in addition that one result of the Electoral Reform Bill would be that two million soldiers and sailors would come home to find themselves outvoted by women in the proportion of one to three.

The debate was, however, a foregone conclusion, so far as the result was concerned, and the speeches themselves brought few new points into prominence, although the *Westminster Gazette* considers that the arguments reached the highest level of any brought forward in any debate on Women's Suffrage in the House of Commons. In other words, members took the controversy seriously, and I should think that at least 200 of those who supported Women's Suffrage did so on the ground that further opposition was no longer possible. The women, however, left nothing to chance, and if you want to appreciate their multifarious activities, you will be able to do so if I quote the signatories of a final appeal which was issued to every member of parliament on the eve of the division. It shows, I think, the extraordinary ramifications of this agitation :—

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, Conservative and Unionist

Women's Franchise Association, Liberal Women's Suffrage Union, etc. Irish Women's Suffrage Federation, Women's Liberal Federation, Women's Co-operative Guild, National Federation of Women Workers, British Women's Temperance Association, Legislative Committee, National Union of Women Workers, Women's Industrial Council, Church League for Women's Suffrage, Free Church League for Women's Suffrage, Catholic Women's Suffrage Society, Friends' League for Women's Suffrage, Scottish Churches' League for Women's Suffrage, Women's Freedom League, New Constitutional Society for Women Suffrage, Women's Suffrage Propaganda League, N. L. Men's Political Union, Women's Tax Resistance League, "Qui Vive" Corps, Scottish University Woman Suffrage League, Actresses' Franchise League, National Industrial and Professional W. S. Society, Women's International League, National Council for Adult Suffrage, United Suffragists, Fabian Society (Women's Group).

Moreover, although the result was, as I say, certain, some hundred women appeared at the House to canvass members and also to wait for the result, which was reached about half past eleven. They had in addition sandwich women outside the House for most of the day, and so they left nothing to chance.

The age is fixed at 30; attempts made to reduce it to 25 have not been successful; but it can be taken as certain that in time to come the ages of the two sexes must more or less approximate. The Conservatives, however, prefer the age of 30 because they think that women who are advanced so far in life must have reached years of discretion and are probably of Conservative tendencies, since they are mostly married and have a stake in the country. The admission, however, of such an enormous number of additional voters who have never before exercised the franchise must make the outlook at the next election a matter of extreme uncertainty.

This end to a long struggle was admittedly somewhat tame. The chief leaders of opinion in the House did not speak and for the most part were not present during the debate, though a few came in to vote. The discussion itself was left to the lesser luminaries such as Sir Frederick Smith, the Attorney-General, who frankly admitted that he was an opportunist in this matter and intended to shout with the bigger crowd, and Lord Robert Cecil, who, like his brother Lord Hugh, is a warm supporter of the Women's Vote. On the Liberal side no one more well known, except Sir Charles Hobhouse, who opposed the innovation, spoke at all. Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Balfour, Mr. Asquith, Mr. McKenna, Mr. Runciman, Mr. Walter Long, and the Labour leaders generally were all silent. The Irish said nothing, but there were not many of them present, as they are in Ireland in view of the coming Convention. The opponents of Women's Suffrage pretend to count a good deal upon the possible action of the House of Lords, which is supposed not to be favourable to the change; but in recent years the Peers have learnt wisdom, and they are little likely to interfere with the Franchise Bill. In the meantime the first occasion on which women will be able to exercise the vote should be about two years from now, since no election will take place before six months after the declaration of peace. The newspapers generally are rather relieved to find the issue out of the way and at least settled amicably. Time will show whether the experiment will answer, but the great point is we are all of us ready to try it."

The *Indian Social Reformer* has published a letter from the Bishop of Bombay, which is worthy of the widest circulation because of its subject, and because of the prominence of the writer. Many, we are convinced, both in the Government service and out of it, are longing for the utterance of a definite constructive policy. It is not enough to say that self-government is the ultimate aim and end of British policy in India. That may be true enough, but the path by which the end is to be reached should be made clearer than it is. What the Bishop says regarding the attitude of the British people is absolutely true. They are attracted by deeds, not by winsome speech. The women of Britain have won the suffrage, not by their frantic appeals, but by their deeds during the War—noble, self-sacrificing, heroic. A great readiness to volunteer at this moment would have done more to convince the British public that the time was ripe for a step forward in India than any direct propaganda. If the universities of India were left with empty colleges like all the universities in Britain and the Dominions because their young men were giving their lives for the great cause, the whole atmosphere would be changed.

The Bishop writes :—

In the present time of excitement the greatest lack in India is the deliberate expression of representative British opinion. The Government of India for reasons which are as unknown to me as to you or any one else utters no word. It must be remembered however that it does not lie with that Government to give constitutional changes to India. These can only come from the supreme British Parliament. It is with that body and with the British democracy which it represents that India has ultimately to deal. It is therefore of the highest importance that intelligent Indians and their political leaders should realise what is the nature of British nation at home and what the general feelings and opinions which it must bring to any consideration of Indian affairs. I write to you because I wish to do my part in making ordinary British sentiments better understood by Indians.

I may explain here for the sake of the many readers of your journal who have no reason to know anything about my personal history, that I was 39 years of age when I was sent to India, and that therefore I had grown up and formed my opinions as an inhabitant and citizen of the British Isles. The time which I have spent in India as Bishop of Bombay, nearly nine years, has not and could not obliterate the settled convictions of the period which I spent in England.

Speaking then as an Englishman who has not forgotten how Englishmen feel in England, I wish to press upon you and all other Indian patriots that the ruling fact of the political situation is that the English are believers in self-government to an extent which is almost superstitious. Their belief in the value of self-government is however surpassed by that of the men of the British Dominions beyond the seas, such as the Canadians and the Australians who, after the voluntary sacrifices which they have made in this war are certain to have a powerful voice in the British imperial policy of the future.

It is impossible that the democracy of Great Britain or the democracies of the self-governing Dominions will rest content with any ideal for the future of India except one, and that one ideal is that India should eventually attain to self-government. These democracies will be unable to conceive any justification for our rule in India, except that it is to be a training of India for self-government.

India may rest assured that this is the ruling fact of the whole political situation.

This being incontrovertibly true, it is the business of Indian politicians to consider the temperament of the British democracy and to study to take such action as will commend them to it and avoid such action as will irritate it.

The Englishman is practical even to a fault; he cares little for ideas and nothing for words: he cares only for deeds, and the deeds which he cares most for are those which contribute to his immediate object at the moment.

Now the immediate object of Great Britain at the moment is to win this war. The democracy of Great Britain will be intolerant of any action which makes it more difficult to do so. The extract from William Lloyd Garrison which stands at the head of every issue of your paper, Sir, emboldens me to speak very plainly. The political leaders of India appear to think that war time is a favourable opportunity for pressing their claims by creating a ferment in every part of the country to which their influence extends. The ordinary Britisher at home, who is steadily with them in their ultimate object, will only think them an abominable nuisance for prosecuting a feverish agitation during the War.

There is also a distinction about political agitation which is quite clear to thinking men and ought to be clear to your political leaders. In a time of external crisis such as a world-wide war some agitations are justifiable and some are not. An agitation which has for its object a change which can be carried out quickly and without dislocation of the general machinery of government may be justifiable. Such a change was the substitution of Mr. Lloyd George for Mr. Asquith, and of a small war cabinet for an unwieldy general cabinet, or again the separation of the ministry of munitions from the ministry of war. These changes resulted partly from agitations in Great Britain which people agreed or disagreed with, but allowed to be not unreasonable. But to agitate against the whole system of the existing government, to vilify any and every action of government officials indiscriminately, to try to make people believe that the present government is the cause of untold evils, when there is no known substitute for it which can be procured quickly and set in authority and working order easily, that is quite a different thing. That sort of agitation is unpractical and had no effect but that of adding to the difficulties of the State and making the winning of the War harder. If such an agitation is conducted in India, the English people with their rough practical sense will be in favour of suppressing it as a nuisance, because it tends to embarrass them in their immediate object, which is to win the War as quickly as possible. And they will be in favour of this, although at the same time it is their settled purpose to give more and more self-government to India when they have time to think about it.

Indians may consider this very strange and harsh, but it is the temper of the English people, and it is with the English people that Indians have to deal.

There is another point which Indian politicians will do well to remember. When the British people come to consider what measures of self-government should be given to India, they will look at facts. Consequently I wish to press on the people of India that their aim now should be to *deserve self-government*. All self-government that has flourished in history has begun in successful self-government of small areas. India was given under Lord Ripon a chance of learning self-government in municipalities. That chance has been extended from time to time. Can India at this moment point with pride to her municipal government? Has it shown that there are large numbers of Indians ready, willing and able to make disinterested and efficient councillors? Have municipalities provided for the public health of all classes efficiently? Travelling a good deal, as I have to do, I have gained the impression that Indian municipalities afford a great chance for Indians to display powers of self-government, but that chance has not yet been taken. The capacity of a people for self-government is not shown by its possessing two or three wise and able politicians. On the contrary the capacity of a people for self-government depends entirely on the number of the citizens who will habitually place the public advantage before their private interest, who are trustworthy and who are trusted.

Nothing could strengthen the case for Indian self-government more than to be able to show that the great majority of Indian municipalities are really well managed by Indians and this is the sort of argument which the British public would understand.

"Study to deserve self-government". I would say this to the Indian people not only because it is good advice in the abstract, but because it is the way to influence the mind of the British democracy. Take an example. While the agitation for Women's Suffrage in Great Britain was violent both in word and deed, that cause made little headway. Indeed the more violent the militant suffragettes became the more the majorities in the House of Commons against their proposals increased. With the War the suffragettes dropped their agitation and set to work to help the Empire. The people of Great Britain have not been slow to recognise the splendid services of their women in the War, and this year every woman over 30 years of age has been given the vote in parliamentary elections. What they could not get by agitation, they have got by deserving it.

The war gives a similar chance to Indians. I would address myself now to educated Indians, as a university man writing to university men. Our class in England was foremost to respond to the call of the country and join the Army. Very many former members of my old College at Oxford joined in the first months of the war. In two years one-eighth of these had been killed. All my own male relatives on both sides of my family who are of military age are serving in the Army or Navy, except one who is a clergyman and one who cannot walk. Many of them have already died. We made no conditions: two of my own cousins joined as privates. The same is true of practically all the families in England who send their sons to the universities. That is what we think we owe to the Empire that protects our lives. That is what we do to deserve our place in the Empire. The Colonists have thought the same and done the same, and inevitably after the War they will have a much more important place in the Empire than before. But when we look at the educated classes in India, those who have been to the Universities, how can they expect us to feel about them? India

was asked for 6,000 volunteers. In all these months not two thousand have applied. The most advanced and trusted leaders of educated India of all shades of opinion, such as Mr. Tilak, Mr. Baptista and Principal Paranjpye on this side of India, urged their young adherents to volunteer. Apparently not even their authority can induce the young men to volunteer or the parents to allow them to do so. But at the same time, it is educated India of the Universities, that is clamouring most loudly for a place in the Empire alongside of and equal to the self-governing Dominions. Has it never struck educated India that at this moment if it wants as great a place in the Empire as Australia and Canada, it must as ready to die for the Empire?

Now it will not do for educated India to get behind the fighting races who are, not so advanced in education, and say that numbers of them have died for the Empire. So they have. All honour to them. But we did not leave our working people to die for us. The university men of England went and died with the working people and before them; I ask the educated Indians what they suppose the university classes of England are likely to think of them if they will not even volunteer.

Your fellow-countrymen, Mr. Editor, are dealing with a practical people. If they want our sympathy, they must be practical. They must recognise the facts of the situation and be guided by them. The great fact of the situation is that the British democracy is certain to see to it that British policy in India will be directed towards the increase of self-government here. The cause of Indian Nationalism is a winning cause: nay, it is won, unless the Indian Nationalists alienate the British people by their behaviour in the crisis of the War. There are two ways in which the Nationalists can alienate British sympathy, one by unseasonable importunity and the creation of an atmosphere of restlessness, suspicion and distraction which is just what the Germans wish most to see in India, and the other by taking little or no personal part in defending that Empire whose protection India needs, at a moment when all the other educated and intelligent men and women in the Empire are defending it through blood and tears.

THE WAR FROM AUGUST 1914 TO AUGUST 1917.

BY A. C. CLAYTON.

A REVIEW.

At the beginning of the fourth year of the War, it may be well to look back over the past three years and try to get some clear idea of the main course of events. In such a review many events which in the history of any previous war would have been counted as great must be omitted.

We have to remember, too, that all through the years of the War, the Allied navies, especially the British, have kept the German and Austrian navies shut up in their ports. During these three years enemy shipping has been swept from the seas of all the world. Every day that the enemy's navies have been kept in powerless idleness has been

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the equivalent of a naval victory for the Allies, allowing them to transfer armies from continent to continent, and to provide each other with ammunition and supplies of food-stuffs, unhindered except by the occasional piratical and murderous activity of German submarines or raiders. Unless this had been so Britain could have taken no effective part in the War, and indeed the British Empire would have fallen to pieces in the first weeks of the War.

With this observation let us look at the events and try to summarise what has happened from August 1914 to August 1917.

On June 28, 1914, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife were assassinated at Sarajevo. He was the heir to the Imperial throne of Austria. The Austrian Government believed that the murder had been planned in Serbia, and helped by the Serbian Government. With the assent of Germany, the Austrian Government went to war with Serbia. Russia came to the aid of Serbia. Then Germany declared War on Russia on August 1. France was a pledged ally of Russia and promised support to Russia as soon as the designs of Germany were seen.

Then the Germans tore up 'the scrap of paper' and attacked France through Belgium. Four-fifths of the German army were thrown against France, the remainder with the Austrian army attacked the Russians. France was to be crushed first, then Russia. On August 4, Britain joined France and Russia. Within two hours of the declaration of war, the British fleet was off the German ports and the German fleet which was to have bombarded the ports of France was rendered powerless to carry out the Kaiser's designs.

Belgium—all honour to her—did not submit to be overrun by German troops without a struggle. It was not till August 15, that the last of the Liege forts fell. Meanwhile the Russians had invaded East Prussia, the French had made an attack on the Germans in Alsace, and the British Expeditionary Force—by the aid of the British Fleet—had landed in France.

On August 23, the position was roughly this: the Austrians had been driven out of Serbia; the Russians had won half a dozen victories in East Prussia; but the French assault in Alsace had proved a disastrous failure; the Germans were masters of Belgium.

Then came two great successes for the Germans. The Germans in Belgium were so strong in numbers and so well equipped that they followed up their defeat of the French in Alsace by bringing thirteen army corps—about 700,000 men—to attack the French and British in Flanders. The French and the British had to retreat.

The Retreat from Mons began on August 23, and did not end till September 5, and for some days the 70,000 British had to

hold back—and by a miracle did hold back—the whole 700,000 Germans.

Three days after the retreat from Mons had begun, on the very day that the Germans destroyed Louvain, a great battle at Tannenberg, in East Prussia, commenced which lasted for six days, in which the Russians were badly beaten. The Russians to the south had taken Lemberg, from Austria, but that did not make up for the defeat at Tannenberg. It is no wonder that on September 3, the Germans, who were within a mile or two of Paris, who had taken Belgium, driven back the French and British armies, and given the Russians a crushing defeat at Tannenberg, should have believed that they were masters of the world. All Germany was in a frenzy of delight.

But by September 5, the German plans had been defeated, though it was not for a long time that this was seen.

On that day, the retreat of the Allies before the German armies in France ended. Within sight of Paris, and sure that they had possession of it, the Germans made a mistake in strategy that exposed their victorious armies to attack. The French commander-in-chief, General Joffre, saw the opportunity. The British, though ragged, dirty, foot-sore, and haggard with want of sleep, linked themselves to the French line of attack, and turned on the forces of the German general von Kluck as if they were fresh troops. Von Kluck at once withdrew to the north of the Marne, and the Aisne. This meant that the five German armies between Paris and Verdun all had to withdraw, and that France was saved.

By the end of September, the Germans had been compelled to give up all hope of any easy conquest of France, or of a short war, and both combatants were digging the long lines of trenches which were soon to run from the English Channel to the Swiss frontier, some 500 miles.

Though the Germans captured Antwerp on October 9, that was no compensation for the failure in France.

- Then came the First Battle of Ypres (October 21—November 17)
- and other desperate thrusts of the enemy to find a way to Paris along the coast by Calais, which were only foiled by opening the dykes and flooding the low-lying country and by a valour and endurance that we all must marvel at.

While the British and the French slowly forced the Germans back from Paris to the Aisne, there had been startling changes in the East. The Russians had been forced out of East Prussia, but they had been very successful in Galicia, and were advancing towards Cracow. In order to draw them away from that objective, the Germans made an attack on Warsaw, which is really the key of Poland,

the centre of its railway system, which the Russians must hold, in order to be able to face the Germans. The Russians had to save Warsaw and did so by the end of October, 1914; the German attempt on Warsaw had failed. In November the Germans made a second attack on Warsaw, which ended in failure about Christmas. These were all sound gains, but the main thing gained by the Allies in 1914 was time. They had not been ready for war. They were far inferior to the Germans in every sort of munition. But during the next few months they began to manufacture guns and shells and all kinds of equipment as they had never manufactured before, and in the second place, they had destroyed the prestige of the German army, which had believed itself to be invincible. Now we come to 1915. During this year Germany showed how great were her reserves of men and munitions. It was only very slowly that the Allies armed themselves sufficiently to meet the Germans on anything like equal terms. It was not till March, 1915 that the Allies could really hold the Germans 'contained' in their lines of trenches.

Otherwise the year was one of many disappointments. First, though at the beginning of April, 1915, the Russians were only fifty miles from Cracow and held passes in the Carpathian mountains that led right into the wheat plains of Hungary, the Tzar was victimised by a ring of intriguers. Pro-German officials in Petrograd were seeking to make a separate peace between Russia and Germany, and others actually in the pay of the German Government, prevented munitions and supplies from reaching the Russian armies. Some regiments had not more than one rifle to every four men. The Germans of course knew this, and at the end of April, just when they were finding out in the Second Battle of Ypres (April 22—May) that they could not break through the Western front, they massed guns and men against the Russians in Galicia and drove them back from Galicia and from Poland. This time the Germans captured Warsaw on August 5. The Russian retreat went on till September when the Russians entrenched on a line running from the Gulf of Riga to the Dniester.

Turkey had joined the Germanic Powers in November, 1914, the worst political blunder that ever Turkish statesmen made. In 1915, the Allies made an attempt to take Constantinople, by forcing a way through the Dardanelles into the Sea of Marmora. Just as Mackensen began the great German offensive against the Russians, the Anglo-French Expedition landed on the peninsula of Gallipoli with the intention of taking the Turkish forts that guarded the Narrows in the Dardanelles. The Expedition failed of its main purpose, and it is one of the amazements of this War that it was withdrawn from the peninsula in December without being completely destroyed.

As the year ended there came the news that another British Expedition, meant to capture Baghdad, was shut up in Kut-el-Amara on the Tigris and that it was not likely that a relief expedition could reach it in time to save it from surrendering.

Serbia.—In this year, too, Serbia was overrun and cruelly ravaged by the Austrians and Germans aided by the Bulgarians.

These disappointments, combined with the effort to secure men and munitions caused some depression in England.

Thoughtful men had all along seen what demands a war with Germany would make. What no one had expected was that modern Germany would use poison gas, would torpedo the *Lusitania*, or shoot down Nurse Cavell. These deeds taught the most careless and ignorant that this war must last until Germans were freed from the domination of militarism and militarist leaders, or else made powerless to inflict wrong on Europe. It was with no light hearts that Englishmen and their Allies at last set about winning the War at all costs, because on the winning of it depended the welfare of mankind.

To some extent this sense of gloom prevented many from seeing that in 1915, the Allies had proved themselves the match for the Germanic Powers. Even the disasters to the Russians could not hide that, for the Russians were only driven back, not broken. And there were other real reasons for encouragement when, Italy joined the Allies on May 23, and when in Africa all the Germano-Turkish efforts against Egypt had failed, and all German territory in Africa except the South-Western corner of German East Africa came into the hands of the British and their Allies.

In 1916, the tide of success in the Great War definitely ebbed from the Germanic Powers and month by month the Entente Allies found themselves steadily stronger. But it was not a year of easy success. In February, the Germans determined to take Verdun and so smash a way right into the heart of France. They came very near success. But they lost thousands of lives only to find that they could not destroy the French defence. On the other hand in July, when the British opened an offensive, the Germans had to give way. In this 'Battle of the Somme' the Germans lost nearly 30,000 prisoners. Probably no one will ever know how many were slain. But its importance was that it showed that as the Allies brought their munitions and equipment approximately to the pitch of German efficiency they could count on beating the Germans. The Allies took position after position till at the end of the year, for the first time since the French war had begun, the Germans were defending themselves on low ground while the Allies were firmly established on the ridges that

overlooked the German positions. Things went well in the West for both the British and the French in 1916.

In May, the Italians had to face a powerful Austrian offensive on the Trentino front, an attempt to break right into the richest lands of North Italy. They beat this back wonderfully, and on the other front they conducted an offensive of their own which enabled them to capture Gorizia. They were certainly helped by the offensive which the Russians launched under Brussilov in June. Four Russian armies struck at once along the whole line from the Pripet marshes to the Rumanian frontier. The whole of the Bukowina was in Russian hands by the end of June, and 200,000 Germans and Austrians had been captured. In Asia Minor the Russians took Erzerum and Trebizond early in the year. But for reasons not yet clear the Russians suffered reverses in Europe and Asia towards the end of 1916 and the Russian offensive came to a standstill. Even so it had been of great service. The Russian armies were proving their courage and weight and there would have been great victories for Russia in 1917, but for the dissension and treachery among the counsellors of the Tsar and the vacillation of the Tsar himself.

Belgium had been overrun in 1914, Serbia and Montenegro in 1915. In 1916, it was Rumania who was the victim. She joined the Allies at the end of August, and unwisely began a campaign against Austria without sufficient munitions and depending on certain promises made by the pro-German Russian Foreign Minister, Stuermer, who deliberately deceived Rumania so that she might be conquered by the Germans; he intended to point out to the Russians that this defeat of Rumania showed the might of the Germanic Powers so clearly that the Russians should see that the only thing for them to do was to make peace with the Germans. In that he failed, but he was successful in deceiving the Rumanians and though the Rumanian army was never broken, it was thrust back till only a corner of Rumania remained under the Rumanian Government. In spite of the Russian and Rumanian reverse it was however clear by the end of 1916, that the Allies as they then stood were likely very soon to master the Germanic powers. The siege and surrender of the British Expedition at Kut-el-Amara on the Tigris in Mesopotamia in April, though much to be regretted and the result of very grave military mistakes, did not affect the general situation. On the other hand the victory of the British fleet over the German fleet in the North Sea on May 31, was unmistakable proof of the superiority of the British naval forces. Any general survey of the year indicated that it had ended very favourable for the Allies.

I need say little about 1917. All the calculations of the Allies

were upset by the Revolution in Russia which overthrew the autocracy and sovereignty of the Tsar and led to many perplexing changes in the management of civil and military affairs throughout Russia and especially in the Russian armies. For weeks at a time it has seemed as though there were no settled central authority and till that is established the Russian armies can take little part in the War. But Republican Russia is a whole-hearted comrade of the Allies and when order has arisen out of the present disorder, Russia will drive out her German invaders as she has driven them out in the past. Of that there is no doubt, for the German is hated throughout Russia. But for the present Russia is of little use to the Allies, and her disorganisation, though the result will be good, has certainly added to the length of the War.

If Russia disappointed the Allies during the latter half of the third year of the War, the United States of America brought aid beyond reckoning in men and money when, in April, she definitely joined the Allies and called on the manhood of America to enlist for the battle with Germany which was now the fight of righteousness and civilisation against piracy, robbery and ruthless despotism, typified particularly in the German policy of 'unlimited submarinism.'

The great offensive.—Further good news came from the Western Front. While Russia was seeking a new order, the French and English on the Western Front carried out the most significant advance yet made. One after another, places like Bapaume, Peronne, Chaufnes, Vimy Ridge, Craonne, Messines were taken. The Germans definitely retreated to lines of trenches that they had prepared for the purpose. The mastery of the Anglo-French armies was apparent to the most careless observer, and the German newspapers began to show that the Germans were at last becoming anxious about the issue of the struggle. In the East, the disaster of the previous year at Kut was retrieved. A British Expedition reached and took possession of Baghdad. Throughout the Near East, in Turkey itself, and in India this was regarded as a notable military success, and particularly as a clear omen of the coming triumph of the Allies. Its real importance is that the British possession of Baghdad puts an end to the German idea of a 'corridor' along the Berlin to Baghdad line of railway by which Germany might have struck at Persia or India at will.

August 4, 1917.—There is no space for me to go into details regarding the position of Greece, the co-operation of Brazil with the United States, the counter-attack that Rumania is making, the new artillery battle on the Western Front. As the fourth anniversary of the War passes and we look back on three years of strife, we

think with deepest sorrow of all the agony and death that it has brought. We mourn for comrades, teachers, brothers who have laid down their lives. We mourn with the countless sad hearts who have been bereaved of husband or sons. But we thank God for all the wonderful and beautiful patience and courage that the War has called forth. We thank Him too that in His providence, the unprepared and peaceful nations of Europe, so wantonly and treacherously attacked by the Germanic Powers, have not been overwhelmed; but that as the struggle has gone on, they have been able to gather strength and organize their might so that the defence they have made has been equal to their peril. And as we count one new Ally after another, and especially as we have found that the righteousness of our cause has won the approval of the United States of America, while the aims and methods of the Germanic Powers are reprobated by all the civilised nations of the world except the few whose territories lie within range of German guns, we look forward to the time when our cause shall have triumphed, and when through that triumph, a real, permanent and entirely just peace shall be the beginning of a revived and purified effort to realise the highest ideals, in the lands of those who are now our enemies, as well as in this Empire and the Allied Republics and States.

LITERARY NOTICES AND NOTES.

Kenilworth, by Sir Walter Scott. Abridged and simplified by R. M. Spence, M.A. (Oxford University Press, 1917. Price Re. 1.)

This abridgment is in bulk between one-third and one-fourth of the original. The editor has modernised the language of Sir W. Scott's dialogue which has too strong a flavour of the Elizabethan drama to make easy reading for Indian students. The abridged and simplified edition is a suitable reader for High Schools, but for Intermediate classes the original would be better. The editor has altered the original story in some points, apparently in the supposed interests of young readers. These alterations do not improve the story, and it may be doubted whether they are required on the *maxima debetur puero reverentia* principle.

HAMPI RUINS DESCRIBED AND ILLUSTRATED. By A. H. Longhurst. (Madras Government Press. Price three rupees).

Mr. Longhurst has produced a very beautiful book, and one which will be of great interest and value to all students of the history of architecture and the influence of religion upon architecture.

The book is divided into two parts—the former dealing with ‘Influences,’ and the latter giving a minute description of the buildings at Hampi and in the neighbourhood. The headings of the sub-sections of Part I will give our readers some idea of the variety and range of the book—‘Locality,’ ‘History of Vijayanagar from the Inscriptions,’ ‘Social and Political History as Recorded by Foreign Visitors to Vijayanagar,’ and ‘Religion.’

The book is beautifully illustrated with no fewer than sixty-nine plates.

EXPERIENCES OF THE WAR. By Mrs. Moffat. (Price As. 3. C. L. S., Madras.)

It is pleasing to see that the address given to the students of the Christian College by Mrs. Moffat in the February of last year has met with the success it deserves, and that a second edition has been called for. The book has been enlarged by the addition of an introduction outlining briefly the origin of the War and by a few pages of notes at the end. We hope the book will continue to sell well as it is full of interest and pictures very vividly the spirit animating those who are ready to lay down their lives for their country.

STUDIES IN THE LORD'S PRAYER. By the Rev. W. S. Dodd (Price Annas 4. C. L. S., Madras).

This Tamil book contains a series of sermons and addresses on the Lord's Prayer. They are practical and helpful. They will be of great use to Tamil preachers and equally helpful for devotional reading.

HOW MY LIFE WAS CHANGED. By the Rev. S. Somasundram. B.A. (Price 9 pies. C. L. S., Madras).

One of the benefits accruing to the Christian community from the Evangelistic Forward Movement is the publication of a considerable amount of Tamil literature. It is all practical, living and useful: it is also cheap and published with a view to its being read widely. Mr. Somasundram's account of his conversion to Christianity is a booklet that is likely to do good service. It is written in a style that will make it interesting to non-Christians as well as Christians.

COMMENTARY ON THE FIRST EPISTLE OF PAUL THE APOSTLE TO TIMOTHY (in Telugu). By S. B. Simon, L.M.S., Cuddapah. Half cloth; pp. 60. (Price As. 10. C. L. S., Madras).

This book is well written. The Telugu is easy and clear. Explanatory notes on chapters and verses are practical. The work may be

commended to Christians generally, especially for use by village catechists, teachers and others. It is a pity that the price is so high but this is doubtless due to the high cost of paper on account of the War.

THE SUPREME PERSON AND THE SUPREME QUEST. By the Rev. R. A. Hume, D.D., Translated by Rajah M. Bhujanga Row, Bahadur Zemindar, Ellere, Translator of the Gospels into Telugu verse. Paper covers; pp. 28. (Price As. 1½. C. L. S., Madras).

Dr. Hume has produced a very valuable and useful book in which the person and work of Christ are attractively set forth; and Rajah M. Bhujanga Row has produced a good translation, but unfortunately the Telugu is of such high grade that none but well-educated persons can profitably use the book. Ordinary readers of elementary education will find it too difficult for comprehension.

GOD'S PLANS FOR SOUL-WINNING. By Thomas Hogben. Translated into Telugu by Rev. Canon D. Anantham. Paper covers; pp. 68. (Price As. 3. C. L. S., Madras).

A useful booklet which ought to be in the hands of every Christian worker. The Telugu is popular and easy. It is a pity that the price is so high as to prevent the work being added to the Anna Library.

STANDARD TELUGU READERS. Fourth Book. By an Indian Lady. Board cover; pp. 86. (Price As. 4. C. L. S., Madras).

The subject matter is very well chosen; the language is adapted to the class for which it is intended, and the general style of the book is good. The cover is very unattractive.

LITERARY NOTES.

MOST English readers know little or nothing of the history of Serbia, beyond the rather unsavoury quarter of a century that preceded the Balkan Wars. Captain H. W. V. Temperley, a Cambridge "don" and historian of some repute, now in His Majesty's Forces, has therefore met a real need in his *History of Serbia* (Bell, 10s. 6d. nett). We commend it to those who wish to learn more of our gallant Ally, and to all students of European History.

ANOTHER recent book of closely related interest is Mr. J. A. R. Marriott's account of *The Eastern Question* (Clarendon Press, 12s. 6d. nett). Here again, a large field of time has to be reviewed; for the Eastern Question has its roots in a remote past. For students of

history and for the general reader, this illuminating study of a great political and historical issue meets a felt want.

WE may also call attention to a few books on Russia. *Russia as I Know It* (Chapman and Hall, 10s. 6d. nett) is by Mr. Harry de Windt. *Through Russia in War Time* (Fisher Unwin, 12s. 6d. nett) is the rather surprising account of a tour through Russia, almost on the lines of a tour in time of peace, made by Mr. C. F. Coxwell. For all the book has to say of the War, the reader would hardly guess the tour was made in the summer of 1915. *The Co-operative Movement in Russia*, by J. V. Burnoff, is of interest not only for its light on Russian affairs, but also as bearing on methods of no small importance for the economic development of India.

SOME months ago we noticed a little book of a rather striking character, *Political Ideals*, by Mr. C. Delisle Burns. The same author now gives us *Greek Ideals* (G. Bell, 5s. nett), the standpoint of which is indicated by the sub-title—'A Study of Social Life.' The strength of Mr. Burns's treatment of political movements should suffice to commend the book to every thoughtful reader.

ONCE more we have to chronicle the publication of an instalment of a monumental work, the title of which rings strangely across the field of war. Volume IV of *The Complete Peerage* (St. Catherine Press, 40s.) covers the letter D, from Dacre to Dysart. It is a mine of information for the historian.

Posthumous Poems by Algernon Charles Swinburne (Heinemann, 6s. nett) forms an interesting supplement to the recent *Life*, especially as it exhibits the poet in the rather unfamiliar light of an imitator of old models in the ballads which form a notable feature of the book.

VOLUME IX of the *Linguistic Survey of India* deals with a section of the Indo-Aryan Family, viz., the Pahari Languages and Gujuri. It is issued by the Government Press, Calcutta.

CORRESPONDENCE.

TO THE EDITOR,

DEAR SIR,

As the *Times of India* published an article on Saturday, 21st July from its correspondent in London about the practical work taken up by the Touring Club de France, which is preparing France fully for the peaceful invasion of innumerable tourists from all parts of the world after the war, may I inform the public through your paper that intending tourists will find it advantageous to be members of the Touring Club de France, whose world membership is over 133,000 at present.

In all French towns, and in foreign countries, there are honorary delegates, who, on being appointed by the Committee of the Touring Club de France have promised to render assistance to travelling members of the Club.

Applications for admission must be placed before the Committee in Paris and supported by two members of the Club or by a delegate. The undersigned, delegate for Bombay, will be glad to introduce and support those who wish to avail themselves of the special advantages the Touring Club de France reserves for its members: besides general information and guidance, there are reductions on the bill in many hotels, custom-house facilities between various continental countries, etc.

LOUIS PELTIER,

Thoburn House, Apollo Bunder, Bombay.

SCIENCE NOTES.

AN interesting new treatment for burns received on the battlefield has been invented by a French doctor. The burnt flesh is sprayed with a mixture of melted paraffin and resin. This produces a wax-like coating over which strips of cotton are placed and these in turn are painted with the hot mixture. This is said to ease the pain very quickly; and the sealing of the wounds is so effective that new flesh soon grows again, and the scar left behind is scarcely discernible.

ANOTHER important industry which has been captured from Germany is the extraction of palm and kernel oils. Palm oil is obtained from the pulpy part of the fruit of the West African palm and is largely used in the manufacture of soap and candles, and also to prevent oxidation of the heated iron plates in the tin-plate industry. The kernels of the same fruit, when crushed, yield about 50 per cent. of a pale, yellow, solid fat with a pleasant taste. This oil, like the palm oil, is used to make soap and candles and also, after purification, in the preparation of edible fats such as margarine and vegetable butters. The cake, or meal, left after the crushing of the nuts is a most valuable cattle food. Before the war almost the whole of this palm oil extraction industry was carried on in Germany from whence the products were shipped to Great Britain. This unsatisfactory state of affairs has now been remedied and the whole of the industry is centred in Great Britain.

ALUMINIUM is undoubtedly the metal of the future. It is not brittle like glass or porcelain or poisonous like copper; it needs no enamel and does not rust; and, bulk for bulk, it weighs only a fraction of other metals. Owing to these advantages its use is becoming increasingly greater in aviation, electrical engineering and the home. Aluminium to-day is obtained exclusively from the impure oxide called bauxite, which is found chiefly in France. The method for its extraction consists in (1) purifying the oxide, and (2) its electrolysis in a bath of fused cryolite. The first process is very expensive and the second process is very cheap. Dr. Serpek, a French chemist, has just discovered a new process, which promises to oust all others and to make the purification of the oxide remarkably cheap owing to the valuable by-products obtained during the purification. The new process is as follows. The impure bauxite is heated in an electric furnace along with coal or coke. A current of nitrogen, obtained from the air, is passed over the heated mass and the nitrogen combines with the

aluminium in the oxide to form a compound aluminium nitride. The latter is then heated with super-heated steam when the products obtained are pure aluminium oxide and ammonia gas. The oxide is then electrolysed in the usual way to obtain the aluminium metal, whilst the ammonia gas is led into sulphuric acid with which it combines to form the well-known and valuable fertilizer ammonium sulphate. The amount of the ammonium sulphate thus obtained is about 25 tons per 20 tons of aluminium oxide, and has reduced the cost of purification of the bauxite from £15 to £2 per ton. This process is, incidentally, the cheapest method of "fixing" atmospheric nitrogen yet discovered. If chemists could devise a cheap method for the extraction of aluminium from clays and felspars, in which it occurs in huge quantities, the manufacture of the metal would proceed on a scale commensurate with the steel industry.

IT is interesting to note that Berlin reports the resuscitation of the Roumanian oil industry. Notwithstanding the great destruction wrought on the wells and machines last year, the industry is once more in full swing. The production is increasing weekly, and now provides for the needs of the Central Powers.

SINCE the beginning of the war Japan has had to manufacture many commodities which were imported from Europe before the war. She has in most cases been very successful; and in fact, in some cases, she now produces more than she can utilise or sell, for example potassium chlorate and phosphorus; on the other hand she has failed to establish the dye-industry. The manufacture of many dyes was planned on a fairly large scale but most of the companies have closed down owing, it is said, to lack of capital and expert assistance.

THE papers which have just come in by the last English mail report the establishment in Manchester of a new British industry, namely the fixation of atmospheric nitrogen by the electric arc process. The industry itself is not new but it has been undertaken in Great Britain for the first time. The product of the manufacture is nitric acid which is in such enormous demand for explosives and manures. It is to be hoped that the new venture will be very successful as it would result in our becoming independent of supplies of nitrate from Chili. Thirty years ago Sir W. Crookes at the British Association Meeting, prophesied that the future of the white race depended on our ability to "fix" atmospheric nitrogen cheaply, in order to ensure a bigger world food-supply.

RECENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

THE FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.

DR. DILLON writes on 'The Allies' Task.' The aim of the Allies has changed with the passing months, and one may now say it is "the recognition of the European equilibrium on a new and stable basis." This phrase, however, is not easy to interpret, and the Russian Revolution and America's entry into the War have made changes in its meaning.

The aim of President Wilson is peace, and it is his view of what is a fair peace that will be decisive. The danger is that Germany, although defeated, will be able in time of peace to secure the main part of her objects; and she has never ceased to plan for the future. The Germans are, every way, the strongest race on the continent, and no political change can alter that, and only the slow changes of development can alter their ambitions. Now that treaties are valueless, war can be prevented only by removing the causes of it or the means of levying it. The idea that Germany can be divided against itself is absurd; the Germans will retain their notions of intellectual and moral supremacy and the only way these can be kept from having their natural result in political domination is "by surrounding Germany with a ring of independent communities helpful indeed as peace neighbours and loyal competitors, but formidable when united as political adversaries." We have to remember that Germany before the War had already gained much, mainly through Britain's acquiescence, specially in Mesopotamia and Africa; if she is allowed to retain it, the realisation of her scheme is only a question of time.

But it is Central Europe, after all, that is most important. It demands a resolute will on the part of the Allies if they are to secure the 'Guarantees' that are needed. Austria-Hungary must be dismembered and a non-German Central Europe built up round a united, self-contained and independent Poland. Otherwise Germany would control 170 millions and threaten and ordain in their name.

And, in the first place, the Germans in Austria-Hungary are of more use to the Teutonic aims where they are than if detached and united to Germany. Then Germany would lose her influence over the rest of the Dual Monarchy. Bohemia, Moravia, and the Slovak region of northern Hungary would form an independent state. New Poland would include not only the province of Posen, but also Upper Silesia with its rich coalfields, and certainly the strip of Baltic coast with Dantzic and the mouth of the Vistula.

Mr. Archibald Hurd writes on 'The Admiralty, the Fleet, and the Battle of Jutland.' There is not the difference of feeling that is sometimes alleged between the Admiralty and the Fleet; the connection between them is much too close. Much of the criticism which appeared in the United States but was really made in Germany with reference to the Battle of Jutland has proved to be wrong. The German fleet only escaped destruction because of the mist. No British battleship or battle-cruiser was sunk by a torpedo, and the battle-cruisers were sunk, not by the piercing of their armour-belt, but by direct hits on the turrets. (But surely there must be some mistake in design, possibly in the distribution of mass, when the consequences of a single hit, apart from explosion, are so serious. Mr. Hurd says a battleship so hit would have fared as badly).

The Germans claimed that they had won an undoubted victory. "A great hammerblow was struck and the nimbus of British world supremacy had disappeared," said the German Emperor. Why the German fleet emerged is not quite certain, but apparently they hoped to destroy Admiral Beatty's Fleet; a semi-official statement said "The German High Seas' Fleet pushed forward in order to engage a portion of the British Fleet which was repeatedly reported to be off the south coast of Norway.

Apparently their idea was to use their own battle-cruisers to draw Admiral Beatty's Fleet on to their submarines, but apparently the manœuvring speed was too great for them to do much. The battle-cruisers proved that they were admirably adapted for one of the principal purposes for which they were designed, the reconnaissance in force.

COLLEGE NOTES.

PROBABLY most of our readers are aware that Mr. Macphail was among the passengers injured in the loss of the P. and O. SS. *Mongolia*; but many of them are perhaps ignorant of the character of his injuries and his present state of health. He had the misfortune to injure his hand when leaving the vessel, and as the wounds could not be attended to until the following day, they assumed a rather grave character, and necessitated a long stay in St. George's Hospital, Bombay. As we go to press, he is still in hospital; but he is making progress, and we hope he will soon be able to return to Madras. Interim arrangements have been made for his College work; but the College classes, as well as his colleagues and friends, will not be satisfied until he is once more in our midst.

As the 4th of August this year fell on a Saturday, and as the Thursday and Friday preceding were College holidays, the 1st August was recognised in the College as the third anniversary of the Declaration of War by Great Britain. The first hour of the day was devoted to an exposition, in the class rooms, of the origin and significance of the War. At 11 o'clock the College met in the Anderson Hall to engage in a common act of prayer and thanksgiving. At the close of the service the College closed for the day. Although attendance at this act of devotion was voluntary, as it had been at the corresponding occasions in previous years, practically the entire College was present, and a very reverent spirit was manifested. The service began with an address by the Principal in which he dwelt on the change which within the year had been caused by the revolution in Russia and the entry into the war of the United States of America, and on the need of fresh consecration of our cause to God. Mr. Muliyl then engaged in a prayer of thanksgiving, confession, and prayer for victory. Part of Psalm 118 was read, and a prayer of intercession and for the days to come was offered by Mr. Meston. Dr. Skinner closed the service with the benediction.

THE Annual Pallavaram Camp for the Christian Students of Madras was held this year at a considerably earlier date than usual; the four consecutive holidays at the beginning of this month were utilized for this purpose by the Inter-Collegiate Committee. The time for preparations was too brief: some of the well-known leaders of the Camp in the previous years could not possibly be present this time, and several others counted upon failed. All these circumstances led the Programme Committee to stop its activities for a time and to call together a larger body of students and student-workers for prayerful deliberation about the matter. After two long sessions, it was decided, especially as this seemed to be the earnest wish of the student members present, to go ahead with the arrangements despite the apparently adverse circumstances, trusting in help from Above. It is noteworthy that this year's Camp was more in the hands of students themselves than perhaps has ever been before the case; the indispensably valuable guidance of the senior leaders without whom the Camp would not have taken place at all is however not to be minimised for a moment.

The body referred to above, met at Pallavaram on Wednesday evening the 1st of August, for a day's Retreat to discuss the programme and other details of the Camp. By the next evening there were about fifty delegates assembled on the spot and the Camp itself commenced with a short address by Mr. Kingsley Williams who was

the chairman throughout. There were two general meetings daily, and the main theme of the addresses might be designated as the Christian Warfare. On the first day, Messrs. G. V. Job and K. C. Chacko dwelt upon the havoc wrought by the Enemy in the corporate life of men as well as in their individual lives. On the next day, the attention of the audience was drawn by Messrs. D. G. M. Leith and P. O. Philip to the Leader under whom they were called upon to do battle against the inveterate enemy of mankind. Mr. Neill in the course of his two addresses on the last day, expounded the conditions of enlistment and the severe cost it necessarily involves. All the evening meetings were conducted in the open-air and the last of them was held on the top of a neighbouring hill in the midst of impressive scenery. On one afternoon there were denominational conferences, a new feature introduced in accordance with the decision of the last general committee meeting of the All-India Christian Student Association. The Bible Circles served as opportunities to draw the delegates into closer contact one with another and the Fellowship meetings at night were occasions of much innocent mirth. In the business meeting short reports were given of the Christian Unions in the various colleges.

The delegates had ample leisure left at their disposal, and it was a pleasant sight to see small batches of them walking up and down the green meadows or sitting in circles talking to one another up to a late hour on the moonlit nights. The fellowship which camps like this give rise to, needs to be preserved and deepened, and if this is done it will be a most valuable spiritual acquisition for the delegates, to which they will, in their later lives ever look back with profound joy and gratitude. (C. P. M.)

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INFLUENCE OF RELIGION ON INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE.*

BY ARTHUR DAVIES, M.A.

THE bare title of this lecture, as indeed of each lecture of this series, is ambiguous. Are we in pursuit of knowledge merely or is our object the discovery of a rule of conduct? Do we wish to find an answer to the question to what extent, if at all, does religion influence or has it influenced the world of economics—a problem which might conceivably be solved on purely historical or statistical lines—or treated from a philosophical or scientific standpoint might resolve itself into the deeper question of the influence that religion as a theory of the Universe must necessarily have upon this particular branch of human activity?—Or is our object an entirely different one, namely ethical, an attempt to answer not the question *what is* the influence of Religion on Industry and Commerce, but rather *what ought to be* the influence of Religion on Industry and Commerce?

I propose to-night to focus our thoughts on the ethical issue, on the question of conduct. How far as thinking beings ought we to allow our religious attitude to determine our action in the sphere of buying and selling?—At the same time I should be the first to deprecate any attempt to arrive at an *a priori* solution. If we are to arrive at any trustworthy conclusion as to what Man may be, we must start from the basis of what Man is. Ruskin has

* A lecture delivered at the Kellett Institute, Triplicane, Madras.

Those who are familiar with Professor Peabody's "Approach to the Social Question" will recognize that I have taken from that excellent book not only many ideas and much of my arrangement but also whole passages of the substance, word for word. I apologise, not for lack of originality, but for the compression and mangling and theft of which I am guilty.

poured legitimate scorn upon the orthodox economics of his time. It took one or two leading motives of human nature and ignoring the rest, built up a theory of economic action upon this partial view of the whole. It was he said, like "a science of gymnastics which assumed that men had no skeletons. It might be shown, on that assumption, that it would be advantageous to roll the students up into pellets, flatten them into cakes, or stretch them into cables; and that when these results were effected, the reinsertion of the skeletons would be attended with various inconveniences to their constitutions. The reasoning might be admirable, the conclusions true, and the science deficient only in applicability. Modern political economy stands on a precisely similar basis. . . . I do not deny the truth of this theory: I simply deny its applicability to the present phase of the world."

Unfortunately Ruskin, while condemning the folly of ignoring men's skeletons, himself gave us rules for human conduct which are quite impracticable because they neglected the existence of men's stomachs. But his own failure as a practical guide should not lessen for us the value of the truth he teaches in the above passage, that our conduct can only be right when based upon the *facts*, whatever they may be, the whole of the facts, of human nature.

There are indeed schools of thought which would deny altogether the value of any such enquiry as we are proposing to-night. Some there are to whom all religion is a mere chimera, a vain pursuit, empty talk in big words about vague emotions and things incomprehensible. They would close all discussion at once by the dogmatic assertion that superstitious dreamings should be allowed no influence upon any branch of a reasoning man's conduct. I cannot now deal with the atheist or agnostic. Let us assume as a postulate for to-night that there is something in religion.—But there are others who would admit the reality and value of religion and yet refuse to listen to its voice outside its own limited sphere. Religion, they would say, is one thing, the pursuit of material wealth quite another. Religion is concerned in an attempt to know God, to learn the ultimate truth, and it is approached either from the intellectual side by the roads of philosophy or theology or from the emotional side in mysticism, worship, *bakthi*. It is es-

sentially a matter that touches the spiritual nature of man and has as little bearing upon questions of economics, as such, as it has upon the facts of physical nature.

No one would dream of discussing the influence of religion on the law of gravitation. Is it reasonable, they would ask, to consider its influence upon what has been called the iron law of wages or on the theory of economic rent? Are not these matters decided by the hard facts of material life as irrevocably and certainly as the falling of a stone? A mad man may in religious fervour throw himself from a pinnacle of the temple believing God's angels will take charge of him and bear him up. Inevitably he will be dashed to pieces. Is not the man equally mad who refuses to buy in the cheapest market or sell in the dearest, who when asked for his coat gives his cloak also? Is he not in fact up against the stubborn inexorable laws of human nature, determined by animal appetites and instincts, which may be ignored by the fool or the enthusiast but are in the long run absolutely certain in their operation?—In some form or other I fancy this idea is at the back of the minds of many of us, who perhaps would not expressly admit its truth, and is a hidden but most potent cause of the feebleness of so many of the efforts we make for social amelioration. I believe, however, that this type of economic fatalism is based partly on the fallacy of materialism and partly on misconceptions as to the nature of man and the true significance of religion for him. I do not propose directly to attack these thinkers. I have not the ability, knowledge or time to do so. I believe most modern philosophers, in spite of the perennial disagreement of the various schools on many points, are agreed in condemning the compartmental view of human nature. Man is not three persons, body, mind and soul, but one person. The doctrine of the Holy Trinity with all its paradox is as true of man as of God. Religion, if it is worth anything at all, cannot be dammed back in the regions of the intellect or the soul: it must flood the whole of man's being and produce its effects as surely upon every branch of his conduct as it does upon his thoughts and his emotions.

After this introduction let us now approach our problem for a closer study. We have first to understand the reasons and conditions of industry and commerce, and then to determine

how as reasoning feeling and above all acting beings our conduct shall be guided in a world of industry and commerce.

Let us start with man at his lowest, plainest, most obvious : a featherless biped, an animal with appetites and instincts—differing from the ape and tiger in greater feebleness of body and greater cunningness of mind. What are his primary needs? —To fill his stomach, to clothe his back, to get him a mate.—He finds himself in a world which provides for his desires—but generally not without struggle. He learns to resist—to fight. We grant to the materialist the physical, animal basis of life. We grant that it is from these primary needs there spring first the desire of proprietorship, the idea of property and then the idea of exchange followed by the whole complex of an economic world. Yes on one of the planes of his being man is a beast, a brute, self-centred, seeking the satisfaction of stomach appetites. Let us however do justice even to the animal world. Even on this animal stage of existence we find—long before reason or religion can have any play—strange contradictions of the pure self-seeking appetites—in the parental and herd instincts. Again and again the mother gladly gives her own life that her children may live, the individual calls his mates to share in the food he has found and rushes to danger and death that his fellows of the flock may be saved. Blind instinct—nature's law! So be it, but signs and prophecies too, of what we shall see repeated in higher stages—pointing upward to the perfect law that shall be hereafter. Nature is one, and the paradoxes of the purest religion have their analogies among the facts of the grossest animalism.

Personally I have a great tenderness for our brothers, the animals. Like us they are born, they suffer and they die! and it is good to remember that of the birds of the air not one falls to the ground but our common Father in heaven in His tender care knows of it. Perhaps our Western Christianity would have been nearer to Truth if like Hinduism and Buddhism it had discovered some scheme of salvation for the animal creation as well as for man.

Animals then may have souls to be saved! But it is surely the blindest of prejudice that refuses to recognise that man is infinite stages higher in the scale of being. Animals are animals and may be something more. Of man the 'something more' is

certain. Of the many elements in human nature which redeem it from pure animalism I will mention but two—closely related to each other: the capacity of choice, the capacity for doubt.

The story of Adam and Eve is spoken of as the story of the Fall of Man. It is in reality the story of man's first upward step: for God differentiated man from the whole of the rest of creation by making him in his own image, that is, giving him the capacity and opportunity of choice. There stood the forbidden tree—and Man was at perfect liberty to take or refrain from its fruit. It is a symbol of man's glory and privilege throughout the ages. Man alone, or at least pre-eminently, among animals can commit sin. The pure animal does what it does by pure instinct, guided by material law. His path is pre-ordained, inevitable. Man has ever before him two or a thousand paths and transcending material law proves himself by the faculty of choice the possessor of a soul. Man then is not merely animal—he is a choosing animal, and because he is a choosing animal he is also a doubting animal. Every path has flowers along its way. Shall this or that be taken? In every stage from primitive society to the most complex civilization, from infancy to old age, life presents itself to Man whether as an individual or as a member of a society not merely as a gift to be enjoyed, but as a problem to be solved. It is beset with questions. There is the political question, the educational question, the religious question, the social question, and each of these itself is subdivided into hosts of subsidiary questions. Take for instance that which concerns us to-night the industrial question. What is it in its simplest, plainest form? How shall I get enough to eat and drink? How shall I being a man of foresight provide for my future? How can I acquire and protect myself against the desire of others to take from me what I have acquired? How in short can I obtain and keep wealth? It is seen however that while it is a problem for the individual, it is for the individual set in the midst of a social whole. Man belongs to the herding animals. Self-realisation for him must be sought not apart from others, but in relation to others. This problem like every other problem of life though perceived at first as personal resolves itself almost at once into a social problem. One may theoretically detach the person from the

mass as though he occupied a little universe of his own, but in fact, the separate individual is an abstraction unknown to experience, and we are at once therefore compelled to restate it thus "Set, as I inevitably am, within the industrial order, how shall my life therein be realised, amplified, sustained?"

There have been attempts to answer this question on an exact scientific basis.

The earlier political economy in particular made such an attempt and in order that it might be exact as well as scientific it assumed that man was a mechanical thing, actuated by none but self-seeking motives, bound to act in a particular way. I have already quoted Ruskin's denunciation of this science. I might add a passage from Carlyle "Cash payment" he writes "never was, or could except for a few years be, the union-bond of man to man If at any time such a philosophy—start up as the exponent of human relations, expect that it will soon end—A man has other obligations laid on him, in God's universe, than the payment of cash."

True: but Carlyle like Ruskin fails as a teacher because he forgot that man has at least that obligation, and the mistake of this older political economy was not that it was scientific, not even that in order to be scientific it treated human nature as a dead static thing with no variety in it.

In fact no dealing with the industrial question or any other of the great human questions can be satisfactory that does not work on a scientific basis. In every subject it is of the greatest practical advantage to discriminate the sphere of general reasoning from that of applied maxims. Pure mathematics, for example, examines the relations of forms and numbers without concern for their existence as facts. Pure mathematics is none the less the essential pre-requisite of the applied arts of construction, and the engineer utilises for his purpose the formula which the mathematician has proved. In the same way within the general area of the industrial question there is a field for economic science.

The mistake lies in imagining that there is no further region beyond economics, that the answer of economics is a complete and final answer. As a fact in approaching any part of the social question one passes through a region where the language is that of economics but soon one enters into another country with a

new language of human passion and desire. "Let us assume" says a writer on this subject "that the stomach question is solved. Do you fancy that the social question is solved also? The gnawing stomach may be quieted, but the beating heart and anxious head are not content." In short the industrial question is a moral question, and as we pass its gateway one hears indeed the language of economic science, but mingled with it and nearer to its citadel the notes and accents of moral emotion, compassion, pity or hope.

The industrial world which seems so specially and completely dominated by economic law is most demonstrably based on moral fact.—It rests on credit: it exists through integrity; it prospers through public confidence. Modern business, far from being, as it is often described, a pitiless system of piracy and plunder, is essentially a vast structure of social service where economic gain, as a rule, coincides with public utility; and where, for one fortune procured by destructivism and fraud, a hundred are the consequences of integrity and fidelity. The best endowment for success in business is an endowment of sobriety, incorruptibility, hopefulness and patience: and the more complex business has grown, the more dependent it has become at every point upon trustworthy character and incorruptible leadership. Problems of new machinery are still difficult, but the most pressing problem of modern business life is to find new capacity to run the machinery which is already devised; and the power which creates this productive energy is to be sought in the abundant resources of moral initiative and strength.

While never forgetting then the scientific aspect of the problem we realise that the true full answer to our question has to be sought for by the individual in the region of ethics.

The scientific answer is essential but it is not complete. The question before us is not solved by telling us merely how things in the industrial world will fall out if we assume human society to be composed of a number of 'economic men'—Our question demands of us a deeper fuller answer—How am I to act? What is my duty? Moral issues are continually pressing upon me for treatment. What shall be my attitude towards them? To ethics then we must turn.

The history of ethics shows that roughly there have been

three schools of thought upon this matter—the egoist, the prudential, the idealist.

The simplest answer is given by the egoist. "You have no duty. Assert yourself. Seek your own pleasure. Satisfy your own desire. All else is illusion, misdirected sentiment, and in the end social degeneration." Let us turn for instance to the modern virile teaching of Nietzsche with his persuasive appeal to natural law and force of will—One must choose in his conduct whether he is to be among those who rule or among those who obey, with the masters or with the slaves. Healthy nations like the Greeks have promoted a master-morality, weak nations like the Hebrews have taught a slave-morality; and the most degenerate outcome of this creed was the Christian religion, with its praise of humility, sympathy and sacrifice. "Life" he writes "is essentially the appropriation, the injury, the subduing of the alien and weak. It is suppression, compulsion, the enforcing of its own forms. It is assimilation, and at the least and gentlest, exploitation" or again, elsewhere, "What is happiness? It is the feeling that power increases—that resistance has been overcome. Not contentment, but more power; not peace, but war; not virtue, but efficiency The weak and crippled should go to the wall: that is the first principle of *our* philanthropy. And we should help them to go."

This answer is straightforward, simple, clear, but it is grounded on the hypothesis that we are essentially animals contending in a struggle for existence from which may be a master-race of super-men will emerge. It ignores the complexity of our human nature. That the determined effort to be a master in a world of slaves may have a disastrous issue is illustrated on the plane of the individual by the pathetic life of Nietzsche himself, on the social plane it is Nietzsche's philosophy applied to the State that has raised against Germany a world full of enemies and seems to threaten, if not her existence, at least her prosperity and her power and influence whether for good or evil for generations to come. Perhaps indeed the completest answer to the simple teaching of the egoist school is the equally simple reply that experience shows it will not work. In any case there are very few bold enough to be consistent followers of Nietzsche.

Let us pass to the prudentialists, who are prepared with an answer, capable of carrying far greater conviction to the average

mind. Of this school there are many able exponents. "We are in a world" they say "where pleasure must be sought and pain avoided. In increasing some of our pleasures, we often find our action involves immediate or subsequent pain. In banishing pain we may find we are deprived of some counterbalancing pleasure. In every case we must weigh the pains and the pleasures and so act that the scale of pleasure will outweigh the scale of pain." This teaching has the merit of taking into account the ordinary motives of average life, so that it has an appearance of sanity, sagacity and worldly wisdom. It does not ask too much of human nature; it accepts the world as it is, and bids us make ourselves as comfortable therein as circumstances permit. It has the further merit that it does not of necessity, like the egoism of Nietzsche at least, bid us banish our social instincts—love, sympathy, the sense of justice to others. It recognizes society—or at least permits us in making our balance of pains and pleasures to take into account those that others suffer and enjoy as well as our own. In actual fact too we find that the great majority of mankind seem for nine-tenths of their conduct to have adopted this teaching. It is in short a practicable faith on the level of worldly expediency.

But attractive as it is, the prudentialist creed fails us just when it is most needed. In the first place it gives us no standard by which we can measure pleasure and pain. I remember years ago when I was at college it was proposed to hold a debate on whether it were better to be a happy pig or an unhappy man. There is no answer to this vital question on the plane of prudentialism. We may avoid a great deal of pain by animalizing ourselves. We may add a considerable quantity of a kind of pleasure to life if we live as pigs. The answer that the quality as well as the quantity of the pleasure and the pain are to be taken into account does not really help. For if we prefer the higher moral sensitiveness of man to the lower sensitiveness of pig, though the pleasure on that plane may be of a higher quality, the pain too is more poignant and far-reaching. Moreover who shall say that the quality of man's pleasure and pain is higher than that of pig? We have to seek elsewhere for a standard of higher and lower. Prudentialism cannot supply it.

Fatal as this objection alone is, there is a far more serious

one behind. For we find that many of the acts which appeal to us as of the very highest moral quality would if judged from a strict prudential standpoint have to be classed as mere folly and therefore even immoral. Prudentialism has no room at all in the orbit of its moral system for self-sacrifice, and its attendant virtues. In the London *Spectator* some years ago there appeared the following paragraph. "The medical world has reason to be proud of one of its members who died this week, as the consequence of a really heroic act performed in the cause of his professional duty. Dr. Samuel Rabbeth, a young man of only 27 years . . . found . . . that a child . . . must die of diphtheria unless the suffocating membrane was sucked away through a tube ; and he risked and lost his life through diphtheria in the attempt to save the child's, which he did not succeed in saving at all." Though one reads of this act of heroism with a thrill of pride, can it be rationally justified ? One sets this type of conduct before the philosophy of egoism and the egoist simply retreats from it as inexplicable or insane. One sets it before the prudentialist and the bonds of his creed are burst if he attempts to explain it. Morality is to be discovered by computation, but the very essence of this type of act is in its incalculating, spontaneous character. To compute the chances is to let the chance go by. The doctor did not stop to weigh pleasure and to weigh pain. He acted as he did, because he must. He was led by a categorical command, a voice without reply to disobey which would have been to him moral recreancy.

The only explanation of morality upon this level is to be found in the teachings of the ethical idealists, to whom the command of duty is accepted not as provisional, but as absolute. The idealist, instead of floundering in the slippery places of self-interest, or trudging along the flat country of calculated pleasure and pain, climbs to the heights of moral decision, a way leading not to illusion and obscurity, but to insight and reality : and human nature welcomes this ascent—for man is above all an ideal-forming animal.

So far I have been generalising. Allow me in the concluding point of this lecture to show as shortly as I can the practical application of our principles to the problems of modern industrialism. Some persons may still fancy that they are concerned with

purely economic issues,—arrangements of wages or hours or the distribution of profits. The real industrial issue however lies generally much deeper than these economic adjustments, in the sense of injustice, inhumanity or wrong. But even when it is thus recognised as an ethical question ; it may still be approached on the lower levels of morality. An egoistic employer regards himself as the owner of his employed. He is master and has no duty but to increase his own profit and to crush the ambitions of his servants or slaves. Egoism however, in business as elsewhere, sooner or later defeats itself. The more absolute the authority of the master, the more violent will be the revolt of the slave. The state of war that results is as ruinous to industry as it is in other spheres. No stable business can be built on the ethics of egoism.—Prudentialism, recognising that internecine conflict is suicidal advises arbitration, conciliation, the balance of expediencies. Reason is substituted for force, and passion is given time to cool. Yet prudentialism in industry, as in politics, does not pretend to settle the issues involved. Precisely as the world-powers maintain their great armies as a guarantee of peace, so the forces of industry must be strong enough to fight if they would avoid fighting. Class-consciousness remains, and the best that trades unionism and combinations of employers can do is to maintain a balance of power. In politics there are times when the strain is too great, and we get war—such a war as is now devastating Europe and threatens to carry us back to the Middle Ages. In industry too the delicately adjusted balance is likely at any moment to be disturbed and the armed truce of prudentialism lapses into the war conditions of egoism. Through these successive stages of rudimentary morality the real industrial question emerges. Must the forces of economic production be permanently aligned in hostile armies, restrained from fighting only by diplomacy or by force ?

Is self-seeking struggle the one purpose of man ? Cannot the various factors of industrial life find their self-realisation through service rather than in conflict ?—These and questions like them testify to the faith of an industrial idealism, the belief in the possibility of industrial unity and the organisation of industrial life, so that each shall be for all and all for each.—Remote and visionary faith—But is it so ? Each legislative

measure for the protection of the defenceless or weak; each enforcement of sanitation, each increase of security for the woman, the child, the aged or the disabled; each instance of genuine co-operation and profit-sharing; each alliance of wage-earners for mutual aid—is nothing but an expression of moral idealism in terms of realised achievement. Stupid people may continue to regard the vast industrial restlessness that over-spreads the whole world as a mere scramble for the spoils of industry, a mere trial of brute strength between employers and employed. It is not so. These mighty movements can only be understood in terms of idealism. "The future of civilisation" says a German economist of this school in 1909, "will chiefly depend on the development in human society of the ethical ideal of justice—a justice attained not by formal legislation, or considerations of self-interest, but by the recognition and respect in personal conduct of the equal rights of all other persons."

Is there not however a great danger that this idealism thus soaring aloft may become mere exaggerated, vague emotionalism. Will not sentimentalism supplant that science, that recognition of hard prosaic fact which I have asked you to take as the premise of our inquiry?

I verily believe such a danger exists. What we need is to be spiritual-minded and worldly-minded at one and the same time. Our science requires momentum, our works must be moved by faith, our government needs to be illumined by humanity, our prudence transfigured by sympathy and hope.

How is this miracle to be accomplished? How with one eye on the distant star shall our feet walk firmly and surely on the solid ground? How escaping the bestiality of egoism, the tame mediocrity of prudentialism, shall we find inspiration for our lives—inspiration that shall be to ourselves and a wondering world no will of the wisp but a guiding light, not folly or madness but life itself and truth?

I believe a way through the perplexities and perturbations of the problems that beset us is to be found only when we finally recognise the religious tendency of our quest. Imperfect, tentative, experimental may be our gropings, our social schemes and our dreams, but if we can feel they have their share in the large purpose of the troubled, these troubled agitations, these

repeated failures become part in God's education of the human race. Round our incompleteness flows His completeness; round our restlessness His rest. We began with science: we end with religion. We began with works: we end with Faith. "He maketh the devices of the people of none effect" but "the counsel of the Lord standeth for ever, the thoughts of His heart to all generations."

MEDICAL PROBLEMS OF TO-DAY.

BY A. J. H. RUSSELL, M.A., M.D., I.M.S.

LIVING as we do in the tropics, it is natural that the problems connected with tropical diseases should be first in our thoughts. Probably some of you at least will be surprised to learn that I give malaria the first place amongst these. You may think that the problem of malaria has been solved. We know its cause, how it is spread and by what agency, and we know the treatment. There are still, however, immensely important and difficult questions connected with malaria in India which remain unanswered. During 1908 two million people died of malaria in the Punjab alone. During the preceding years and since then the figures for malaria have never approached that terrible total. Much labour and time have been given to the epidemiology of malaria, but it is doubtful whether any satisfactory explanation has yet been made regarding those tremendous waves of intense malaria which sweep over parts of India every few years. What are the conditions which favour these outbreaks? The conditions must change for all diseases must have a cause, but no one has so far been able to say what changes have occurred. It would seem to be simple enough, but some of the best brains in the country have devoted years of study to this question without any very valuable results. Could the problem be solved, and could these epidemic waves of malaria be stamped out, the benefit which would accrue to the Indian peoples affected would be well nigh incalculable.

Kala-azar is a disease well known to all who live and work in Madras. The parasite, as you know, bears the name of Colonel Donovan who, along with Colonel Leishman, was the first to discover it. Since the discovery of the parasite many

workers have spent weary days and months and years in investigations connected with the spread of the disease. Kala-azar is a disease found only in certain restricted areas of India, *i.e.*, parts of Assam and Madras city. Even in this city the disease is to be found only in certain areas and districts, and shows no tendency to spread therefrom. The parasite is a blood parasite, and,—bearing the analogous instance of the malarial parasite and the mosquito before us,—it is a natural inference that some biting insect acts as the carrier of the *Leishmania-Donovani*. Here again many have been the labourers but little has been the result of their labours, and I believe I am right when I say that it is still an unsolved problem how the kala-azar body is carried from one person to another. There you have two problems connected with kala-azar neither of which has so far been elucidated. The solution of one would probably throw much light on the other, but much more will have to be done apparently before either has been satisfactorily explained.

With these as instances of tropical diseases, I would now mention a disease known all over the world and one which is very prevalent in Southern India, namely, diabetes. Diabetes is, according to Osler, “a disorder of nutrition in which sugar accumulates in the blood and is excreted in the urine, the daily amount of which is greatly increased.” Doubtless this is a good text-book definition, but it tells us little beyond the fact that the chief sign of the disease is sugar in the urine. We are indeed profoundly ignorant as to the cause of the disease. It apparently occurs promiscuously and in haphazard fashion among the inhabitants of European countries, and is there a comparatively rare disease. The statistics for diabetes in America for instance show that the deaths from this disease were only 2 to 3 per 100,000 of the population. I feel sure you will agree with me when I say that diabetes in Madras Presidency is a much more severe and fatal disease than that. You are well aware of the type of man in whom it usually appears. The victim is ordinarily one who has reached the age of forty to fifty, and has spent his days in strenuous toil. He is a man of more than average mental capacity who has used his powers unstintingly and has been content with few and short holidays. Without warning sometimes, at other times slowly and insidiously, the dread disease manifests itself, and often within a few months death intervenes and cuts off a man of worth and ripe experience in his

prime. Such is the usual history, and how commonly it occurs is only too well known. We are much in the dark as regards the physiological disturbances which precede the disease, and the pathology is also practically unknown. Early in 1914 an expert research worker had been engaged by the Government of Madras to carry out investigations on this disease, but war intervened and unfortunately still goes on, so that nothing has been done in the matter. It is a problem of the greatest importance in this City and Presidency.

The economic loss which the country sustains in the death of these diabetic victims is a very great one, and makes the investigation of the disease both as to etiology and pathology a most urgent question. That there is something in the causation of the disease very different from the type met with in temperate climates is very obvious, and this would probably be one of the first lines on which research would be made. Doubtless recent workers have demonstrated new methods of treatment, methods which in many cases give extraordinarily satisfactory results, but the aim of all medical work ought to be the prevention of disease and not the mere treatment after its manifestation. We belong to the only profession which is constantly trying to do itself out of a job so to speak, and until we can guide human lives in such a manner as will prevent the appearance of disease we have not carried out the task laid before us.

You will, no doubt, expect that part of my lecture will necessarily deal with questions of public health. When I come to this point I am left wondering which problems to touch upon and which to leave out, so many and so varied are the questions which occur at once to one's mind. It must suffice if I touch upon two matters which are perhaps the most urgent of all, namely, tuberculosis and infantile mortality.

Tuberculosis is a disease which unfortunately is rapidly increasing in India, especially among those who live in the towns and cities. Do not think, however, that tubercle cannot be found in the country districts. Many cases are now met with even in the smallest villages and hamlets where infection was no doubt carried by individuals returning from the more crowded centres of modern life and bustle. It may be taken as certain, therefore, that this dread scourge is now to be met with throughout the length and breadth of the land; and the problem of dealing with tuberculosis is one which must be faced by all

health authorities in the very near future. You are probably aware of the various schemes which are now in working order in various cities in Great Britain, each of these including the tuberculosis dispensary, tuberculosis wards for incurable cases, farm colonies, and sanatoria for the treatment of early cases. These are all co-ordinated under the Health Officer who has under him in addition both paid and voluntary health visitors and nurses who visit the homes of patients attending the tuberculosis dispensary and seek out amongst the other members of the households early cases of infection. In many instances, two, three and four such cases in one house are met with, cases not ill enough to seek treatment on their own initiative, but cases in the most suitable stage of the disease for successful treatment. In Edinburgh, where Sir Robert Philip introduced the first anti-tuberculosis scheme initiated in Great Britain, tubercle may now be said to be well under control, and within recent years the figures show a marked reduction in the incidence of tuberculosis even in the poorest and most over-crowded parts of the city. In Madras, H. E. the Governor only a few days ago laid the foundation stones of a tuberculosis dispensary and of an accompanying anti-tuberculosis block which will provide 28 beds for cases of tubercle. The tuberculosis dispensary has been now open in temporary buildings for several months, and the attendance there has demonstrated in unmistakeable fashion—if any further demonstration of what was a patent fact was necessary—that tuberculosis exists to a marked degree in Madras City. It is a small beginning, but everything must have a beginning however small. There are no tuberculosis wards, no farm colonies, no sanatoria and no health visitors or nurses attached to the dispensary, but no doubt some of these will come into being in the near future. The question of health visitors is a difficult one in this country. The visitors must be individuals who are acquainted with the language, life, religion and caste of the people they visit, and must be possessed of abundant energy, tact and goodwill. Health visitors will do more harm than good if the people look on them with suspicion, and the first thing to be done is to win the confidence of the mothers and women of the household. Only then will anything useful be accomplished. I am well aware that under present conditions, health visitors of suitable race, caste and even sex will be difficult to enlist in the army of public health

workers, but medical men of your race might well take some of the preliminary steps, and encourage others of less scientific but perhaps equally energetic minds to take their share after a preliminary training which you and you alone will be able to give them.

Just let me remind you once more that a tuberculosis dispensary is not to be looked upon as a "tuberculin" dispensary. The treatment of tuberculosis means much more than injection with doses of tuberculin; in fact I might put the matter much more strongly and say that in many cases injection of tuberculin is mal-praxis, and not only does no good but may hurry the patient to an early grave. It is now generally recognized by most authorities that tuberculin is a drug which, however useful it may be when carefully used in suitable cases, (and the decision as to when a case is suitable for injection can only be reached by careful and prolonged study), is immensely dangerous in unskilled hands, and I am afraid that there is a spreading impression among the lay public in India that tuberculin is the be-all and end-all of treatment for tuberculosis. It remains with you all to resist this impression in the most strenuous fashion and never to allow yourselves to be persuaded to inject tuberculin simply because a patient or his friends wish for that form of treatment. Among that path lies the stumbling block of quackery, and that I am sure you will all desire to avoid as you would the devil.

There has been some mention in the local press of the danger of building a tuberculosis dispensary and hospital in the centre of a city like Madras. Let me assure you that the fears thus expressed are groundless. The dispensary and hospital will fulfil the functions of educative institutions, the patients being taught the best methods for avoidance of the spread of infection by their sputum. At present you have something over 5,000 cases of tuberculosis in this city, each of these individuals expectorating freely on the streets, round about houses, etc. If you can manage to prevent even a few of these individuals from carrying on this promiscuous sowing of the seeds of disease, then the dispensary and hospital will have fulfilled to a considerable extent the functions for which they were intended, and the amount of infection will be by so much reduced instead of increased. Here then you have one of the most dreaded diseases increasing rapidly in your country, and you are faced with a

problem which even yet has been only very partially solved in those countries where medical science is much more advanced than with us in India. It is one which might very well appal the bravest heart, but it will provide work which will give satisfaction to yourselves and relief to the afflicted mortals who find themselves owing to the disease reduced to even greater penury than usual, and who have nothing more to look forward to than death as an early release from their misery.

The problem of infantile mortality is one which has come much before the public eye since the present war commenced to wipe out the manhood of the nations. It had been previously a matter of which so-called faddists were wont to talk and write about, but at the present moment there is not a country in Europe which is not taking the most active measures to save its infants. The question is also an important one for India. In Madras city alone during 1916, something approaching 300 children out of every 1,000 born, died before reaching the age of one year. Similar figures can be quoted for practically all the large cities of India, and it is not too much to say that in the whole of India something like $2\frac{1}{2}$ million infants die yearly before they have lived one year. That you will agree is bad enough, but there is still worse to come. Dr. Ballantyne states that "one pregnancy in five ends in abortion in city populations," and it is practically certain that the numbers of pre-natal deaths are as great as the number of infant deaths. For India therefore the yearly death-roll among infants reaches the enormous total of 5 millions. Such numbers literally take away one's breath. In one year in India twice the number of deaths among children as amongst the armies of all the nations engaged in the great European war during the last three years! That is murder on a large scale if you like, and here is a problem large enough to satisfy the most ambitious man.

The causes of infantile mortality are well enough known, as statistics and different investigations have shown conclusively where the mischief lies. Students of Eugenics and of Malthusianism may explain matters as they like, but eventually we reach the conclusion that "poverty, ignorance, neglect and insanitary surroundings are the principal causes of the slaughter of the innocents." More than fifty per cent. of the deaths are due to causes purely preventible or remediable by the observance of simple rules of living. Such observance is often hampered by the

economic conditions of parents, namely poverty, with insufficient and inefficient food, bad housing and bad surroundings. A potent source of misfortune is the necessity to work and earn among the women of the poorer classes. The children come into the world surrounded by unhygienic conditions only to die within the very first days or months of life, and often from trivial causes. In the country districts conditions are still worse. Let me quote from a recent pamphlet written in Madras on the subject:—"Born into chronic poverty, bred on chill penury, sunk in abysmal ignorance, and living in cruel indebtedness and far from the sphere of influence of any adequate medical or maternity aid, the condition of many of our agricultural masses fills one with sadness indescribable." It is a well-known fact that the children of the better classes even in overcrowded areas of the city show a much lower death rate than those of the lower classes. It may be admitted therefore that poverty and ignorance are the two main causes of infantile mortality wherever it exists.

The question of the poverty of the masses does not of course lie within the scope of this lecture. It is one for the economist and the politician to theorize over. What is it possible to do however for the ignorance which kills so many millions? Improvement in general sanitation will of course play an important part in any scheme initiated for the reduction of a high infantile death rate. If this is relied upon, however, "we must recognize that many generations will pass before anything like a satisfactory result can be realized. Not climate, not topography, not municipal sanitation, but the lives, the habits of the mothers in the homes determine the difference." This means, in other words, that some scheme of child welfare is essential. Infantile hygiene is necessary, but it must be at once recognized that infantile hygiene should deal with the child not only after birth but also before its birth. In many European cities maternity hospitals with attached post-natal clinics have been in existence for many years, but it has only more recently been recognized that ante-natal clinics for the treatment of potential mothers are just as important. In any well-thought-out scheme of infantile hygiene an ante-natal clinic, both for out-patients and in-patients is therefore an absolute necessity. In India where only few women as yet seek help in maternity hospitals, indeed where there are only a few hospitals where women can go, the training of midwives and health visitors is of first impor-

tance. The old-fashioned barber woman is responsible for many deaths both amongst mothers and children, and she should be replaced as early as possible by midwives trained at maternity hospitals in the ordinary methods of antisepsis. A useful step has been recently taken in one city in India where the Health Officer has been dissatisfied with the small number of trained midwives available. He has launched a scheme for the training of the professional barber women themselves in maternity hospitals, and I am not at all sure but that he has taken a very sound step. The supply of midwives is scanty, and the barber midwife has a firm place in society which she will not willingly or easily vacate. It is a question of policy, and possibly these trained barber women will remember something of the new teaching and will be correspondingly more useful and less murderous than before.

After the ante-natal and post-natal clinics, the mothers and infants should be followed up to their homes by the municipal midwife or by the paid or voluntary health visitor. In this way children are not lost sight of, and by a system of cards, it is possible to learn whether a child is thriving or not. If all goes well, the visits may become rarer or may cease altogether, whilst if the child is obviously losing ground, it is the duty of the health visitor to urge upon the mother further attendance at the hospital or clinique for advice and treatment for her child. Infant dispensaries in different parts of the city might easily take much of the burden from the central hospital or clinique, for at these dispensaries many of the simpler cases could be effectively treated and again put on the way to renewed health. It is a point to be noted that when once the mother sees the advantages to be derived from these various agencies, she very often brings her child without any urging from a visitor.

Closely connected with infantile hygiene is the question of a pure milk supply. I have on previous occasions given full details of what might be done on these lines, so I would merely urge the importance of a hygienic milk if infants are to be saved.

In some cases it may be necessary to provide the mother with material assistance in addition to medical advice and treatment, although this should not arise in the great majority of cases. I am aware that Rao Sahib Cunnan Chettiar has opened a free milk dépôt at Triplicane where milk is given gratis to infants, but in many cases, as I say, it is much oftener a

question of advising the mother against unsuitable food, which costs no less than nourishing food. Voluntary workers can give valuable assistance in the cases where material assistance is required.

From what has been said it will be recognized that compulsory notification of births is essential if any child-saving scheme is to be successful, and not only must registration be carried out but it must be done promptly, as it is during the first seven days of life that most of the infantile deaths occur. It has even been suggested that notification of pregnancy should be adopted, and, in one village in France, Villiers-le-Duc, where the infantile mortality is now nil, such a method was introduced in the scheme. The fact of pregnancy should ordinarily be reported only to a health visitor, and then action could be taken on such informal notification.

It must be realized by this time that it is impossible to give anything but the barest outline of the various activities co-related in any scheme for the reduction of infantile mortality. I have not gone into any details, want of time forbids that, but if by anything said this evening I have given you food for thought, then I have been more than amply rewarded. I would ask you to realize that in India you have a field crowded with problems of intense interest, all of which are crying out for solution. For that research is necessary, and I would add my feeble voice to the appeal made by the Surgeon-General at our recent prize-giving meeting urging you to tackle some of these problems in a real earnest scientific manner, and do something towards the great needs of the masses among whom you live and work.

THE DATE OF CHILAPPATIKARAM.

By K. G. SESA Aiyar, B.A., B.L., M.R.A.S.

A RECENT visit to Chengannoor in Middle Travancore brought vividly to my mind its hoary associations with Tamil religious literature. It is a consecrated place famous in ancient song and story. It is the place where Kannaki, or Patni Devi, attained her apotheosis, it is sung by both Saiva and Vaishnava saints. It is famed for its temples ; and the most famous of them at present, the temple of the goddess Bagavati, is really worthy of a reverent visit. The question crossed my mind, as I stood before the shrine, whether Bagavati worship in Travancore in general, and in Chengannoor in particular, might not have some relation to the worship of Patni Devi—the wife goddess—which was instituted by Cheran Chenkuttuvan, who on hearing from the hill tribes in his territory of the ascension at Chengannoor of Kannaki with her husband Kovalan to heaven, and from Kulavaniban Sattanar the miraculous story of that ideal wife, set up her image for worship in a temple which he built in her memory at his capital. The story of Kannaki is known to all readers of Tamil literature. It is told in *Chilappatikaram* by Ilan-ko-adigal the brother of Chenkuttuvan, and a younger contemporary of Sattanar, with a wealth of literary charm and grace which it is difficult to surpass.

When did Kannaki's apotheosis take place, and when was the magical epic in which her story is enshrined written ? Like so many other questions relating to South Indian literary history, this question has evoked various answers, which are mutually irreconcilable. The literary structure of *Chilappatikaram* shows that it is an old work, but there are those that hold that the earliest extant works in Tamil do not ascend higher than the middle of the 8th century. This is the view of Dr. Reinhold Rost whose article on *Tamils* written for the 9th edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* has been accepted as a sufficient and accurate account of the subject for the 11th edition of that work issued by the Cambridge University Press. To Dr. Rost, *Chilappatikaram* and *Manimekalai* are not of sufficient importance to deserve even a bare mention of their names anywhere in his article ; and his statements about dates in Tamil literature, not based as we know on data that are now available—for he died

more than twenty years ago—may well be left out as antiquated or obsolete. That does not, however, render the solution of our problem less difficult.

So far, *Chilappatikaram* has been assigned to three periods widely separated from one another. The late Mr. Kanagasabai Pillai, who may be taken as representing one group of investigators, believes that the poem belongs probably to the second century after Christ. Sriinan Pandit Raghava Aiyangar, of the Tamil Lexicon Committee, thinks Cherau Chenkuttuvan and therefore his brother Ilan-ko-adigal, lived in the 5th century A.D. and Diwan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai assures us that the exact date of the composition of the Epic is 756 A.D. The first and the third of these dates are claimed to have been arrived at from internal evidence supplied by the poem itself, while the second has been deduced from an examination of external evidence supplied by contemporary literature. The object of this paper is to examine the merits of each of these views.

We may first consider how far Pandit Raghava Aiyangar's position can be maintained. In his monograph on Cherau Chenkuttuvan, which is a work of great learning and valuable literary research, the learned Pandit concludes on the basis of certain passages in *Aga-nanuru* and other works that Chenkuttuvan must have flourished in the fifth century A.D. One of his principal arguments is that Mamulanar, who according to him should be regarded as a contemporary of Chenkuttuvan, has referred in one of his lyrics in *Aga-nanuru* to the destruction of Patalipura by the Ganges, an event which he thinks may be assigned to some date in the fifth century A.D. In the first place, the verse relied on and attributed to Mamulanar is said to be found in *Aga-nanuru*, which is an unpublished work; and it is not therefore, possible to say whether the learned pandit's reading is correct. Besides the verse as quoted by him does not refer to the submersion of the city in the Ganges or its destruction by the river. It runs as follows:—

பல்புகழ் கிறைந்த வெல்போர் நந்தர்
சீர்மிகு பாடலிக் குழிக் கங்கை
நீர்முதல் கரந்த நீதியங் கொல்லோ.

It will be difficult to contend that in these lines there is any reference to the destruction of the city of Patalipura by floods in the Ganges. Indeed the very idea of the Ganges having over-

flowed and destroyed the city, and of ancient Pataliputra being under the waters of the Ganges, was merely General Cunningham's conjecture, and it has not been accepted by historians or archaeologists. The lines obviously refer to the removal by Nanda the Rich of his vast treasure to the bed of the Ganges and other places, when he was overthrown by Chandragupta Maurya, so that it might not fall into the hands of the conqueror. The expression ; கந்தர் பாடலிக்குழியும் கங்கை நீர் முதற்கரந்த leaves, to my mind, no room whatever for doubt that this is the reference. We will, however, suppose for the sake of argument that the reference is to the destruction of the ancient Patalipura by floods in the Ganges, where is the warrant or necessity for holding that the destruction must have occurred about the fifth century A.D.? The learned Pandit bases his inference on what he thinks has been said by Hiuen Tshang and Mr. R. C. Dutt ; but the reference to them is inconclusive, as neither says anything about the destruction of the city by the action of the river. Hiuen Tshang found Patalipura only a village, bereft of all importance, or magnificence, and the reason for its patent decline is not difficult to see. We learn that already in A.D. 350 Patalipura had been abandoned as a capital city. Fa Hian, who visited India in the beginning of the fifth century A.D., says that the ruins of Asoka's walls still looked magnificent ; but the city itself was in a deserted condition though still fairly thickly inhabited. The process of decay which had visibly set in before Fa Hian's visit, had gone on unchecked for nearly another three centuries before Hiuen Tshang came, and naturally therefore, even without the destructive agency of the river, Patalipura must have dwindled into insignificance before Hiuen Tshang visited it. If there had been a flood submerging and destroying the royal city, it was possibly before Fa Hian's visit, and as he does not make any reference to such an event, it might have occurred long before his time. In the ancient Pali work entitled *Mahaparinibhansutta*, which possibly dates back to about B.C. 375, we read that Buddha, seeing the Saisunagas laying out the city of Patalipura, remarked to his companion, the venerable Ananda :—" In as much, O Ananda ! as it is an honourable place as well as a resort of merchants it shall become a leading city ; but, O Ananda ! one of three dangers will befall Pataliputra, either from fire or from water or from dissension." It is common knowledge that the *Puranas* indulge in *ex post facto* prophecies ; and it might

well be therefore that even before the date of the Sutta, Patalipura had been in the days of the Nanda Kings ravaged by flood. The learned pandit next tells us that Samudragupta invaded Kerala, and that Manular has made specific mention of a battle fought by Samudragupta against a Pandyan chieftain Pazhayar Maran, who was subsequently overthrown by Chenkutuvan. I am afraid this statement is unwarranted. The former of these assertions, namely that Samudragupta invaded Kerala, is based on a misreading by Dr. Fleet of the well-known inscription of Samudragupta's exploits upon an Asoka pillar now at Allahabad. Dr. Keilhorn pointed out the mistake, and Dr. Fleet himself has since admitted it. It may now be taken as established beyond dispute that Kaurālaka Mantaraja in that inscription refers to King Mantaraja whose territory lay on the banks of the Kolluru (Kolair) lake, on the east coast, and has absolutely nothing whatever to do with Mantharam Chiral (மாந்தரஞ்சேரல்), as Pandit Ragava Aiyangar wrongly believes. Indeed the ambitious Gupta emperor did not proceed south of Kanchi on his triumphant march into the Dekhan, but made a detour to the north-west from Kanchi, and passing through Deva Rashtra (Maharashtra) and Erandapalla (Kandesh) returned to his territory. He did not come in contact with any Chera or Pandyan prince or chieftain, and in the verses from Agananuru relied on by Srīman Ragava Aiyangar, there is no mention, either by name or by necessary implication, of any Gupta conqueror of South India. The verses expressly refer to Mauryar (மோரியர்), and that expression cannot indicate Samudragupta who came several centuries after the Mauryan dynasty. We know from history that Bindusara Maurya, the successor of Chandragupta Maurya, conquered and brought under his sway a considerable portion of Dakshinapatha or the Dekhan and that he entrusted that territory to his son Asoka as his viceroy; and may not Mamular, even admitting the reading given by Pandit Ragava Aiyangar of the passage from *Aga Nanuru* to be correct, be regarded as referring to one of Bindusara's expeditions? I say, even admitting the reading be correct, for in the passage from *Pura Nanuru* the expression that is read by Pandit Ragava Aiyangar as மோரியர் appears in Maha Mahopadyaya Pandit V. Swaminatha Aiyar's edition as ஷரியர், which is also the reading adopted by the ancient scholiast in his commentary on *Pura Nanuru*.

I have now dealt with the principal reasons advanced by

Pandit Ragava Aiyangar in support of his view, and I have shown that they proceed on wrong assumptions of fact and mistaken interpretations of passages cited from an unpublished work, the text of which could not in the circumstances be critically examined or unhesitatingly accepted. I will next consider Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's hypothesis. In an extremely interesting paper on "The System of Chronology in Early Tamil Literature" Mr. Swamikannu Pillai has sought to establish from certain astronomical data found in *Chilappatikaram* and *Manimekalai* that those works must have been written in the eighth century A.D. The credit of discovering the importance of these data in the investigation of problems of literary chronology of the Tamil country belongs to Mr. Swamikannu Pillai whose contribution to the discussion of such problems cannot be too highly estimated. I have read his paper carefully, indeed it is very fascinating and attractive; but I regret to say I do not find his arguments for the position he has assumed convincing. Let us consider his paper in some detail.

The passages in *Chilappatikaram* that are discussed by Mr. Swamikannu Pillai are found in நாகோண் காதை, text and commentary, and கட்டுரை காதை. The opening lines of நாகோண் காதை tell us when the departure of Kovalan and Kannaki from Kaveripumpattinam took place. These lines are as follows:—

வான்கண் விழியா வகைநற யாமத்து
மீன்றிகழ் விசும்பின் வெண்மதி நீங்கக்
காரிரு ணின்ற கடைநாட் கங்குல்.

Adiyarkunallar's commentary on these lines contains the following note: "அந்தச்சித்திரைத்திங்கட் புகுதி நாள்—சோதி; திதி மூன்றும் பக்கம், வாரம் ஞாயிறு. இத்திங்களிருபத்தெட்டிற் சித்திரையும் பூரணையுந் கூடிய சனி வாரத்திற் கொடியேற்றி, 'நாலேழ்நாளினும்' என்பதனால் இருபத்தெட்டு நாளும் விழா நடந்து கொடியிறங்கி வகைநற இருபத்தெட்டினிற் பூர்வப்பக்கத்தின் பதின்மூன்றும் பக்கமும் சோமவாரமும் பெற்ற அனுடத்தில் நாட்கடலாடி ஊடுதலின் வகைநற இருபத்தொன்பதின் செவ்வாய்கிழமையும் கேட்டையுப்பெற்ற நாசயோகத்து நிறைமதிப்பதினொலாம் பக்கத்து வகைரைப்பொழிதினிடத்து நிலவுபட்ட அந்தரத்திருளிலே யென்றவாறு.

The passage in கட்டுரை காதை which reads as follows:—

ஆடித் திங்கட் பேரிருட் பக்கத்
தழல் சேர் குட்டத் தட்டமி ஞான்று

வெள்ளி வாரத் தெள்ளெளி யுண்ண
 வுரை சான் மதுரை யோடரசுகேடுறு மெனு
 முறைபு முண்டே.

relates to the destruction of Madura by fire as the result of Kannaki's curse. Of these, the two passages from the text, valuable as they are, are not obviously by themselves capable of yielding any definite result; but not so, however, the commentator's note; and if the details mentioned in it be accurate, we ought to be able to establish with almost absolute certainty the date of *Chilappatikaram*. Mr. Swamikannu Pillai believes that the note by the commentator is capable of giving us a definite, unimpeachable date, and he exultantly says that "between A.D. 1 and A.D. 1900 there was only one year, one month and one day, satisfying all the conditions, and that was Monday, 17th May, A.D. 756." Let us see if this statement is correct.

The passage in question gives the following details:—

1. The month of Chitrai in that year commenced on Sunday, Thrithiya, *Swathi nakshatra*.

2. Twenty-eighth Chitrai, was Saturday, Full Moon, *Chitra nakshatra*. That day the flag was hoisted for the festival of Indra.

3. After 28 days, the duration of the festival, the flag was lowered.

4. On the 28th Vaikasi, Monday, the eighteenth day of the bright lunar fortnight, Anusham Star, the bath in the sea took place and the lovers quarrelled.

5. On the 29th Vaikasi, Tuesday, *Kettainakshatram*, which was a destructive combination, the fourteenth day of the waxing moon, after the moon had set, when the sky was dark (Kovalan left with Kannaki).

It will be noted that these details are not given in the text, which simply says, referring to the day of Kovalan's flight with his wife, that it was after the moon had set on the last day of the bright half, and before sunrise the next morning, when the sky was dark. Supposing for a moment the details given by Adiyarkunallar are correct, whence did he get them? The commentator lived probably in the twelfth century; and even if Mr. Swamikannu Pillay's conclusion be accepted nearly four centuries had expired since the composition of *Chilappatikaram* before this note was written. Did Adiyarkunallar

make his own calculation or did he repeat what he had heard? Mr. Swamikannu Pillai opines that there should have been 'a continuous unbroken tradition of annotation dating almost from the date of the poem', and the commentator in the present instance has preserved what he had obtained from earlier scholiasts. Even upon that explanation, the commentator's note could not be accepted as really of value, as after all it might have been supplied by the ingenuity of an earlier annotator, and as in the process of repetition it might easily have undergone alterations in material particulars. However, the astronomical information supplied in the note seems to be thoroughly fanciful, as one can see from Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's paper itself. Besides, the reckoning of days in the note seems to be puzzling. We are told that the flag was hoisted on 28th Chitrai, Saturday, and as we are told that the 28th Vaikasi was Monday, the month of Chitrai in that year must have had only thirty days. So the festival, which was of twenty-eighty days' duration must have closed on 25th Vaikasi, when the flag must have been taken down, and one fails to see how the bath that concludes the festival took place as stated in the note, only on the 28th Vaikasi. There is no doubt from the narration of the story in the poem that Kovalan and Kannaki left for Madura on the night of the bath itself, before dawn of next morning, and yet we read in the note that they left on the night of Tuesday, the 29th Vaikasi. Obviously the note as it stands, even apart from its astronomical learning, is incorrect or not easily explicable. Is the astronomical information, at any rate, free from error? Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit V. Swaminatha Aiyer, the revered editor of *Chilappatikaram*, says in a footnote that the information contained in the note appears to be incorrect, but Mr. Swamikannu Pillai, while extolling the learned Pandit's candour, rebukes the astrologer who enabled that footnote to be written for ignorance of astrological calculation. I nevertheless venture to say that the conditions in this curious note are impossible and that the learned Mahamahopadhyaya's footnote is justified.

To arrive at 756 A.D. Diwan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai has freely edited the commentator's note. As regards the commencement of Chitrai in that year, he says that it was a day of Swati in the sense that Swati began on that day at 38 *ghatikas* after sunrise. He admits that ordinarily such a day would be called a day of *Chitra nakshatra*; but in explanation

of the commentator's blunder, he states that the commentator appears to have obtained his *nakshatra* by backward calculation from "Jyeshta," the star under whose malignant influence, Kovalan and Kannaki left for Madura. This itself will be enough to condemn the note as untrustworthy. What is the basis for holding that it was on a Tuesday which co-existed with Jyeshta star, that the husband and wife left their house in Kavari-pattinam? Apparently the commentator's knowledge of astrology was so poor that he could not think of any other malignant combination except the popular Tuesday with Kettai star, and starting therefrom he worked the details backward as best as he could. If the star on the first day of Chitrai has, according to Mr. Swamikannu Pillai, been wrongly stated in the note, so has also the *thithi*; for he tells us that the third *thithi* is a mistake for the first *thithi*. Thus this part of the note, in order to make A.D. 756 acceptable, should be made to read:—The month of Chitrai in that year began on Sunday, *Prathama, Chitra nakshatra*. The second part of the note declares that the 28th Chitrai was Saturday, full moon, *Chitra nakshatra*. Mr. Swamikannu Pillai points out that in 756 A.D. in the month of Chitrai, the full moon commenced at $41\frac{1}{2}$ *ghatikas* after sunrise on Sunday, and that *Chitra nakshatra* terminated about sunrise, the same day. Obviously, therefore, Saturday, 28th Chitrai did not combine with the full moon at all. Indeed the *thithi* that was current at sunrise on Saturday, and properly speaking the *thithi* of that day was Thrayodesi, the thirteenth lunar day. However, Mr. Swamikannu Pillai gets over the difficulty created by the commentator's inconvenient statement by inviting us to hold that by "full moon" must have been meant, a day near full moon! Why the commentator, who is at such considerable pains to supply details that will fill up *lacunae* in the astrological references in the text, should be guilty of such loose writing, one cannot easily explain; but the suggestion is enough to stamp the statements in the note with unreliability.

Relating to Kovalan's departure with Kannaki, the note says, it was on Tuesday, 29th Vaikasi, under the malignant influence of Kettai (Jyeshta), after the moon of the fourteenth *thithi* in the bright fortnight had set, and before sunrise. The statement is very specific; and yet in order to apply it to 756 A.D., we should again hold that the language is loose. Though the language of the note would denote that Kovalan and Kannaki left in the

small hours of the morning between Tuesday and Wednesday, and that the moon of the fourteenth thithi had just set, and that further Jyeshta co-existed with Tuesday at the moment they started, Mr. Swamikannu Pillai finds that every one of these positions has to be given up. According to him, the departure must have taken place in the small hours of the morning between Monday and Tuesday, that is before the sun rose on Tuesday; that there was no combination of Jyeshta and Tuesday when they started; (as a matter of fact Anusham lasted till 10 A.M. on Tuesday); that there was no *chadurdesi* at all on Tuesday, which was, on the contrary a full moon day. We are told by Mr. Swamikannu Pillai that there was an eclipse at this full moon; and we may be permitted to doubt whether, if Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's date be correct, that fact could under any circumstance have been left out by the commentator who in the passage under discussion is trying to account for the subsequent disaster that befell Kovalan. A day of eclipse is astrologically condemned as highly disastrous for a journey; and it is strange that that pre-eminently bad omen is not mentioned at all, when, according to Mr. Swamikannu Pillai, Adyarkkanallar is so scrupulous as to mention the subsequent co-existence of Jyeshta star with Tuesday, the first day of the journey; though the subsequent *nāsa yoga* so created could not astrologically affect the destinies of Kovalan and Kannaki. It may also be noted here that on 28th Vaikasi, Sukla Triyodesi and Anusham did not co-exist, as stated by the commentator.

I have tried so far to show how in spite of Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's statement that 756 A.D. satisfies all the conditions laid down in the note, there is not even one condition that without very material alteration could be made to apply to that year. Mr. Swamikannu Pillai has absolutely brushed aside the statements of the commentator as they are, and has substituted data of his own that will support his view. If instead of the eighth century, he had decided upon any other century, the same process of editing, the same process of revising and correcting might still be adopted to arrive at that pre-determined conclusion. Mr. Swamikannu Pillai has not drawn his conclusion from the premises supplied by the commentator, but having apparently settled within himself what the result ought to be, he has suggested convenient premises which however, are, as I have tried to show from his own paper, radically different from

those stated by the commentator. The fact is that the commentator's account is hopelessly faulty in the information he has given us, and his note is useless for chronological investigations.

We have seen that the date proposed by Mr. Swamikannu Pillai does not satisfy the conditions and combinations for any one of the four dates, 1st and 28th Chitrai, and 23rd and 29th Vaikasi noted by Adiyarkkunallar. Does it satisfy at least the requirements of the text? We have seen that *Ilan-ko-adigal* tells us the month, week day, *thithi* and *nakshatra* for the destruction by fire of the ancient city of Madura. According to Mr. Swamikannu Pillai the date of the fire is 23rd July, 756, corresponding to 31st Adi. It was a Friday; and we are told that on that day the eighth *thithi* in the dark fortnight began twenty-one *ghatikas* after mean sunrise, while Bharani *nakshatra* began exactly at mean sunrise. Not being able to arrive at this result myself, I asked Mr. T. Srinivasa Rao, the author of *Niranthara Nimisha Ganitham*, whose competency for such work is beyond dispute, to make the reckoning for me; and according to him the *nakshatra* and *thithi* for that day are Asvini 43 *gh.* 15 *p.* and Krishna *shashti* (6th) 38 *gh.* Thus on that day there might be Bharani *nakshatra* at about midnight, but it was not a day of Karthikai *nakshatra*. Nor was it the eighth *thithi* Ashtami of the black fortnight. Thus it appears that 756 A.C. does not satisfy even the requirements of the text.

Mr. Swamikannu Pillai mentions an alternative date, but only to reject it almost unceremoniously. It is 211 A.D. He says that as regards the day of flight, 211 A.D. will not suit; as Tuesday, the day of flight, was in that year 28th Vaikasi and not 29th Vaikasi, as the commentator says it was; and also because in the night between Tuesday and Wednesday, which was the last night of the bright fortnight, the moon could have set only 20 minutes before mean sunrise, and it could not have been very dark then. But why should we accept the 29th Vaikasi as the date of the flight, especially as we find from the commentator's own statement that the festival of Indra should have been over on the 25th Vaikasi. As regards the objection that before dawn on Wednesday morning, it could not have been very dark, could not the sky have been overcast just for a short while before dawn? As regards the day of the fire, the objections to 211 A.D. are stated to be that in that year the *thithi* on Friday when the city was ablaze was Saptami, not Ashtami which began only 47½

ghatikas after sunrise ; and also that the *nakshatra* that day was Bbarani and not Karthigai at all. If those are all the objections to 211 A.D., and no others are stated by Mr. Swamikannu Pillai, one fails to see how 211 A.D. is less satisfactory than 756 A.D. From what has been stated already, perhaps 211 A.D. will be found to be more easy of acceptance than 756 A.D.

Mr. Swamikannu Pillai adverts to and discusses two other circumstances, which in his view make it impossible to assign *Chilappatikaram* to the earlier centuries of the Christian era. One of these circumstances, is supplied by *Chilappatikaram* itself, and the other by *Manimekalai*. He says that the clear reference to a week-day (Friday) in *Chilappatikaram* relegates the date of its composition to a period not anterior to the fifth century ; and having regard to the results established by Dr. Fleet (*vide* J.R.A.S. for 1912, pp.-1039 to 1046) it may have been as late as the eighth or ninth century. It is alleged that Dr. Fleet has shown good grounds for supposing that the citation of week-days was not common in any part of India till the eighth century A.D. Dr. Fleet in his article on "The use of the planetary names of the days of the week in India" begins with an *ipse dixit* that at some time not before 400 A.D. the Hindus received the idea of the seven-day week with the planets as name givers to the days, as part and parcel of the Greek astrology. He tells us that the earliest known genuine instance of the use of the planetary name of a day in India is found in the Eran Inscription of Budha-gupta, dated 484, and that between that date and 800 A.D., about a dozen instances from various parts of India and from Indian settlements in Java, Champa and Cambodia, have been brought to light ; and from this he concludes that down to 800 A.D. there was no habitual practice of citing the week-day in dates or for other general purposes. Dr. Fleet observes that literature does not afford any help ; and the only instance from general literature that is forthcoming is the mention of Bhattarakavara in the *Hitopadesa* ; and, according to Dr. Fleet, Bhattarakavara need not necessarily mean there Sunday. Thus, if by some chance the dozen inscriptions above referred to had been lost, it is probable that it would have been maintained that before 800 A.D. the calendrical week with the planetary names of the days was unknown in India. The argument is at the best very inconclusive. Even to-day among Brahmins for all sacrificial and other religi-

ous purposes, it is only the *thithi* and *nakshatra* that are reckoned, and the day of the week is completely disregarded; shall we say therefore that the planetary week-days are unknown to the Brahmins? Dr. Fleet definitely commits himself to the dogmatic assertion that India borrowed the seven-day week about 400 A.D., and therefore references to planetary names of days in works which otherwise would unhesitatingly have been assigned to earlier times, would for that reason bring them down to the fifth or seventh century. One cannot help observing that this is vicious logic. For instance Mr. Pargiter has given sound and solid reasons for holding that the *Puranas* cannot be later than the earliest centuries of the Christian era, as the *Padma*, *Brahma*, and *Bhavisya*, which appear to be among the latest, have been in existence long before the end of the fifth century. Admittedly the planetary names of the days are mentioned in at least some of the *Puranas*; and in the *Matsya*, which is generally regarded as the earliest *Purana*, the planets are mentioned in the week-day order. Dr. Fleet would, to save his fixed idea, hold however, that the astronomical chapters in the *Puranas* were composed about 600 A.D.! The *Sutras* are usually assigned to the oldest period of Indian law. In the *Vaikanasa dharmasutra*, Wednesday is mentioned by the name of *Buddha-vara*; and that is regarded as internal evidence to show that that work cannot be earlier than the third century A.D. (*vide* Macdonell's *Sanskrit Literature* p. 262). Prof. Macdonell does not apparently think it extravagant to hold that in the third century of the Christian era, planetary names of days had come to be mentioned in Sanskrit literature; but Dr. Fleet simply passes over the instance afforded by the *Vaikanasa Sutra*, as it is an undated one. The *Sutra* must be anterior to *Manu Smriti* in any event.

(To be concluded).

TWO MEDIAEVAL LYRICS.*

I

I sing of a maiden
 Who is matchless;
 King of all kings
 For her son she chose.

He came as stilly
 Where His mother was
 As dew in April
 That falleth on the grass.

He came as stilly
 To His mother's bower.
 As dew in April
 That falleth on the flower.

He came as stilly
 Where His mother lay
 As dew in April
 That falleth on the spray.

Mother and maiden
 Was never none but she:
 Well may such a lady
 God's mother be.

II

Lully, lullay, lully, lullay
The falcon has borne my mate away.

He bore him up, he bore him down
 He bore him into an orchard brown.

In that orchard there was a hall
 That was draped with purple and pall.

[* Both lyrics belong to the Fifteenth Century, the first dating from about 1450, the second being a little later. In modernising them I have retained the original metres.— S. J. C.]

And in that hall there was a bed ;
It was draped with gold so red.

And on that bed there lies a knight
Whose wounds are bleeding day and night.

By that bedside maiden kneeleth a may *
And she weepeth both night and day.

And by that bedside standeth a stone
With *Corpus Christi* written thereon.

THE FUNERAL RITES OF THE HINDUS.

BY K. KRISHNAMACHARYA, B.A., L.T.

THE religious ceremonies of the Hindus have a history of their own dating from before the dawn of the Aryan civilisation in India. As revealed in their sacred books, these ceremonies had at first an origin somewhat similar to that of similar ceremonies among the less civilised nations of the present day. The Aryans at first believed in the existence of a multitude of gods and goddesses responsible for the various natural phenomena of the universe. They were of opinion that unless man tried to propitiate these diverse divine beings, his lot in this world and in the world to come could not be anything but miserable. To this end they performed sacrifices on several special occasions during the year. Animals and sometimes human beings seem to have been sacrificed as victims to these gods. Some of these hideous customs are traceable to the influence of the aborigines on the civilisation of the Aryans, when they came in contact with each other. Whether or not these customs are of entirely Aryan origin is not our question ; but that they were practised by the Aryans at some stage of their civilisation in India cannot be gainsaid.

As times advanced, certain formulae were found necessary for the proper conduct of these ceremonies ; and as these grew in rigidity as the people gradually forgot the intention of such

* Maiden.

ceremonies, it was considered a grievous deviation, even if a syllable of a word uttered during these sacrifices were mispronounced. It is no wonder, therefore, that at a later stage, these religious ceremonies became more complex, so that they had to be entrusted to a particular class of people who were thenceforward the sole guardians of these rituals. This class gradually developed these rituals and as a result we have our present day ceremonies, highly complicated and elaborate.

If one cares to note the meaning of the *mantras* uttered on various religious occasions, it will be clearly seen how the original Aryans looked upon themselves and their mission both in this world and in the world to come. Our fathers believed in the existence of a soul and consequently in the influence of their sacrifices on the departing soul. They also believed in the existence of worlds other than ours over each of which they installed a god of their own creation. They therefore devised many sacrificial rites which were supposed to enable the departing soul to reach the world of whichever god it liked.

Then again they had a crude notion of evil spirits always counteracting the effects of their sacrifices meant for the good of the departing soul. They had therefore to invent certain other sacrifices to win the help of the beneficial gods in punishing the evil spirits so that they should not molest the departing soul on its onward march.

Again when the soul reached its destination, the *Pitrloka*, it had to be constantly supplied with something material so that it might not feel any want in its new abode. To this end, the descendants of the dead had to see their wants supplied at least once a month.* Certain *thithis* (lunar days) were thus set apart for these *pitris* (ancestors), when the prescribed *sradhhas* were to be performed. For fear lest these monthly and annual *sradhhas* might not be performed regularly by any of the disbelieving members of their progeny, the *pitris* were endowed with certain divine powers of cursing the whole progeny. It was, therefore, incumbent upon every male descendant, who desired to see his line of descendents prolonged *ad infinitum*, to take care that his *pitris* were propitiated on all *pitri thithis* with the pre-

* On this subject see Coulanges: *La cité antique*—ED.

scribed *sraddhas*. It is these primitive ideas that underlie our present elaborate funeral ceremonies, which have now become but dead bones without the flesh and blood that were once associated with them.

The moment a man dies, his relatives are anxious to see that his soul should always proceed on its journey to the other world in the company of some soul or other. They therefore sacrifice some animal or bird on the grave of the departed man. But this practice seems to be gradually losing its hold upon the Hindu mind, since only a few, who are Non-Brahmins, still adhere to it. The journey to the world-to-come being tediously long, the departing soul is first supplied with its *patheya* (food for the way). But the soul is unable to carry food sufficient for the whole journey; this is why on the tenth day after the commencement of its journey a large quantity of food is made ready, with the express object of satisfying the "great hunger" (महाभुत्) of the soul. The hideousness of the eleventh day ceremony needs no comment. The very fact that the Brahmin, who is supposed to represent the departed soul, is not even faced when he comes out of the *sraddha*, with his loaded stomach, is enough to prove the case. On the twelfth day, the *preta*, the deceased individual, is supposed to be gathered to his fathers or *sapindas*, and the ceremony for the purpose is called *sapindikarana*. Balls of rice are prepared which are supposed to represent the fathers and the newly deceased individual. Unless these are all gathered together, the departed man's soul will hang somewhere in the sky, like Viswamitra's *trisanuku*! But before he is gathered to his *sapindas* in the *pitriloka*, he has to cross over many a danger. There is the Vaitarani river which cannot be crossed without the help of a cow's tail! Therefore the *karmadhikarin* (one who performs the funerals) of the deceased person takes care to see that he gives away a cow, on the twelfth day, to a deserving poor Brahmin. It is this cow that has the magical power of taking the deceased across the Vaitarani, between the earth and the kingdom of the Lord of Death!

In the first year of his death, the *preta* (the deceased man must be propitiated with sumptuous meals every month. Whether or not the regular monthly ceremonies are performed

on the prescribed dates, those at the end of the sixth and the twelfth months must be performed at all costs. Three Brahmins must be fed on all such occasions. One of them is supposed to represent the departed individual and his *pitris*, the second to represent all the gods, and the third the supreme God, Vishnu or Rudra as the case may be. The representations of the devas and of the supreme God are probably to be regarded as of later growth.

Though these ceremonies had their origin in the primitive conception of the Aryans regarding the universe and its relations to themselves, we still follow them to the very letter, in spite of the splendid achievements of our refined philosophy. If the Hindu no longer believes in the existence of independent and individual gods, but in the existence of *one and only one* God, pervading the whole universe, something like its supreme soul, (*परमात्मा*) and if he conceives it possible for any individual soul to attain to that supreme level wherein it merges in the soul of the universe, it is simply ridiculous to talk of the soul going to the *loka* of this god or that god and of encountering obstacles on its way forward.

Thinkers have not been wanting who have felt the inconsistency of the ceremonies with the philosophical concepts. Some have been bold enough to discard certain minor ceremonies on some *pithri thithis* as *kamyas*, i.e., necessary only for those who care for happiness here, but who are not already *mumukhus*, expecting the liberation of their souls at the end of this life. The poor *pitris* of these reformers are thus deprived of something of their share on several *tharpana* days! But the bolder and the more advanced of these more sophisticated reformers have gone a little further, and rejecting the now meaningless funeral ceremonies, have set up in their place certain others suited to the more advanced philosophical conceptions of the soul's relation to the supreme soul of the universe. They believe in the ceremony called *prapatthi*, wherein the repentant soul is made ready for final liberation (*mukti*) at the end of this life, and hence they have discarded the idea that the soul liberated from the body goes to the *pitris*. They advocate, therefore, a ceremony called *narayanabali* in the place of the *sapindikarana*. In the *narayanabali* there is no mention of the *preta* (the dead

man's soul) going to this *loka* or that, nor of its 'great hunger' and such meaningless utterances; the soul is here described as having attained its *moksha*, and thus as having become *naraya-narupa*, ('one with the supreme soul'). The ceremony is therefore in honour of the supreme soul, the all-embracing soul of the universe. There are no *prayaschittams* for the Brahmins representing the supreme soul in its various aspects during the ceremony.

Unfortunately these reformed ceremonies cannot be forced upon an unwilling people, who still blindly persist in the meaningless ceremonies originated thousands of years ago when our philosophical ideas were yet in their early infancy.

We hope that some time in the future some of our great scholars will open their eyes to the incompatibility of our present ceremonies with our advanced philosophical notions and try to introduce the reformed ceremonies or others more consistent with these notions.

NOTES OF THE MONTH.

AS we write there is a momentary pause in the operations on the various fronts, but Italy has just concluded the most brilliant of her attacks with a capture of over 26,000 prisoners. Apparently General Cadorna regards this advance as of peculiar significance, since he describes it as the turning-point of the war. Whether that will prove to be the case or not, whether indeed it will prove to be one of the decisive moments in the war, can only be determined at a later date when the results issuing from it are quite clear. But it has meanwhile led to the rushing of both German and Austrian troops from the Eastern front. In all probability General Cadorna's prediction is due to the conviction that Austria is almost played out, that the string is stretched to the breaking point. This may indeed well be the case. The conditions of life, believed to be bad enough in Germany, are probably much worse in Austria. Moreover she is a congeries of nationalities hard to hold together, and she has lost enormously in prisoners. But for German support she would long ago have succumbed. Her losses during the past month, and her consequent depression have no doubt given a measure of justification for the Italian commander's optimism.

HARDLY less brilliant have been the victories on the Western front. Both French and British have secured great gains both in material and in position. A German publicist speaks of the Germans as "fighting for their life." The phrase is significant in the mouth of a German. Apart from a certain amount of official 'brag,' the tone of Germany is greatly subdued. This of course is not to be interpreted as an indication that they are on the point of yielding, it may be largely war-weariness, but whatever the cause, it is a significant contrast to the bombast of the first year. Already Germany is learning the lesson she so sorely needed. But the lesson will have to be imprinted much more deeply, before the destruction of militarism is attained. For ourselves we believe that the spirit of militarism is bound up with the Hohenzollerns, and Germany will not be free from it, until it is driven home to the minds and consciences of the people, that the reigning family must go. It is hardly even thinkable that a family with such a history will ever adapt itself to constitutional government.

PRESIDENT WILSON in his reply to the Pope's note has surpassed even his great utterances on America's entry into the war. Notwithstanding the criticisms that were abundantly levelled at him during the first two years of the war, not least by Americans themselves, history will show that he is one of their greatest presidents. The truth is that, like Sir Edward Grey, he did his utmost in his own way to secure peace and was forced against his will into the war. But the chief difficulty that stood in his way was the apathy or even resistance of millions in the Middle and Far West. But the time came when he saw that America would stand almost solid behind him, and then the strength of the President became manifest. No utterances have been more trumpet-toned. Here is but a portion of his reply to the papal note, which, alas for His Holiness! has awakened no sentiment of approval, except in German and Austrian breasts:—

The object of this war is to deliver the free peoples of the world from the menace and the actual power of a vast military establishment controlled by an irresponsible Government which, having secretly planned to dominate the world, proceeded to carry out the plan regardless of either sacred obligations and treaties or long-established practices and long cherished principles of international action and honour, which chose its own time for war, delivered its blow fiercely and suddenly, stopped at no barrier either of law or of mercy, swept the whole continent within a tide of blood, not the blood of soldiers only but of innocent women and children and helpless poor, and now stands baulked but not defeated, the enemy of four-fifths of the world. This power is not the German people. It is the ruthless master of the German

people, and it is our business to see that the history of the rest of the world is no longer left to its handing. To deal with the German Government in the manner the Pope proposes would involve the recuperation of its strength, would necessitate the creation of a permanent hostile combination of nations against the German people, who are its instruments, and would result in abandoning the newborn Russia to the intrigue of a manifold and subtle interference and certain counter-revolution, which would be attempted by all the malign influences to which the German government has lately accustomed the world. Can peace be based upon the restitution of the power of the German government or upon its word of honour in a treaty? The test of every plan of peace is this: Is it based upon the faith of all the peoples involved or merely on the word and ambitions of an intriguing Government on the one hand and a group of free peoples on the other? We believe that the intolerable wrongs done in this war by the furious and brutal power of the German government ought to be repaired, but not at the expense of the sovereignty of any people, rather in vindication of the sovereignty of peoples, both weak and strong.

It is probably diplomatic thus to exempt the German people, but we fear that the old spirit of the German people, the spirit that found expression in philosophy and music, has for a generation and more been poisoned by the subtle instilling of pernicious doctrines. Nevertheless we cannot believe that the spirit of Kant and Goethe is wholly dead, and it may be that President Wilson's outspoken reply may help to awaken slumbering desires after higher things.

AN article in a recent number of the *Spectator* is worth noting in this connection. We give it at length, as it shows with great clearness how long a road the German people must yet travel before they are fit to deal with the Hohenzollern question:—

We think we may take it for granted that the infectious spirit of the Russian Revolution, together with the declarations from Britain and France that peace could be made more easily with the German people than with the present rulers of Germany, has produced a real impression in Germany. On many sides we see signs of disquiet, anxiety, and a desire for popular reform. We believe that these feelings so far as they affect the German people themselves are genuine enough. Indeed, we should be paying very little attention to history, which proves the infectious character of revolutions, and to the political penetration displayed by Mr. Lloyd George and M. Ribot in their recent speeches, if we thought otherwise. We believe, then, that the beginnings of a popular movement in Germany have proceeded, so far as they go and for what they are worth, from the mind and heart of the people themselves, and were not originally procured by the Government as a means of misleading foreign observers. This is not to say that the German bureaucracy will not be able to turn events to their own advantage. This is of course precisely what they will try to do. They may very well succeed, and indeed, as we said last week, they are already showing signs of success. They are accomplished masters of make-believe, guides who know every inch of the

tortuous paths of political guile. Before we can even think of regarding seriously the first results of popular feeling in Germany we must bring them to some sort of test.

This, after all, is not difficult to do. Take the resolution which is to be submitted to the Reichstag on Thursday—we are writing about it before we know the outcome of the debate—and see whether it satisfies any test implied in the well-known war aims of the Allies. The resolution drawn up by the Majority in the Reichstag (*i.e.*, the Roman Catholic Centre, the Socialist Party, and the Radicals, who represent the new popular movement) runs:—

As on August 4th, 1914, so now on the threshold of the fourth War winter, the words of the Speech from the Throne hold good for the German people—namely, that we are not impelled by the lust of conquest, and that Germany took up arms for the defence of her freedom and independence and for the integrity of her territorial possessions. The Reichstag strives for peace by agreement and for a lasting conciliation of peoples. Such a peace is incompatible with territorial expansion by force and with political, economic, or financial oppression. The Reichstag also rejects all plans aiming at economic isolation and international enmities after the war. The freedom of the seas must be assured. Only an economic peace will prepare the ground for peaceful intercourse of nations. The Reichstag will energetically promote the creation of International Courts. So long as enemy Governments do not agree to such a peace, so long as they threaten Germany and her Allies with conquest or oppression, the German people will stand together as one man and firmly hold on and fight until its right and its Allies' right to live and to develop is assured. United the German people is unconquerable. The Reichstag knows itself at one with the men who in heroic fight are defending the Fatherland.

Let us make all the allowances we can for the fact that the Majority wish to be persuasive and tactful and gently to draw hesitating politicians along with them, and we must still confess that the popular movement offers us the very smallest satisfaction at present. It is a good sign that the old bluster about conquest and annexations and indemnities has disappeared, but we see no trace of courage or determination. The Majority probably feel more than they say. Yet they have not dared to say it. They try to make the Kaiser's words their own, but they must remember that the Kaiser's policy *was* a policy of conquest, and that all the world has long known it.

That policy began with the absolutely unprecedented oppression of Serbia, and went on with the infamous violation of Luxemburg and Belgium, the murder of Belgians, the destruction of Belgian homes, the shooting of hostages, the avaricious extortion of fines, the deportation of Belgians for servile labour, the illegal introduction of gas and liquid-fire in the field, the wholesale murder of non-combatants at sea, the arch-atrocity of sinking hospital ships, the connivance in the massacre of Armenians, and so on in a catalogue too long to reproduce. No nation at war has ever compiled such a record. But let us pass over the palpable untruth about Germany's object in making war and come to the object of the Majority as now stated. It is "peace by agreement and a lasting conciliation of peoples." Such a peace, we agree, is incompatible in the abstract with "territorial expansion by force and with political, economic, or financial oppressions." But the world having suffered once from the wickedness and brutality of the German rulers has no notion of suffering a second time from the same cause. The Majority must know that, and if they had an ounce of

daring, or any proper determination to prove the strength of their convictions, they would propose to offer to the Allies some pledges of their right intentions for the future. Surely the first thing they would tell themselves is that they must make amends—offer reparation—for the terrible wrongs they have done to Belgium and other countries; and the second thing they would tell themselves is that the Allies will naturally want some guarantee of security in future. As they do not even mention the possibility of such things, the words that follow about "International Courts" signify nothing. In their context such words are even an offence. What is the use of Courts when the same people remain in power in Germany once more to bring the name of international agreements into contempt and ridicule? The popular movement in Germany must go very much farther than this before the Allies can feel that they are coming into contact at any point with the German people.

Now let us turn from the people's point of view to that of the Emperor and his bureaucrats. Although it is clear to us that the Government did not originate the present movement, they are no doubt trying desperately to use it for their own purposes. Just as Bismarck always diverted attention from awkward questions at home by threatening some foreign country, so he used domestic questions to disconcert his foreign enemies. We have to thank the *Westminster Gazette* for having picked out a striking extract from Bismarck's *Recollections and Reminiscences*:—

Looking to the necessity in a fight against an overwhelming foreign Power of being able, in extreme need, to use even revolutionary means, I had no hesitation whatever in throwing into the frying-pan, by means of the circular despatch of June 10th, 1866, the most powerful ingredient known at that time to liberty-mongers, namely, universal suffrage, so as to frighten off foreign monarchies from trying to stick a finger into our national omelette. I never doubted that the German people would be strong and clever enough to free themselves from the existing suffrage as soon as they realised that it was a harmful institution. If it cannot, then my saying that Germany can ride when once she has got into the saddle was erroneous. The acceptance of universal suffrage was a weapon in the war against Austria and other foreign countries, in the war for German unity, as well as a threat to use the last weapons in the war against coalitions. In a war of this sort, when it becomes a matter of life and death, one does not look at the weapons that one seizes, nor the value of what one destroys in using them; one is guided at the moment by no other thought than the issue of the war and the preservation of one's external independence; the settling of affairs and the reparation of the damage has to take place after the peace.

Bismarck's tradition holds. If the Kaiser and his advisers can use the popular movement as a blind, they certainly will. They cannot help accepting it up to a point, because the domestic danger of resisting it would be too great. The Kaiser is not the man he was, nor is his position what it was. Both are shaken. He and his advisers recognize that Austria is utterly weary and wants peace, even on humbling terms, and they also recognize that the voice of Bavaria is as the voice of Austria. Yet they still hope to guide these feelings into the required channel. At present they seem to us to be awaiting their opportunity. The Majority resolution lends itself to almost any interpretation; and the new Chancellor is a man who, for all we know—hardly anything is known about him—will also lend himself to any policy imposed upon him from above. That is the merit of Dr. Michaelis in the eyes of the bureaucracy, that he has no past record which need embarrass him.

An issue approaches. If the popular party have any pluck, they may achieve something. If they live on in an atmosphere of servility, of condonation, and of tact rather than of fact, they will achieve nothing, and may actually find themselves for some time in a worse position than ever.

But one way or another the situation seems likely to change a good deal faster than it has hitherto in the war. Herr von Bethmann Hollweg was like a feather-bed; he could be punched indefinitely without result. If Dr. Michaelis is to be only a mouthpiece, as we suspect—otherwise the choice of such an obscure person is very difficult to explain—what kind of opinions will he be made to utter? There can of course be only one answer: the views of Ludendorff and Hindenburg, of the Crown Prince and Tirpitz. Well, so be it. We ask for nothing better. We shall know exactly against what we have to contend. The issue will more than ever be "*Democracy versus Autocracy*." The solitary figure of the Kaiser will stand out struggling for a hopeless and discredited political system. If he plays his part cleverly, his fall may be postponed, but it will be the heavier when it comes. From his own standpoint, he may be right to fight for the cause of his House and trick his people, for if Kaiserism as he has conceived it is not militaristic it is nothing. Democracy means that militarists are out of a job.

The situation, in fine, though it is dark and intricate for the Germans, is clear enough for us. We cannot make peace with Kaiserism. There must be a change of heart and a change of system in Germany, with unmistakable guarantees of reparation and future good conduct, before we can approach the question of peace. We can wait calmly for the signs. If the Majority refuse to pass the Vote of Credit in the Reichstag, they will exhibit a good sign; if they pass it, they will exhibit a bad one. Till there is some one in power in Germany whom we can trust there will be nobody with whom we can make peace. In the final analysis everything is reduced, to a question of good faith. At present there are no traces of good faith towards us, although we believe that the German popular movement is real in itself so far as it has gone. The old solution of the war holds good. We must beat Germany to her knees.

LITERARY NOTICES AND NOTES.

The Pronunciation of English. By W. A. Craigie. (Clarendon Press.) Price 1s. 6d. nett.

IN calling the attention of our readers to this admirable little book, we shall permit ourselves to traverse the ordinary assumption that English spelling and English pronunciation are amazingly difficult. That English spelling has one or two grave defects, all are aware: the scholar and the costermonger might shake hands on that. But the hackneyed character of attacks on *cough—plough—rough* at once suggests that the defects are neither numerous nor far-reaching. Further, the failure of all attempts, by the Simplified Spelling Society and others, to reform what are supposed to be admitted evils, cannot be lightly explained. It is useless to assume that all the people of England

are fools, unreasoning conservatives : on the contrary, they are an eminently practical people, and shy of pedantry and doctrinaire methods. Their steady refusal to accept the nostrums of the Simplified Spelling Society and their like argues that either the evils have been greatly exaggerated or the remedies proposed are unsuitable. We believe both these conclusions will be found to be true.

In this connection, the address given by Dr. Henry Bradley at the International Historical Congress, in April, 1913, and published in the *Proceedings of the British Academy*, deserves attentive reading and application. The commonly accepted "axiom" that the function of letters is to represent sounds Dr. Bradley completely overthrows. The primary intention of written or printed letters is to convey meaning—the purpose for which a system of spoken sounds or words is also in use. With fine discrimination and felicitous examples he develops from this the main principles which should govern any projected reform of English spelling. The reader who ponders Dr. Bradley's conclusions, and the scholarly and engaging arguments by which they are supported, will see at once why the Simplified Spellers *et hoc genus omne* have failed so egregiously : it is because they have worked on wrong principles from the beginning.

All this may seem a far cry from Dr. Craigie. But we have deliberately brought the two together, because there is a vital relation between Dr. Craigie's work and Dr. Bradley's essay. Here in India we hear much abuse, from teachers and learners, of the alleged difficulties of English pronunciation, and outcries for the reform of English spelling. Those who will give Dr. Craigie's method a trial will find that the difficulties have been exaggerated, and that with very little effort they can learn to read and speak English fluently and correctly. As he says in his preface—"On its own lines the current spelling of English is far more regular than is usually believed." His plan is to clear up the difficulties for the reader by diacritical marks, which enable the conventional spelling to be retained. As the words become increasingly familiar, the diacriticals can be dropped. The patient reader will find that he has become unawares as conversant with the usages of English spelling as an Englishman himself.

Dr. Craigie's book is informed by a fine spirit of scholarship. We have examined it minutely, and found nothing to quarrel with. At the same time, it is a practical hand-book, better suited than any other we have seen to enable the Indian scholar and student to acquire a sound acquaintance with English pronunciation and English spelling. We strongly commend it to the notice of English teachers and school and college authorities, as a book that meets a real want.

F. E. C.

The Story of Lord Kitchener. By Arthur O. Cooke. (Herbert Strang's Readers. Grade 3.) (Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press, pp. 95. Price 8d.)

THIS is an interesting account of Lord Kitchener's life. The first 87 pages carry the story down to June 1902. The latter part of the story is compressed into eight pages, probably wisely, as the nature of Lord Kitchener's work in his last years can hardly be explained to young readers. A phrase that appears more than once (pp. 42, 45, 50) "the avenging of the gallant Gordon's death," "revenge for (the death) of Gordon," though commonly used twenty years ago, might very well be discarded now. It did not express the real sentiments of any Briton in 1898, and it does not express the sentiments of any Briton now. The use of such a phrase only shows, in the words of Macaulay, "in how slovenly a fashion people are content to think." The delivering of the Sudan from barbarism had as little to do with revenge as the building of the Assouan dam. On page 58 where the phrase is used of Sudanese troops, it probably correctly represents their view of the matter.

LITERARY NOTES

EVERY cultivated reader has heard of the Rosetta Stone, and probably many know something of the Behistun Inscription. The former gave Champollion the clue for deciphering the hieroglyphics of Egypt, the latter furnished most important material for the elucidation of the cuneiform script of Assyria and Babylonia. A recent discovery of a similar kind is reported in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, which may have far-reaching results. It is a bilingual inscription, in Lydian and Aramaic. The Aramaic version here provides the key which may unlock the lost Lydian tongue. It has been translated by Professor Enno Littmann, and is now carefully re-edited (in the *J. H. S.*) by Professor S. A. Cook, who proposes next to attack the Lydian counterpart. Should he be successful in the attempt, it will throw a much needed light on the affinities of the Lydian people. Nor is that all. If the ancient tradition that the Etruscans came from Lydia has any foundation in fact, the recovery of the Lydian form of speech may at last enable some scholar to unravel the mysteries of Etruscan.

A RECENT translation makes accessible to the world an ideal commonwealth but little known to those who study Utopias. It is called *Christianopolis*, and is the work of the remarkable German

pastor, I. V. Andreae, who is reasonably considered by many to have invented the mystery of the Rosicrucians. The book has marked affinities with Bacon's *New Atlantis*, and should take rank as an important example of the reformer's dream. The translator and editor is Dr. F. E. Held, and the book is published by the American Branch of the Oxford University Press (5s. nett).

TURNING from the ideal to the actual, we commend to the earnest attention of readers in India Mr. and Mrs. J. L. Hammond's illuminating study of *The Town Labourer, 1760-1832* (Longmans, 10s. 6d. nett). If India is to be industrialised in the near future, as many desire and many fear, it would be well that she should learn from England's story how to avoid the pitfalls of the process.

THOSE who are interested in colonial history should look out for *The Chronicles of Canada*, published in Toronto, and in Glasgow by Messrs. Brook. Half a dozen of these, by Col. Wood, cover the more salient episodes in the military story of the winning of Canada in the eighteenth century and its defence during the War of American Independence and the war of 1812.

ANOTHER line in American history which has an inexhaustible interest is the story of Latin America. Messrs. Constable have very fittingly included among their 'Makers of the Nineteenth Century' an account of Porfirio Diaz, the great President of Mexico. Its title is *Diaz*, but it is, as might be expected, at the same time a survey of Mexican history and politics. It is written by David Hannay, and published at 6s. nett.

MESSRS. LONGMAN'S autumn announcements include a selection from the correspondence of Lord Acton, well known to historical students as Regius Professor at Cambridge. It is edited by two of the younger Cambridge historians, Dr. Figgis and Mr. R. V. Laurence, and the first volume is expected to appear in October.

OUR readers will remember the sensation created by *J'Accuse*. The same author has now published a further indictment of Germany—*Das Verbrechen* (The Crime). It is published at Lausanne (Verlag Payot, 6 fr.).

AN interesting tribute to a famous Englishwoman is the eulogy of Jane Austen given by an Italian lady, Signora Emilia Bassi, in her account of the life and works of Jane Austen and George Elliot. She

gives vigorous Italian renderings of scenes from *Pride and Prejudice*, but reserves her highest praise for *Mansfield Park*. Her discrimination as a critic is shown by her keen appreciation of 'the profoundly moral character of the Austen novels.'

SCIENCE NOTES.

Nature reports that after a long series of experiments, an important use for horse-chestnuts has been found in connection with the War, one of the chief results of which will be the liberation of a large quantity of maize hitherto used for another purpose. The (Food) War Committee of the Royal Society has issued an appeal for the collection of horse-chestnut seeds during the coming season. Every ton of chestnuts will be equivalent to half-a-ton of maize, and any quantity up to 17,000 tons of chestnuts per week can be utilised. There is every prospect of a bumper crop of chestnuts this year and arrangements are being made for its systematic collection.

THE sixth half-yearly report on the world's production, distribution and consumption of fertilizers (issued by the International Institute of Agriculture in March last) is very interesting as showing the influence of the War on this important group of industries. Six million tons of mineral phosphates were produced in 1913, $3\frac{1}{2}$ million in 1915, and 2.8 million in 1916. The decrease in 1916, as compared with 1915, was due entirely to a great drop in American production, which for the first time fell below that of North Africa. Production of superphosphates showed an even worse decline on account of the scarcity of sulphuric acid. The production and export of sodium nitrate showed the highest yet recorded, namely 3 million tons. The British production of nitrate was slightly in excess of 1915, whilst the production in the U.S.A. was 50 per cent. higher than in 1915.

A "RUSSIAN JUTE" company has been formed the object of which is to erect a factory for treating a plant known as Kenafé, which is said to possess most of the properties of the jute plant. This plant grows abundantly in Russia and has been utilised for a long time by the peasants for such things as binding twine for sheaves. It is now claimed that the fibre answers very well for making bags, packing-cloth, cord or twine, in fact, as a full-blown substitute for jute. The progress of this new industry will be watched in India with more than ordinary interest.

THE *Times* correspondent reports the discovery of a mammoth, in association with flint instruments, in the neighbourhood of Bapaume and within the lines of the British Army in France. The British Commander-in-Chief has communicated the fact to the French Government and steps have been taken to preserve the specimen until the line of battle is sufficiently far removed to allow of careful excavations being made. The deposit in which the skeleton occurs has already yielded fragmentary remains of the mammoth.

A VERY interesting example of how outbreaks of rare diseases can be traced to their sources is reported from Home. A number of cases of anthrax infection were reported during the past two years, and investigation has shown that the infection was due to a batch of infected shaving-brushes. The first case was detected by Dr. Elworthy in the West London Hospital, who proved the presence of anthrax spores in the patient's shaving-brush and also in other unused brushes purchased at the same shop. Another case of anthrax, occurring about the same time, was traced to an infected shaving-brush purchased at another shop. All these brushes were found to have been bought from one wholesale dealer, who got them from a single factory. The hair used in the manufacture of these brushes was found to be Chinese horse hair which had not been disinfected. It transpired that this hair had been invoiced as goats' hair and hence had escaped the Home Office regulations dealing with the disinfection of Chinese horse hair.

MESSRS. RICARD AND BARIAL have communicated to the French Government an extremely simple, if somewhat empirical, method of ascertaining rapidly whether water has been poisoned or not. The method is this. A few common fish—blay, gudgeon, etc.—are placed in a jar filled with the water to be tested. It has been found that two drops of nicotine per litre kill the fish in less than a minute; two drops of conicine paralyse them in six minutes and kill them in eight; one decigram of solanine kills them in $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours and the same quantity of cocaine kills in one hour. Amongst other examples one milligram of aconite kills the fish in $3\frac{1}{2}$ hours; twenty drops of aniline in $1\frac{1}{4}$ hours; seven milligrams of digitalin only in 4 hours. One decigram of potassium cyanide will kill the fish in two minutes and two decigrams of corrosive sublimate proves fatal in 12 minutes. Some other poisons however, such as arsenic salts, atropine and morphine, do not affect the fish. Water, therefore, in which fish die in less than 4 hours should be considered dangerous.

A COMMITTEE appointed by the Institute of Bankers to consider the question of the adoption of a decimal coinage and the metric

system of weights and measures has issued its report. The Committee considers that our present system of weights and measures is an obstacle in the way of the extension of our foreign trade, and recommends the adoption of a decimal coinage as a first step towards the metric system. The pound sterling is to be retained as the unit of value and the Committee proposes to divide this into a thousand parts called "mils." The gold coinage would then consist of a sovereign of 1,000 mils and a half-sovereign of 500 mils, whilst the silver coinage would comprise pieces of 200, 100, 50 and 25 mils of the same value as existing coins. The crown and half-crown would drop out and the bronze coinage would include pieces of 4, 2 and 1 mils. The three-penny piece would disappear and be replaced by a nickel 10-mil piece with scalloped edge. In order that the change may be made immediately peace is declared, the Committee strongly recommends that the necessary legislative steps should be taken at once.

RECENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

THE July number of the *Contemporary Review* is not on the whole a very interesting number. Professor Lindsay Rogers calls attention to certain constitutional difficulties under which the United States of America labours in taking such extraordinary steps as are necessitated by her participation in the present war. Some of these arise from the relation in which the President stands to Congress. In England the Premier, being appointed by selection, and being removable at the pleasure of the preponderant legislative assembly, is sure to be able to rely on that assembly. If he wants legislation to aid his policy, he can obtain that legislation and can therefore carry out his policy. The American President has no such security. He is elected in one way at one time, and Congress (either House) in another way at another time. The President and Congress have nothing to bind them together, and as a matter of fact they often disagree. In President Wilson's case, conflict is somewhat unlikely, because Mr. Wilson has achieved a measure of control over Congress such as none of his predecessors has ever been able to gain. Nevertheless, in the case of the Conscription Bill the Legislature showed itself jealous of its prerogatives and determined to assert its authority. And the fact that the Executive stands in an extra-constitutional relation to the Legislature may be the cause of deadly delay.

Another defect of the American system of government is that, on

a sudden emergency, the people cannot choose as ruler the fittest man available. There is no elasticity in the system; everything is rigid, specified, dated. Here again the danger in the present case is lessened by the fact that Mr. Wilson is President. The rigidity of the American constitution might prove a difficulty in other directions. The life of the Legislature could not be prolonged in a case of emergency, as has been done in Britain. Again the power of the Supreme Court is such as to prevent measures which the people strongly desire from being put into effect; and generally Congress can take no action in regard to any subject if it has not been granted specific authority to do so. Professor Lindsay Rogers says it is in a sense fortunate that the United States entered the War after it had been in progress for thirty-two months so that its theatre had in all probability been determined and the amount of economic dislocation approximately known. In August, 1914, had America been called upon to undertake such emergency legislation as was found necessary by European nations, the results, he thinks, would have been unfortunate. If Congress had hesitated or if the Supreme Court had nullified any of its legislative acts, the safety of the realm might have been endangered.

The powers of the Federal Government have been enormously extended by interpretation since Lincoln's day, but it is certain that the entrance of the United States into the War will very considerably increase them further. In granting loans to her Allies, America has given a very liberal interpretation of federal authority, and the writer thinks there need be no great objection to Congress assuming control of the entire transportation system of the country, but he is doubtful if it can go so far in regulating the food supply, and a difficult problem is also presented by the liquor legislation necessary to conserve foodstuffs. Congress has no control over the manufacture or sale of liquor except in so far as they are of an inter-state character; and general prohibition laws are within the exclusive province of the States. Again, legislation comparable to the Defence of the Realm regulations passed in Great Britain would be impossible in the United States.

As an advantage of the American system of government, Professor Lindsay Rogers points out in conclusion that the President, if he so desires, can act as a dictator, with all the departments under expert direction and removed from legislative control. As Commander-in-Chief of the naval and military forces he has powers greater than those possessed by any other democratic ruler, and he is being granted plenary authority either to make regulations under a statute or to decide when the emergency exists for declaring that a particular law shall take effect.

Dr. Ronald M. Burrows contributes an article on 'The State of Feeling in old Greece.' He says that in deciding our present and future policy towards Greece, nothing is more important than that we should understand the views of those who, without being enemies of the Entente, have not seen their way to follow Venezelos in his open championship of the Entente cause. Greek opinion seems to be very much divided, but Dr. Burrows thinks it is not so pro-German as it has been represented to be. There is an unwillingness among Greeks to believe evil of Constantine, a tendency to shift the blame on to the Dark Forces that swayed him, and a desire to find some way of re-establishing national unity and friendship with the Entente without having to admit that Venezelos was all the time and altogether in the right. Of the party called Royalist, which includes about 40 per cent. of the population, he thinks that only about a quarter would intrigue to restore the King and that this quarter, though bitterly anti-Venezelist, is not all pro-German. To win the allegiance of the other three-quarters of the Royalist party and of various other sections of the population which are not at present definitely pro-Entente, we must convince them of our sincerity and our effectiveness. We must show them that none of the Entente nations has designs on the integrity of Greek territory, and that when once constitutional government is re-established there will be no question of foreign interference: we must also prove to them that if we ask for their military help at Salonika, we guarantee once and for all that there shall be no withdrawal from the Balkan front and no risk of suffering from German spite and ruthlessness.

Mr. Hugh A. Law deals with the Irish question. Since the last attempt to settle the question failed, there has been development. It has become clear to every one that the solution is not to be found in any substitute for self-government. In spite of the fact that many old grievances have been fully redressed and of the enormous economic and social progress that has taken place in Ireland, the national mind is no less passionately set towards national self-expression than it was before. Again it has become plain to all that the Irish question is no matter of merely domestic concern but something of imperial or even international import. The Dominions have made it clear that they so regard it, and our Allies, the United States, France, and Russia, view it in the same light. From the recognition of these two facts there has followed inevitably the abandonment of all purely British opposition to a Home Rule settlement. As to the possibilities of a satisfactory solution of the Irish question Mr. Law is hopeful. He believes that the Convention will meet, and that its discussions will centre round the scheme sanctioned by the Home

Rule Act, Federation of the United Kingdom, and Colonial self-government. He thinks it will be found that these three proposals do not differ from each other so widely as has been supposed, but he seems to favour some form of Federal solution.

Mr. Aneurin Williams writes on the Representation of the People Bill now before Parliament. This, he says, is no ordinary measure, no merely domestic question, but a measure which, to be understood, must be considered in the light of the events which are changing the whole world. The present war is ultimately a struggle for human liberty against military despotism, and if Britain is to face the world and boldly assert her championship of liberty and right she must show that in all spheres she seeks to practise what she preaches, advancing not rashly but as rapidly as the circumstances permit. From a national point of view also the Bill has a lesson to teach. The calling of the Speaker's Conference was an attempt to settle one of many questions that threatened to bring the nation to civil war, and if the Bill which is the outcome of the Conference is successful, the same plan ought to be adopted for settling other dangerous questions. Mr. Aneurin Williams will be glad that success has at last crowned the women's political movement, but he will be very much disappointed at the rejections of the proportional representation clauses of the Bill, which in his opinion were vital to the measure.

Bishop Welldon deals with 'The Problem of Christian Reunion.' The problem, he says, did not rise owing to the War, but the War has rendered it more urgent. Some attempt to solve it or to show that is not incapable of solution had been made before the War by the Missionary Conference at Edinburgh and by meetings of the Christian Students at Swanwick. But it is possible that the appearance of reunion has been greater than the reality. That Christians of the various reformed churches, Episcopalian and Presbyterian and Free Churches, should meet on a common platform, should worship and pray together, and should take counsel together regarding projects of harmonious action in various spheres of moral and spiritual activity may well create an atmosphere favourable to reunion or to inter-communion. But if the effort of the Churches has stopped here it is practically a failure. Dr. Welldon considers that the Church of Rome stands aloof from the possibility of reunion or inter-communion. But he thinks the Holy Orthodox Church of the East does not forbid either to her laity or to her clergy the manifestation of that spiritual unity which underlies, or ought to underly, such differences of custom or creed as exist among Christians. As a member of the Church of England, Bishop Welldon is concerned chiefly with the relation of that Church to other Churches and more particularly with its relation to the

other Reformed Churches in Great Britain. He refers to suggestions made long ago by distinguished prelates of the Church, and proposes some form of Episcopal ordination not as a disparagement of Presbyterian orders but as a sign of official sanction to non-Episcopal ministers to enter Church of England pulpits. This implies the moderation which Bishop Welldon says is characteristic of the best minds in the Church of England and in Nonconformity. It is essential, he says, that the claim of Episcopacy should not be pressed beyond its proper limit in the Church of England, nor the objection to Episcopacy pressed beyond its proper limit in the Presbyterian or Nonconformist Churches.

Mr. John H. Harris utters a note of warning in regard to the operations of a Committee which has been formed for the purpose of developing the resources of the Empire. The title of the Committee is the Empire Resources Development Committee, and the Chairman is Sir Starr Jamieson, the President of the Rhodesian Chartered Company. British Colonial policy, Mr. Harris says, has been based upon *service* to, not *exploitation* of, the dependencies, and he fears a reversal of that policy by the newly formed Committee, one of whose promises is "an early liquidation of Britain's war debt." He sees in the programme set forth by the Honorary Secretary of the Committee the lineaments of the system represented by the Congo State, Rhodesia, and the Spanish Colonies, all of which have spelt disaster. The real glory of Britain in regard to her Colonies, he says, is the affectionate loyalty of the people, and given that these people will not refuse to accept their full share of any burden that she may have to bear, as the present war has amply demonstrated.

There are two short articles on 'The State Purchase of the Liquor Trade.' The first of these, by Bishop Hamilton Baynes, is in favour of State Purchase; the second, by Mr. H. G. Chancellor, is against it. Bishop Hamilton Baynes thinks that if the liquor traffic were freed from the financial interests which have done so much to increase it, the way would be open for local veto, and restrictions such as those imposed by the Central Board of Control during the War will become permanently possible. He also hopes for a real change in the habits of the people through better management of the public houses. Mr. Chancellor holds that the evils of the drink traffic are inherent in the drink itself, and that no method of control or management or ownership will ever eliminate them. He regards control as a step towards prohibition, nationalisation as only a substitute for it, never likely to lead further than control. We very much fear the truth lies considerably nearer to Mr. Chancellor's contention than to that of Bishop Hamilton Baynes.

Messrs. Claude Graham-White and Harry Harper write in a very optimistic way of "the revolution which is impending, and will follow the use of the air as a highway." Mr. Arthur A. Baumann in an article entitled 'The Bankruptcy of Party' discusses the present suspension of the party system. He is of opinion that the suspension is only temporary, and that the existence of two political parties, divided by a plain line of public principle, is the only guarantee of the purity and efficiency of Popular Government. 'Treaty Port' deals with recent events in China. The immediate future in that country depends, in his opinion, on the capacity and cohesion of the military chiefs. Mr. Edward Jenks writes on 'Patronage and the State,' and Mr. Clement A. Harris calls attention to the times when Britain was the most musical nation of the world. Beatrice Chase contributes a short article entitled 'Our Dartmoor Postman'; Douglas Haden explains the object of 'The National Baby Week'; and Mr. J. E. G. deMontmorency, in the Literary Supplement, tells how Mr. Pleasant Mercy Barton came to the town of Wiltwater. Dr. Frederick S. Boas contributes a short poem in memory of Major W. Redmond, and there are the usual reviews of books.

COLLEGE NOTES.

PAST and present students of the College, will be glad to hear that Mr. Macphail is now making good progress towards complete recovery, and that we hope to have him back with us at the end of the Michaelmas Vacation. The wound in his right hand has been rather slow in healing, so the surgeons have thought it best he should remain under their care in Bombay, until all risk is past.

Mr. Hogg's absence leaves another bad gap in the College staff and both his colleagues and students hope very earnestly that the change, rest and treatment at Madanapalle will soon restore Mrs. Hogg and him completely, and that in due course we shall have the joy of seeing them once more among us.

We have also to regret the severe illness of Mr. Kandaswami Chetty whose absence has been felt not only in the English department of the College, but also in the Rungiah Chetty Hostel which owes so much to his care and presence. Readers of the Magazine will have missed his skilful touch in the 'College Notes,' but we are glad to say that he is almost well again, and we hope that next month he will be able to record for us all that is worthy of note in the College life during the month.

Mr. Rajaiah D. Paul's name must also be added to the list of invalids. Soon after beginning work as Reader in English he was taken ill with cholera. But we are glad and thankful that his life has been spared, and that we have him back again with us.

AFTER this somewhat sober chronicle it is a relief to be able to turn to a brighter side of College life. The last month has witnessed a series of triumphs for the College in the Inter-Collegiate Cricket Competition. We think we are right in saying that the Cricket Team has been successful in all the matches it has played, defeating Pachaiyappa's, the Engineering College, and the Medical College. We are sure the members of the club would wish us to acknowledge on their behalf the great help and stimulus which Mr. Tait's presence and enthusiasm as a member of the team have given to College cricket.

In this connection, our readers will be interested to learn that the new athletic ground at the People's Park has been handed over to the College by Government, and will be available when we return after the Michaelmas vacation. Steps are also being taken to put the Beach Athletic Ground in condition for use in the near future.

With the removal of the severe handicap placed on the College by the lack of a suitable field we look forward to an even more widespread enthusiasm for athletics on the part of the students.

It is with very real regret that we have to announce that when we reassemble in October, Mr. Armstrong will no longer be with us. He leaves us to take up an appointment in the Indian Educational Service at the Khalsa College, Amritsar. Mr. Armstrong's presence and help will be missed in all kinds of ways. His students in chemistry will feel the loss of an able, painstaking, sympathetic and enthusiastic teacher; the College Athletic Association will have lost a most capable and energetic Secretary who by his interest and participation in the College athletics has done a great deal for one of the most important branches of College life; and his colleagues will have been deprived of the presence of a friend, whose fine character, and judgement have won for him the affectionate regard of every member of the staff. The best wishes of both the staff and the students of the Madras Christian College will go with Mr. and Mrs. Armstrong, and their baby boy to their new home in the Punjab.

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THE TEACHING OF SHAKESPEARE IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS.

BY JEAN MARGARET REID, M.A.

I HAVE often wondered, regarding Shakespeare, whether "after life's fitful fever he sleeps well." Surely enough has been done and said in the world—the school world particularly—to justify his turning in his grave.

Did he ever think, as he discussed some performance of his plays, it may be in the jovial company at the 'Mermaid,' that centuries hence his work would be analysed, and pulled in pieces to a weary audience of school children? If he did I verily believe that, Prospero-like,

'deeper than did ever plummet sound'

he'd have drowned his book. He did not write his plays for that; and I venture the opinion that we should not so utilise them. "Can this cock-pit hold the vasty fields of France?" asks the Prologue to *Henry V*, and we would ask a similar question: Can the class-room stage—Hamlet?

Text-books are yearly written, based on the supposition that it can—we have a whole literature on the teaching of Shakespeare; and to attempt an exposition of how Shakespeare ought to be taught would merely mean a digest of other people's views, and that would be

"more tedious than a twice told tale
vexing the dull ear of a weary man."

I propose instead to state only how I have personally seen Shakespeare taught, and thence propound the heresy that probably we ought not to teach him at all.

I begin with an account of the treatment of *Macbeth* in an Intermediate class. The pupils were one day informed; "We are to start *Macbeth*; read the introduction and learn the date and plot-source." The pupils were duly catechised on this the following day. The teacher then read a synopsis of the play and entered upon the first scene. A pupil read the initial speech.—"That will do—now, what does this word mean?—and this?" "So the work proceeded. A line upon line analysis was pursued throughout the play, and when the last scene was reached, the study was pronounced finished! The principal character got thoroughly dissected in the process, or rather, on the contrary, he was created—out of a conglomeration of all the speeches he ever had uttered.

This is not exaggerated. I can remember a similar experience with *Macbeth* in my own Intermediate* year—with *Julius Cæsar* and *As You Like It* also—and even in my secondary course. The play was *Richard II*, and I recollect, before we ever opened it—an issue of small blue books containing information to the effect that "this play is mentioned by Meres—that from numerous rhyming lines, etc., etc., it must be an early play," and so on. Then we read and re-read the thing itself with an extra batch of textual notes at each repetition; finally we crammed up the quotations at the end from Hazlitt and Coleridge *in re* the chief characters—and *voilà tout*.

So! Shakespeare as he is taught! Surely this is "miching mallecho; it means mischief." We may be proud of our Shakespeare, but the youth in our schools only hate him. "Silly old blighter," quoth one young heretic; and some variant of that phrase is the opinion of practically every schoolboy—schoolgirl too, for that matter.

Of course we do not for a moment stress the 'critical' value of such a verdict, but in its honesty the implication regarding the teaching of Shakespeare is damaging. If that is all our exposition of him in school achieves, is it not a dangerous business? Granted that we wish children eventually to love and admire Shakespeare, is it not risky to give them such a primary impression of him?

* The Intermediate Class of a Scottish Secondary School corresponds to the Madras Vth Form.

One may argue that there is risk only in the event of bad teaching, such as I have indicated. I am not quite sure, however. Taking all things into consideration, how is Shakespeare to seem much else than a "silly old blighter" to the average child? Let us recall the grounds of maturity's positive worship of him. When we think of Shakespeare we think of Hamlet and Othello, Lear and Cordelia, Rosalind and Viola—of the men and women he has created for us. Ask anyone of Shakespeare's adorers the plot of *As You Like It*, and probably he could not tell you—at least not in detail—and yet much of his thinking in pleasant pessimism is done alongside of Jacques, and in holiday-mood, he sees the world through the eyes of Rosalind. It is as a maker of a character that Shakespeare lives eternally for us in literature.

And therefore the folly of boiling down Shakespeare for school consumption is at once apparent. (You may do it of course, but you rob him of his essence in so doing). Can a child appreciate character—and the evolution of character? Men have devoted volumes to the study of Macbeth—have discovered in him "the tragedy of a moral nature not realised as such." He thinks "he can give both the worlds to negligence," but he is mistaken. His moral nature fearfully re-asserts itself and we see him, a man broken on the wheel of mental anguish." So on *ad infinitum*. And yet we find Macbeth studied in the Intermediate Class! I have every expectation of one day walking into a class room, and finding King Lear getting worse treatment than ever Goneril and Regan offered. For, to speak extravagantly, they only killed the body—most teachers of Shakespeare kill the soul. I have indeed heard of *Othello* being proposed to be read in school! Fortunately some parent objected. Not that I altogether uphold the parent. Neither he nor the teacher understood Shakespeare, that is all.

But passing by *Lear* and *Othello*, surely the persistent study of *Macbeth* and *Hamlet* is unwarrantable enough in all conscience. Apart from their being exceedingly complex character studies (and as such, beyond the grasp of youthful intelligence) they are also tragedies; and the nature of tragedy is a subject which has engrossed our greatest critics from Aristotle onwards. How can Shakespeare appeal to a child?

We have, however, not as yet taken comedy into consideration. But is not the interest here very often also a character-interest, too subtle for the young comprehension? Always at least it is a love-interest, and children in the main—not excepting even anæmic adolescents—are merely bored by such. Basanio and Orlando, so far as they are lovers, are excessively tedious, but the comic element in itself is greeted with unfeigned gusto. It is with Mercutio that they gladly compliment the love-sick swain who has shown a spark of his old nature:—“Now art then sociable; now art then what then art. Is not this better than groaning for love?”

But can comedy be *taught*? Is its effect not that of an impression—a conjurer’s trick which when done slowly and with explanation, loses its magic and fails to please? Our typical method of exposition robs Shakespeare’s plays of even this last hold upon youth’s affections. I know an Intermediate class, for instance, who are going through “The Merchant of Venice”:—

Scene II. Venice. A Street. Enter Launcelot.—The boys prepare to enjoy themselves with Gobbo and his old Father, but the teacher picks up a line:—“I will try confusions with him”—What word is wrong here?’ Silence; but eventually a pained voice offers,—‘confusions.’ “Yes, Launcelot always uses the wrong word—A few more instances of this?—and so poor Gobbo is dismissed!

But we may set aside comedy, which is only a small part of Shakespeare and come back once more to the question, why *do* we persist in teaching him when his very essence—tragic passion, and character power,—are plainly beyond our pupils? (It may of course be argued that with regard to the higher classes this does not hold good. To a very great extent it does, and too often what power of character appreciation the pupils do possess, is choked at once by explanatory fungus.) How can one get at either a tragic or comic whole from the multifarious atoms into which the instructor resolves the play? One cannot see the wood for the trees! How can a pupil form a character impression when at every line he stops that some word may be discussed? For indeed the language difficulty of the later plays is almost in itself sufficient argument for their exclusion from school use. It is all very well to say, “But a child can be made to understand

the obscure passages quite well." Very true, but is that all that we want? Can you, after worrying the meaning from each word make him *appreciate* the whole? To realise the peculiar quality of Shakespeare's style is to add a further pleasure to our reading of him; but such pleasure is possible only to experienced readers, and will probably never be attained by those who have been compelled to make a false start through having to reduce the elements of that style to plain common-sense. But to return:—According to some, however, we may set aside these essentials in Shakespeare—tragedy, comedy, character, for, say the textbooks,—“In teaching, our main object is to gather from speeches, scattered hints of action; to evoke the power to visualise and realise in every sense, action and counter-action, a piece of life rich and intense.” And the scenes therefore are to be treated as follows:—“What is done, or proposed to be done? How has the plot been advanced?” (2) “What new light is thrown on character? What old light qualified or confirmed?”

All this sounds eminently sensible, but there are difficulties even here in the way of its execution. It would work perfectly, no doubt, were Shakespeare's plays consistent works of art, with a structure as classic as that of the French comedy or Ben Jonson's *Epicene*. Now Shakespeare did *not* write classic plays, notwithstanding the superstition which dies hard, that everything with the sign Shakespeare must needs be perfect. It is surely true that teachers cease to regard the poet as a man continually inspired, and recognise him in the humbler rôle of Elizabethan playwright. Let us consider the plain facts—He worked over old plays, and took his plots pretty much as he found them. He did not invent situations, therefore, for his characters as Meredith, for example, does. His characters grew out of the existing plot. Very often they did not at all fit their frames; occasionally they came alive and stepped out of then altogether. Thus it is plain that an analysis of scenes as proposed, would often lead to confusion—particularly so as regards character-evolution. For instance, critics worry over Cordelia's action in the opening of *King Lear*. Why could she not have been a little less brusque in manner? The reason is apparently too obvious to be perceived. Shakespeare is working on the old legend; if she had not been thus brusque, where are

we to find the resulting play? Again in the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, Proteus' lightly turning again to his slighted Julia has been painfully explained in terms of character,—this is the consummate proof of his fickle nature. But is it not equally reasonable to suppose that this had to be because the pleasant comedy must end, and Julia, having so won our sympathies, could not be left lamenting? But the crowning example of the impracticability of this scene-analysis with a view to character,—and the one most germane to our subject,—is found in *Hamlet*. Two things, indeed, characterise the secondary stage in our Scottish schools—studying for the Leaving Certificate, and the perusal of *Hamlet*! The reading of this play is the *sine quâ non* of the final years at school. And at the outset, I can never fathom why this play should thus be so universally taught. Not only is it recognisedly the most difficult of Shakespeare's plays, but some of the problems in connection with it are well-nigh unsoluble. To understand *Hamlet* at all, one must be fully acquainted with the old pre-historic *Historie of Amleth*—with the German play, *Fratricide Punished*; must have formed an opinion as to the existence of a Pre-Shakespearean play; and must know the Quartio of 1603. Coleridge wrote before the two copies of the latter were discovered, which fact explains his position; but it is absurd that ever since we have continued in his shadow, looking at Hamlet with his eyes and seeing him (Hamlet) to use Goethe's simile, as a plant that grew too rapidly for its fragile vase, which it eventually split asunder. I had often wondered how Hamlet would appear to unbiassed view and so I got an unprejudiced schoolboy of fifteen to read the play and give his verdict. Being innocent of pre-conceived ideas as to Hamlet, he was merely irritated. What did he pretend to be mad for?" was his first query. "It's all awfully silly—that pirate-ship business is ridiculous,—and then the killing-off at the end. Why it's so wholesale that it's funny." "What do you think of Hamlet," I asked, "a meditative sort of being? No—o, I wouldn't say that. He does spout a lot, but then he's always at something. Look how cool he is about sending Rosencrantz and Guildenstern to their death! I don't think he's a great character—look at the way he treats Polonius, who hadn't done anything against him,—and Ophelia—he's worse there.

And what's the use of all that player-scene?—He knew without that, that his uncle murdered his father—the ghost told him."

There is a great deal in all this. These are all faults of structure which in the teaching the play are invariably slurred over,—if indeed they are perceived by blinded eyes. They are only to be explained by reference to the '*Historie*' from which Shakespeare to some extent, worked, and I have never yet seen them explained. But there they stand, and assuredly they prevent any character-evolution or your scene-analysis as advocated in the text-books. The "light" flung upon character in this play by the various scenes is hopelessly confused. For at the very outset we have to reconcile a moody, mooning prince with one who on the ramparts vows angrily, "By Heaven, I'll make a ghost of him that lets me!" There are many things—some already referred to—which tend to contradict the received impression of Hamlet as an irresolute dreamer. I will dwell only on one, however, which shows how lack of knowledge of the context of the play will lead to erroneous conclusions. Hamlet's introduction of the player-scene has always been taken as a proof of his dilatory nature. Then how curious is his exclamation at its close, "I'll take the ghost's word for a thousand pounds!" We are forgetting, however, the Elizabethan dread of necromancy. "The devil had power to assume a pleasing shape" in order to tempt men to evil. It is just this question of the honesty of the ghost which worries Hamlet. He is not seeking an excuse for delay; only "the spirit that we have seen may be the devil." The player-scene therefore tests the ghost as well as the king.

There is no need to dwell longer on this point. Scene-analysis it will be apparent is often at fault. Even were it not so, were Shakespeare's plays paragons of perfect construction, and were school-children brought to realise them as such, what special purpose would that serve? Would such a result be worth a term's work?

And so in conclusion I would repeat the heresy hinted at in the beginning:—Shakespeare ought not to be taught in schools. 'Taught' is strictly literal, for I would have him *read*—at any rate by the higher pupils—read as any other great author is, quite profitably (although his book be more mature

than its reader), at the child's discretion. I remember one pupil's dictum: "I don't hate Shakespeare, but I hate—s (the teacher's) Shakespeare." It is only this school Shakespeare we want to oust, in order to make room for the real man. These prepared editions of Shakespeare for instance, really defeat their own ends; for where there are fifty pages of introduction, and some hundred of textual notes, one naturally looks askance at the play wedged in between.

Let the children, then, if they wish, read Shakespeare for themselves. Most schools have a system of home and holiday reading, with time set apart for discussion thereon. Add Shakespeare to the list of authors. Such difficulties as arise can be touched on, or suggested at the discussion period, and the explanations would then be in place, and of value.

This seems to me justifiable. Shakespeare wrote his plays to be acted in the course of a few hours—not to be dissected over a period of months. Seeing his plays remains the best first-hand method of getting to understand him, but unfortunately it is not practicable. Reading them straight through is probably the best alternative.

So far as I can judge from my own experience and that of a few others, the plan succeeds admirably. I got quite a charming appreciation of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* from one youthful reader; and in closing, I will quote the following instance: 'I listened one afternoon to a schoolboy friend's tale of woe respecting Shakespeare as he is taught. 'Go home and read *Henry IV.*' I said; Falstaff did the rest: next time I saw my friend, he was positively bubbling over. "Here I lay, and thus I bore my point"; we both laughed at the scene thus conjured up—"Isn't he great?" I think it was the same boy who philosophically propounded the problem of Shakespeare teaching to me thus: "You see, it's all a case of imagination. When I'm reading myself, my imagination gets a chance. It soars like a balloon. Now in school that balloon gets a brick tied to it. My imagination can't fly, because it's pegged down all the time to the meanings of the words and the date and the source."

I believe, then, in the pupils reading for themselves. But I would not make their reading all embracing. A too early introduction often spoils the chance of future intimacy. Our

present school-children can never bring but a blunted brain to their after—study of the great tragedies. The pity of it! One must go to those fresh in mind if one is at all to appreciate them and their magnitude. I would postpone the reading of these masterpieces. Shakespeare is, in very fact, the heritage of these children, but let us beware of giving them their birthright until they are of age.

THE DATE OF CHILAPPATIKARAM.

BY K. G. SESA AIYAR, B.A., B.L., M.R.A.S.

(Concluded.)

DID India borrow the planetary week from the Greeks about 400 A.D.? *Prima facie* it seems impossible to hold that a usage that had only been borrowed about 400 A.D. had so far established itself in the land as to be adopted in an inscription of 484, and had acquired such complete influence over the thoughts of the writers as is seen in the Puranic conception of the universe. *The Encyclopaedia Britannica* says, under the heading "Week" in the article on "Calendar:" "Although it did not enter into the calendar of the Greeks, and was not introduced at Rome till after the reign of Theodosius, it has been employed from time immemorial in almost all eastern countries." The late Shanker Balakrishna Dikshit at pages 137 to 139 of his *Early History of Bharatiya Jotisha* considers the question of the seven week-days in India, and his view is that India got the *varas* or week-days from the Chaldeans about 1,000 years before the Saka era. This is by no means improbable. When we come within the range of historic times, the people of India, the Dravidians especially—appear as enterprising traders carrying on a brisk trade with Babylon, Palestine, and other western countries. We read in the *Book of Kings* that the ships of Solomon used to return from Ophir laden with Indian articles, among which may be mentioned precious stones, peacocks and aloes. Arrian mentions that the maritime city of Patala in the delta of the Indus, was the centre of trade between Babylon and India. Philology discloses the fact that the Hebrew word *tuki* is derived from Tamil *tokai*, and the Hebrew word *ahalim* from Tamil *agil* and it is also interesting to note that the Babylonian word for

muslin is *sindhu*, apparently so called from the land of the Indus from which it was exported. Naturally as the result of this intercourse between India and Babylon, India may be without difficulty expected to have imported some religious, mythological, and astronomical or astrological notions common in the foreign country, if India must needs be regarded as the borrower. Whether India borrowed her astronomy and astrology from elsewhere is not a question that can be treated as settled. Prof. Max Muller and Dr. Thibaut are of opinion that the study of astronomy in India was indigenous. The lunar zodiac was invented in India; the solar zodiac appears in *Bodhayana Sutra*. The term *vara*, which *ex vi termini* imports an ordered or regulated division of the month, is found in *Atharvajotisha* and *Yagyavalkya Smriti*. Even supposing that the division of a day into *horas*—the term *hora* is explained as a mutilated form of *ahoratra* obtained by leaving out the first and the last syllable of the word* was borrowed by India, why should it have been come from the Greeks about 400 A.C., and not from the Chaldeans or Babylonians at a much earlier period, when India had close relations with them? The Chaldeans knew the week-days even before 3800 B.C. (*vide* Laing's *Human Origins*, Chap. V) Mr. Vaman Somanarayan Dalal, in his *History of India* Vol. I, also expresses the view that Indian Aryans learnt the science of Astrology from the Babylonians. Mr. L. D. Swamikannu Pillai himself refers to the famous sixth Satire of Juvenal, and notices that in the latter part of the first or the early years of the second century after Christ, Indian astrologers competed with their Phrygian and Chaldean brethren for the custom of rich Roman ladies; and he remarks that "it is not a violent supposition" that the Indian astrologers brought back from Rome one of the worn out Chaldean *panchangas*, containing the week-days. We thus see that there is no necessity for subscribing to the view that we got the week-days from the Greeks about 400 A.D. and we may without any violence to propriety or probability hold that we got them, if really we got them from abroad, from the Chaldeans long before that date, not improbably before the commencement of the Christian era. And could not Babylonia itself be the debtor in this respect? It may now be accepted as

* cf. Skeat: *Science of Etymology*, § 27.

[Let *Hora* < *ῥα*, which is related to the Indo-European. *Jero* or *jūro* 'change'; which are in turn derivatives of the Indc-Europ. root *je*, 'go'.—Ed.]

settled by archæologists that the Sumerians who settled in Southern Babylonia were the founders of Babylonian culture. "The Sumerian culture," observes Mr. Hall in his *Ancient History of the East* "springs into our view ready-made, as it were, which is what we should expect if it was, as seems on other grounds probable, brought into Mesopotamia from abroad." Whence was this culture introduced into Babylonia? Mr. Hall answers it was introduced from India. He writes: "The ethnic type of Sumerians, so strongly marked in their statues and reliefs, was as different from those of the races which surrounded them as their language from those of the Semites. They were decidedly Indian in type. It is to this Dravidian ethnic type of India that the ancient Sumerian bears most resemblance so far as we can judge from his monuments. He was very like a southern Hindu of the Dekhan. And it is by no means improbable that the Sumerians were an Indian race, which passed certainly by land, perhaps also by sea, through Persia to the valley of the two Rivers. It was in the Indian home, that we suppose for them that their culture developed." If the culture-development of the Sumerians, who took to Babylonia in the fourth millenium B.C. a remarkably high state of civilization, should be sought for in ancient India, would it be preposterous to suggest that perhaps in the wake of the march of the Sumerian culture, the week-days also travelled from India to Babylonia? In any case, we need not wait for the Greeks and the year of grace 400 A.D. to acquire our knowledge of week-days.

Dr. Fleet says further that down to 800 A.D. the citation of week-days was not common in any part of India. Obviously this is wrong; for it is very well known that Tirugnana Sambhanda in *வேபுறு தோளி Padigam* sings:—

ஞாயிறு திங்கள் செவ்வாய் புதன் வியாழம் வெள்ளி சனிபாம்பிரண்டு
யாசது நல்ல நல்லவகை நல்லநல்ல கடியார்க்கு மிகவே. [முடனே

Here the planets are mentioned in their week-day order. When Tirugnana Sambhanda starts for Madura at the invitation of Queen Mangayarkarasi and the minister Kularchirai Adigal to convert Kun Pandyan to the Saiva faith, his disciples urge that he should start on an auspicious day; and the sage sings these lines in reply. He says that all the days of the week are equally auspicious to him, so long as the lord Siva is enshrined in his heart. The way that the reference to the week-days is here made indisputably shows that the citation was quite com-

mon among the people, in whose minds each *vara* had a well understood beneficent or malignant influence associated with it. Gnana Sambhanda flourished about the middle of the seventh century; and any body would concede that the *Devaram* hymns were long posterior to the epics, *Chilappatikaram* and *Manimekalai*. Mr. Swamikannu Pillai himself draws attention to the couplet in *Tiru Kural*.

நெருந்நு சென்று ரெங்கா தலர்யாழ்
மெழுநாளே மேனி பசந்து.

and observes that there the general adoption of the grouping of days into weeks is indicated. Such grouping must have been made upon some definite plan; and what is the difficulty in holding that plan then was the same as now? *Tiru Kural* is anterior in date to *Manimekalai*, for in the latter poem Sattanar quotes from the *Kural*. There is thus, nothing unusual in a week day being mentioned in *Chilappatikaram*, even though we should regard it as having been composed in the second century after Christ.

The other circumstance that renders it impossible according to Mr. Swamikannu Pillai to look for *Chilappatikaram*, before the eighth century is said to be supplied by *Manimekalai*. The passages upon which the argument is built are these:—

இருதிள வேனிலி லெரிகதி ரீடபத்
தொருபதின் மேலு மொருமூன்று சென்றபின்
மீனத் திடைநிலை மீனத் தகவையிற்
போதித் தலைவனெடு பொரிந்தித் தோன்று
மாபுத் திரண்கை யமுதசு ரபியெனு
மாபெரும் பாத்திர மடகொடி கேளாய்
யந்நாளிந்நா ளப்பொழு திப்பொழுது

Mani xi. 40-46.

நரெண் ணூற்றோ டெரெட் டாண்டிற்
பேரறி வாளன் றோன்றும்

Mani xii. 77-8.

பெரியோன் பிறந்த பெற்றியைக்கேணி
யிருதிள வேனிலி லெரிகதி ரீடபத்
தொருபதின் மேலு மொருமூன்று சென்றபின்
மீனத் திடைநிலை மீனத் தகவையிற்
போதித் தலைவனெடு பொருந்திய போழ்தத்து

Mani xv. 22-6.

The importance of these passages, we are told, is that they tell us that the Buddha will be reborn 1,616 years after, when the very time units that concurred at his first appearance were

produced, and that the day on which Manimekalai appeared before the pool of Manipallavam was that very day and hour. I am inclined to think that Mr. Swamikannu Pillai has misunderstood the passages when he takes them to mean that the day and hour when Manimekalai visited the sacred pool was the very day and hour of the expected readvent of Buddha, exactly 1,616 years after his first appearance. It is in the extract from canto XI that the expression அந்நாளிந்நாளப் பொழுத்ப் பொழுது occurs. There is no reference there to Buddha's reappearance in the year 1616. If Divatilakai intended to tell Manimekalai that that day Buddha was expected to reappear, she would have in unambiguous terms proclaimed that great and all important fact, and not contented herself with mentioning merely the miraculous appearance of the sacred bowl. There is no doubt that she is referring to an annually recurring miracle on Vaikāṣi Visakka, which in the very nature of things would be a day of special holiness and significance to the Tamil Buddhists. In this connection reference may be made to *Manimekalai*, canto XIV 1192-94 from which it is clear that when the bowl was thrown into the tank, the bidding was that it should appear on the surface once every year till it should reach the hands of one virtuous and holy enough to take possession of it. The great Tamil scholar, Mahamahopadhyaya V. Swaminatha Aiyer interprets the context as referring to an annual solemnity, and if I may be permitted to say so in all humility, I perfectly agree with that interpretation. Besides, the notion of Buddha's reappearance in 1,616 years is supplied by the passage extracted from canto XII of *Manimekalai*, which describes the heroine's visit to Aravana Adigal; and he conveys the glorious information to her that when Buddha is born again in the year 1616, a new era of universal peace and love and good-will, which the seer graphically describes, will be heralded. If as a matter of fact the Buddha had already appeared again on the day and at the moment when Manimekalai obtained the bowl, Aravana Adigal would have told her that the new era had already dawned as the new Buddha was already born; but he does not say anything of the kind, but only makes a prediction. The language is pre-eminently suggestive of an event yet to happen. It is "பேரறிவான் ஞேன்று, மதற் பிற்பாடு", "புத்தஞாயிறு தோன்றுங்காலே" Mr. Swamikannu Pillai seems to have put a forced construction on the passages, and thereupon built an argument. If my view sup-

ported as it is by the view of the foremost Tamil scholar of the day, is correct, it is plain that the passages in *Manimekalai* have no relevancy whatever to the discussion of the problem we have taken up for solution. Supposing, however, that Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's view of the passages is correct, and their combined effect is to make out that the day of Manimekalai's visit to the pool was the day of Buddha's expected reappearance, we have to consider from what date 1,616 years are to be counted, and to which of the three events in Buddha's history, his birth, his *sambodhi* or his *nirvana*, the combination of time units refers. Mr. Swamikannu Pillai thinks it has reference to Buddha's *nirvana*, and from that 1,616 years should be reckoned. He rightly holds that none of the accepted dates for Buddha's *nirvana* would suit, and therefore he assumes 846 B.C. for his purposes, as that is near what is said to have been the accepted date for the *nirvana* (B.C. 850) in China in the seventh century after Christ! 1,616 years after 846 B.C. would take us to 771 A.D. That being the day when Manimekalai visited the divine pool and received the divine begging bowl, the epic poem *Manimekalai* must have been written not earlier than the eighth century. To arrive at this result, Mr. Swamikannu Pillai arbitrarily assumes 846 B.C. as the date of the *nirvana* that the Southern Tamil Buddhists had in mind, that 1,616 years should be reckoned from the date of the *nirvana*, that the expression "சூரியமேஷ மொருமுன்று சென்றபின்" refers to the date of the solar month and that the *thithi* is not mentioned in the passage, but it is full moon. It is admitted that the expression 'the middle of the *nakshatras*' denotes Visakha, which is the 14th in the list of 27 stars, counting from Karthigai. Perhaps this very circumstance should indicate that *Manimekalai* was composed before the reckoning from Aswini had been substituted. Let that, however, pass. What is the warrant for holding that the alleged Chinese date for the Nirvana had been accepted by the Buddhists of South India? The Tamil Buddhists of South India had no doubt their own traditional dates based on the accounts current in the Tamil country. According to such tradition (1) Buddha's birth was in Rishabha, Friday, Visakha *nakshatra*, full moon; (2) His *sambodhi* was in Rishabha Wednesday, Visakha *nakshatra*, full moon; and (3) His *nirvana* was in Rishabha, Tuesday, Vaisakha *nakshatra*, full moon. The northern Buddhists, Weber tells us, had fourteen different accounts of the life events of Buddha ranging

from 2422 B.C. to 546 B.C. The southern Buddhists too had possibly a fairly large number ranging over a similarly long period. Accepting Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's suggestion that a date antecedent to 800 B.C. should be discovered for the purposes of our present problem, we find that the following dates will satisfy the conditions :—

1. Birth : 1450 B.C. Rishabha 7th, Friday, Visakha *nakshatra* 30 *gh.* 32 *p.* full moon 59 *gh.* 18 *p.*

2. Sambodhi : 1415 B.C. Rishabha 10th, Wednesday, Visakha 8-37, full moon 48-28.

3. Nirvana : 1371 B.C. Rishabha 2nd, Tuesday, Visakha after 15 *gh.* 49 *p.* and full moon after 15 *gh.* 52 *p.* These dates besides satisfying the conditions regarding the month, week, day, *nakshatra* and *thithi*, also accord with the traditional notion that Buddha attained *sambodhi* thirty-five years after his birth, and *nirvana* in his eightieth year. These dates are neither improbable nor fanciful. Kalhana in his *Rajatharangini* places Kanishka 150 years after the *nirvana* of Buddha, and says that Kanishka and his brothers Hushka and Jushka—the Vasishka and Huvishka of the historians—came immediately before Gonanda who according to him began his reign in 1182 B.C. I am not appealing to Kalhana's history, but I refer to him only to show the currency of a tradition about the date of Buddha's *nirvana*, upon which obviously he based his account of Kanishka's date. The date for the *nirvana* that we might gather from Kalhana's statements that have been noted above will be 1,182 plus 150 plus the period covered by the reigns of Kanishka, Vasishka and Huvishka, which Kalhana says covered one generation, (say, forty years) but which according to Dr. Lüders is about sixty years. This will give us 1372 or 1392 B.C. So if we accept these dates the next question would be, from which of these three dates should we reckon 1,616 years to arrive at the rebirth of Buddha. To me it is clear that the *terminus a quo* is the date of the *sambodhi*, which is the real appearance of the Buddha for all Buddhists. Calculated from that date, the date of Buddha's anticipated reappearance would be 202 A.D., which will also be the date of Manimekalai's acquisition of the divine bowl. Now how does this year answer the conditions of the problem? The conditions are these :—

(1) The season of the year should be இளவேனில் or Vasantha, which comprises Chittrai and Vaikasi, which are spoken of

even to-day by Hindus as constituting Vasantha; (2) the month should be Rishabha or Vaikasi; (3) the day should be a day of the middle of the *nakshatras*, which as we have seen, is here, Visakha; (4) the remaining condition is described by the words "ஒருபத்தின்மேலு மொருமுன்றுசென்றபின்." What does this mean? According to Mr. Swamikannu Pillai it ought to refer to the date of the solar month. With all respect, I would say it denotes the *thithi*. The ancient practice was to give the *nakshatra* and *thithi* and not the date, which is not regarded as of any importance; and besides it will be very strange if Sattanar in describing the day of the reappearance of the Buddha omitted to give the *thithi* which is an important particular. Thus according to the text the conditions that should be satisfied by the day that was to witness the reappearance of Buddha are that it should fall 1,616 years after Buddha's *sambodhi* and should be a day of Visakha and Sukla Chadurdesi in Rishabha or Vaikasi. Such a date we have in ninth Rishabha 202 A.C. Visakham *nakshatra* began that day at 8 *gh.* 33 *p.* after sunrise, and Sukla 14th *thithi* ended at 45 *gh.* 21 *p.* after sunrise, so that at about 12 mid-night full moon *thithi* began and Visakha star co-existed with full moon till about 10 in the morning on tenth Rishabha 202. Manimekalai, therefore may be taken to have visited the sacred pool, and obtained the sacred bowl about midday on that day.

I have tried to show that the fundamental views on which Mr. Swamikannu Pillai bases his arguments are uncertain and incorrect. I have also tried to show, pursuing Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's line of inquiry that the event alleged to be adumbrated in the passages from *Manimekalai* may be referred to 202 A.C. *Chilappatikaram* may, therefore have been written about the early years of the third century after Christ if not earlier. Can such a date be found that will satisfy the conditions laid down by the text of *Chilappadhikaram* itself?

There are two sets of data that are supplied by *Chilappatikaram* that will help us in fixing the date of its composition. One set is astronomical, and the other historical. The astronomical data have already been quoted in this paper, but it will be well to state them here once again. The opening lines of நாடுகாண்காதை tell us that Koyalan and Kannaki left for Madura on the night of Sukla 14th *thithi* after the moon had set, and before sunrise the next morning. In கட்டுரைகாதை we read that Madura was destroyed by fire in the month of Adi on a Friday,

which co-existed with the Ashtami *thithi* of the dark fortnight, and Bharani *nakshatra*, joining Krithika. I have worked out the problem with the help of these data; and out of several dates that I obtained, I choose 171 A.D. as the latest date satisfying the conditions of the problem.

The day of the flight would be 21st Vaikasi.* That was a Sunday; the Nakshatra was Vaisakham till 19 *gh.* 32 *p.* and after that Anusham. Till 53 *gh.* 45 *p.* after sunrise that day, the *thithi* was Sukla Chadurdesi. Thus on the night of the 21st Vaikasi of that year, after the moon had set, in the period of darkness that existed before sunrise of the next day, Kovalan and Kannaki left Kaveripattanam. It was Anusham then, and so Marana *yogam* when they started—which is even worse than the combination of Tuesday and Kettai which gives Utpada *yogam*. Thus this date will satisfy perfectly all the conditions in the text, and it has the further merit of giving us a combination associated in astrology with the most malignant *yogam*.

The date may be tested in another way. We have seen that the Indra festival, which it is reasonable to suppose began on Chithra Pournamai, the full moon day of the month of Chithirai lasted for twenty-eight days and on the night of the bath in the sea Kovalan left with his wife. In 171 A.D. 24th Chithirai was full moon day, and if the flag for the festival was hoisted that day, the twenty-eighth day of the festival will fall on Saturday the 20th Vaikasi. The general sea bath will then be on Sunday, 21st Vaikasi, for two reasons, *viz.*, a sea bath on a Saturday is prohibited, and besides from the commentator's account the bath followed the removal of the flag, and therefore probably took place (*cf.* விழாநடந்து சொழியிறங்கி நாட்கடலாடி) on the day succeeding that on which the flag was taken down. Kovalan and Madhavi must therefore have quarrelled on the evening of 21st Vaikasi, the day of the bath; and late that night Kovalan and Kannaki agree to leave Kaveripattanam, and actually leave it after that night's moon had set, at a time which according to astrological notions portended death.

Now about the date of the fire at Madura.* In 171 A.D. Adi 26th was Friday; Saptami of the dark fortnight ended and Ashtami began at 25 *gh.* 43 *p.* after sunrise, and *nakshatram*,

* These dates have been arrived at with the help of Mr. T. Srinivasa Rao's *Nirantara Ganitham*, a book that deserves to be in the hands of all persons interested in questions of Indian chronology.

Bharani ended and Krithikai began at 49 gh. 57 p. after sunrise. The conflagration broke out apparently at about midnight that day; for we find Sattanar telling Chenkuttuvan that on that occasion he was sleeping in Madura at midnight when the goddess of Madura appeared before Kannaki.

“வெள்ளியம் பலத்து நள்ளிருட் கிடந்தே

ரோகு ருற்ற வீரபத் தினிமுன்

மதுரைமா தெய்வம் வந்து தோன்றி

Chil. பதிகம் 41. 3.

Thus we see that 26th Adi in 171 A.D. will thoroughly satisfy the conditions in the text for the great fire that consumed Madura. We saw that twenty-first Vaikasi of the same year would satisfactorily answer the date of the flight. Hence from the astronomical data supplied by the poem 171 A.D. may be accepted for the events of *Chilappatikaram*.

How does this date satisfy the historical data supplied by the poem? We read in *Chilappatikaram* that Cheran Chenkuttuvan invaded northern India and defeated Kanaga and Vijaya-sons of Balakumara, who were “Aryan” princes, and in this expedition he was assisted by the “Hundred Karnas” (தூற்று வர்க்கன்னர்) elsewhere also called (ஐயிருபதின்மர்). Perhaps this contains a reference to the Andras with the assistance of the Tamil forces under the Chera defeating the Kshatrapas. The late Mr. Kanagasabhai Pillai identifies (தூற்று வர்க்கன்னர்) with Sata-karni, and if the identification be correct, about which I have grave doubts, we may hold that Chenkuttuvan was a contemporary of Yajna Sri Sata Karni who ruled from 171-202 A.D. The Tamil Kings for some generations before Chenkuttuvan appear to have helped the Andras in their intermittent struggle against the hated foreigners, the Kshatrapas; and we find Tamil poets claiming for Himaya Varamban Nedum Cheraladan, the father of Chenkuttuvan, and for Pandyan Nedum Cheliyan and Karikala Chola victory over the Aryan forces. Cheran Chenkuttuvan, spent 32 months in his invasion of North India, and on his return, built and consecrated a temple for the worship of Kannaki the Patni Devi. At this consecration, several contemporary monarchs were present, among whom is specifically mentioned Gajabahu King of Ceylon (“கடல் சூழிலங்கைக்கயவாகுவேந்தனும்”) Ilan-ko-adigal also attended the consecration, as he says யானுஞ்சென்றேன (ch. xxx. 171). Undoubtedly this reference to Gajabahu of Ceylon is of the

utmost importance, and no date that will not place Chenkuttuvan as a contemporary of Gajabahu can be accepted. Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's contemptuous reference to the "Gajabahu Theory" with which the name of the late Mr. Kanagasabhai Pillai, is associated, and which is accepted by a host of Tamil scholars after him, is certainly without justification. It is idle to dispute now that Gajabahu I of Ceylon, who from all accounts was certainly reigning in the seventies of the second century A.D., had relations with South India, from which the Ceylon chronicles say he took back to Ceylon the relics and the begging bowl of the Buddha. The *Rajavali* further says that he brought away the foot ornaments of Patni Devi (*vide* Prof. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's *Ancient India*, pp. 363—6 for abstract of Ceylonese accounts about Gajabahu I). The Patni Devi mentioned in this account can be no other than Kannaki, at the consecration of whose temple Gajabahu was present. If therefore, the events of *Chilappatikaram* be taken to have occurred in 171 A.D. then making allowance for Chenkuttuvan's invasion of the north and the building of the temple, we may hold the consecration took place about five or six years afterwards, and at such consecration Gajabahu I of Ceylon could have been present. The poem itself must have been composed some time after, and we may safely assert that early in the fourth quarter of the second century of the Christian era, *Chilappatikaram* must have been composed. This conclusion satisfies all the conditions of the text whether literary; historical or astronomical. It is also consistent with probabilities. *Chilappatikaram* and *Manimekalai* are Buddhist works. By the seventh century Buddhism in South India may be said to have been practically swept off; and Tirujnana Sambandha, the aggressive apostle of the Saiva faith was then flourishing. It is not probable that after the disintegration of Buddhism had been completed, works like *Manimekalai* would have been composed and accepted as a classic. Both *Manimekalai* and its companion poem *Chilappatikaram* may naturally be regarded as having been composed in the early centuries of the Christian era, when Buddhism was still flourishing in the land. Regarded from any standpoint, therefore, the close of the second century after Christ may without impropriety be regarded as the date of the composition of *Chilappatikaram*, and the orthodox view based on "the Gajabahu theory" need not be nervously rejected.

*POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF THE
SYRIAN CHRISTIANS IN FORMER TIMES: VII.*

INHERITANCE

BY L. K. ANANTHA KRISHNA IYER, B.A., L.T.

AMONG the Christians of different denominations in Cochin, as in Malabar and Travancore, there is an "uncertainty and diversity of practice regarding the system of inheritance and succession." Some are said to follow the customary or canon law, while others are governed by ecclesiastical authority. There are again others who adopt the provisions of the Indian Succession Act. In regard to the rights of women, there is still considerable uncertainty about the exact law applicable to each community. From the earliest times, the Syrian Christians are said to have followed the Biblical Law¹ (as laid down by Moses) for the guidance of the ancient Jews; but these laws are now no longer observed by them. The first-born was to get a double share of the father's wealth.² A father is prohibited from transferring the birth-right of the first born contrary to the social usage.³

The highest authority of the Jacobite Church, both in ecclesiastical and secular matters is the "Nomo Canon," known also as the "Hudya Canon" compiled by Mar Gregorius Bar Hebraeus, the Catholicos of the East who flourished between 1226 and 1286 A. D. The main provisions of this canon are (1) "that female heirs of any degree (the daughter, the sister or aunt, etc.) get half the share of the male heirs of the corresponding degree (such as the son, the brother and the uncle, etc.); (2) that a childless widow gets about one-fourth of her deceased husband's estate; (3) that when there are children, the widow gets a share equal to only one-eighth of that of a son; (4) that the residue, after deducting from the estate of a childless person, the share of the wife or husband must go to the father and mother in the ratio of 2:1; and (5) that when the deceased childless person's father is not alive, his mother should get a share equal to that of a brother." ⁴

¹ *Pentateuch* or the five books of Moses.

² *Deut.* ch. 21, ver. 5-17.

³ *Malabar Quarterly Review*, June 1902.

⁴ *Report of the Christian Community*, Travancore, pp. 9.

In this connection it may be pointed out that, while a daughter does not, under the Hindu Law, take an absolute estate in her father's property in the absence of sons, a daughter among the Syrian Christians has, at least for a century or so, been taking an absolute estate in whatever she gets by way of inheritance from her father. The practice of bequeathing one's property by means of a will was unknown to Hindu Law ; while among the Syrian Christians, this right has been in existence, to a certain extent, for many centuries. According to the existing usage, the sister of a deceased childless Syrian Christian succeeds absolutely to his property in the absence of his brothers. The Hindu Law recognises no such custom. These and other practices seem to have been borrowed from the Nomo-Canon.

Regarding the execution of wills in former times it is said, that the bishops and prelates were to see to the execution of those lawfully made by Syrian Christians before their death, and that if any valid will made according to the custom of the place were not complied with in a year after the death of the testator, the Bishop would, by censures and other penalties, see its fulfilment.¹

It is clear that some of the provisions of this canon have never been followed in Malabar. A great many have become obsolete and the work itself is not a safe guide.² Another treatise of great repute that has to be mentioned in this connection is the famous work of Alfonso Ligouri, on Moral Theology a great Italian scholar, wherein the rules regarding inheritance are distinctly laid down. According to him both the daughter and son are entitled to an equal share in their father's estate. Similarly, a sister is entitled to share equally with the brother in a deceased brother's estate. These rules are said to have been followed neither by the Latin Catholics of North Travancore, nor by the Syro-Romans, but reference is made in this connection, simply on account of the prominence given to it in the full bench decision of the Chief Court in Travancore.³

There is still another work of great importance which is a Malayalam book of Canon, said to have been published in 1867 by Mar Matthew Athanasius. This book was compiled from the ancient writings and jottings which were found very much to agree

¹ *The Synod of Diamper, Session viii, Decree xxxviii.*

The History of Christianity in India, Hough, vol. II, pp. 666.

² *Report of the Christian Committee, Travancore, pp. 9.*

³ A. S. Nos. 245 and 267 of 1085.

with the ancient usages of this community. In this work it is laid down, that a man's daughter is entitled to get a dowry or *streedhanam* which is equal to half the share of a son; that when a man has only a daughter by his first marriage, and several sons by the second marriage, the first wife's daughter shall receive a share equal to that of a son; that the heir of a childless man is his wife (who takes only a life interest); that the heir of a woman having no child is her husband, and that only after the death of a deceased's widow, will his other heirs become entitled to his estate. These provisions are said to agree with the ancient usages of Malabar Christians, and the genuineness of the book itself was questioned in the Seminary Case by Mar Dionysius. The customary usages now in vogue differ from the rules already quoted. There is further no settled custom regarding the rights of women and relatives by half blood. In the course of his Presidential Address at the second session of the Travancore and the Cochin Christian Congress held on the 3rd May 1911, Dr. Poonen said that the absence of a settled law of inheritance is at present a fertile source of litigation among the Syrian Christians. During the last two or three decades the community has been rising in importance and wealth which had made the inconvenience of the law to be felt. "At present affairs are managed in a very unsatisfactory manner. The rich and the powerful are having their own way in all matters. The courts have to decide the disputed questions on evidence as to the custom followed by the community, and it is no difficult matter for the rich to make customs by evidence. The weaker side thus invariably goes to the wall."¹

There is no definite law governing the rights of women in the matter of inheritance and succession. This state of uncertainty in Travancore exist in Cochin also. There have been several instances at which the Chief Court of Cochin has applied the Indian Succession Act to Syrian Christians (Vide A. S. 132 of 1054, and A. S. 59 of 1055). There were occasions on which the Court declined to follow the principles of the same Act. There have also been similar difficulties among the Syrian Christians living in British Malabar.²

It is a well-known rule among the Syrian Christians that the daughters of an intestate shall succeed to his property in preference to the intestate's brother and other collaterals. This

¹ *Malabar Quarterly Review*, 1902, Vol. I, pp. 116 and 117.

² Report of the Christian Committee, pp. 13.

was not the ancient practice among the community. "The twentieth decree promulgated by the Synod of Diamper (Session IX) condemns, as unreasonable, the custom then obtaining among the Syrians whereby the distant male collaterals of an intestate take his estate in preference to his daughters even though they are unmarried. The Decree says that as a result of this practice, "great numbers of the daughters perish and others ruin themselves for want of necessities, there being no regard to the daughters any more than if their parents were under no obligation to provide for them; all of which being very unreasonable, the Synod both decree and declare the system to be unjust."¹

In former times a Syrian Christian did not possess the right to convey his ancestral property on outright sale without the consent of his heirs. Probably the custom has its origin in the practice of a Hindu family or *Marumakkathayam Tarward* in which the ancestral property cannot be disposed of without the consent of the junior numbers. Nevertheless instances are known in which the father has the right to make a sale without the consent of his sons. Very often the eldest son is joined in the execution of the sale deed. But the common practice, it is said, shows that a father is at liberty to make a sale without the consent of any of his heirs. Thus, among the Syrian Christians of Travancore and Cochin, the customary usage is found to vary in different places as time advances. The absence of a definite law of inheritance is at present a fertile source of litigation among them.

It has been, in many cases, pointed out by Dewan Bahadur Venkobachariar, C. J., and Hunt, C. J., that the Syrian Christians have no settled personal law governing the succession to and devolution of their properties, but only customary law which is very vague and indefinite, each section and sometimes, each family claiming to have its own customary law administered.

The following are the recognised rules of inheritance among the Syrian Christians:—

1. In the matter of inheritance there is no difference between the movable and immovable property; and between the property of a male and that of a female.
2. There is no difference between an heir actually born at the time of the proprietor's death and posthumous child.
3. The heirs in the descending line always exclude those in the ascending or collateral line; and even collaterals of any

¹ *The History of Christianity of India*, Hough pp. 680.

degree or their descendants have priority over ascendants of the same degree.

4. The heirs of equal proximity to the last holder divide his property equally among themselves whenever they are of the same sex.

5. The heirs of any degree and their descendants generally exclude those of a remote degree.

6. Among heirs of the same degree and related to the proprietor on the same side (*i.e.* on the father or mother's side) and related to him in the same way whether by the full blood or half-blood—the male heirs always absolutely exclude the female except perhaps, when the heirs are in the descending line. There is a general impression that in the latter case the daughter or the female descendants have a claim for *Streedhanam*.

7. The paternal heirs are always preferred to the maternal heirs.

8. If a son or daughter or brother or sister or uncle or aunt, whether of the full blood or half-blood and whether on the paternal or maternal side dies before an intestate, his or her descendants will, on the intestate's death, get that share in the property of the deceased, which he or she would have obtained if he or she had been alive at the time of the proprietor's death.

9. When a man dies leaving no children, but only grand children—whether by his sons or daughters—they take among themselves what their fathers or mothers as the case may be, would have taken, if they had been alive at the time of the intestate's death. In other words, an intestate's property is, on his death, to be—divided among his heirs, *per stirpes* and not *per capita*. But the general sentiment of the community is that the father of a deceased childless person may be treated as his heir in preference to the brothers and sisters of the deceased.¹ In regard to the relatives of the half-blood, opinion is divided. Some say that there is no difference between the relatives of the half-blood and those of the full blood on the father's side, while others opine that brothers of the full blood exclude those of the half-blood. A large majority would have the brother of the full blood take a larger share than those of the half-blood.

There are certain cases in which the question of inheritance and succession is doubtful and undecided. The following are some of them :—

¹ Report of the Christian Committee, Travancore, pp. 21.

1. When a person dies leaving behind him neither his wife nor his children, but only his parents, brothers and sisters, there arises some doubt as to who should succeed him. Under the Mosaic Law, the father is not the heir at all. Some among the Syrian Christians say, that the father of the deceased person is not entitled to any share so long as there are brothers and sisters. In the absence of sons and daughters, a person's property should go to his brothers and their children, and in their absence to the deceased's sisters and their children. Nevertheless, the general sentiment of the communities is that the father of a deceased childless person may be treated as the head in preference to the brothers and sisters of the deceased.¹

2. A widower, it is alleged, has no interest in the property of the deceased wife. There is nevertheless a custom in some parts, according to which the husband retains one-fourth of the property of his deceased wife.

3. Opinion is unanimous as to the rights of the daughters of a deceased person who leaves behind him neither any son nor the descendants of any deceased son. In such cases the intestate's property is divided equally among the daughters to the exclusion of all other heirs in the ascending or collateral line.

4. A daughter to whom a dowry has been paid by her father should, according to the customary law, be considered to have received her share in his estate. But difficulty arises in the case of those daughters to whom no dowry has been fixed by their fathers. The amount is practically settled in the majority of cases, at the time of her marriage, and this depends upon the wealth of her father and the demand upon the bridegroom's side (vide *Marriage Customs*). In the majority of cases, however, it is equal to or more than half the value of a son's share, but in rich families, below a third or a fourth of the value of his share.²

A daughter to whom no dowry has been paid or promised by her father, is practically at the mercy of her brothers, who have only moral obligation to see, that she is not unfairly dealt with. According to the existing custom the unmarried daughters of a deceased person are bound to be provided with a reasonable dowry. It is not also possible to say the extent of the legal right of an orphaned girl in her father's estates when she has a brother. Its extent depends practically only upon the demands upon the bridegroom's guardians and upon the attitude of her own guardians

¹ & ² Report of the Christian Committee, Travancore, pp. 21.

and not in any case on any known definite principle: so far the customary law is vague with regard to the extent of the sphere or interest of an unmarried girl in her father's property. It often happens that they are not properly looked after either by their brothers or by their uncles. The evil result of this kind of negligence leads to the difficulty of securing suitable husbands and to life-long misery in some localities. This state of affairs in the opinion of the vast majority of the Syrian Christians should be put a stop to, and the claims of the helpless unmarried daughters should not be ignored; if they choose to remain unmarried or secure suitable husbands. It is said that in any community whose law is such as to place the orphaned and unmarried daughters at the mercy of their brother or uncles is not calculated to rise high in the social scale. But to the credit of the Syrian Christian community it must be said, that after the father's death, the brothers do not often refuse to give liberal dowries to the unmarried daughters with a view to getting them suitably married.¹

Equally vague and indefinite is the customary law on the subject of widow's rights. According to the ancient Syriac canon she is entitled to a definite share. It is also said that she has a right to manage and enjoy the entire estate. And yet she is entitled under the customary law only to maintenance; according to some to a reasonable maintenance. In the opinion of some she must remain satisfied with anything given her, and she has no remedy whatever even if the female heirs alienate the property of her late husband. In many cases a provision is made for her maintenance by her husband before his death. Sometimes she is asked to live with the sons in rotation. In some family arrangements, property is set apart for her sometimes absolutely and sometimes for life. In the vast majority of cases the sons undertake to pay a fixed sum for the maintenance of their mother. In the above instances, widows are generally of persons who have children.²

Generally the mother and the children, naturally enough, live together after the death of the father. Under ordinary circumstances there will be no necessity for the widow to claim a separate share against her children. Even when she finds her lot rather hard, her regard for the reputation of her children induces her

¹ *Report of the Christian Committee*, pp. 25-27.

² *Report of the Christian Committee*, pp. 28-29.

rather to keep quiet than to seek the aid of the court or the public to assist her against her undutiful children. In the case of childless widows, their parents or their own people gladly receive them back and attend to their wants. Such widows often shrink from publicly enforcing their claims against their husband's heirs. It is only when the heir of the deceased husband make it hard for the childless widow to live comfortably or where the widow whose own relatives are prepared to assert her rights at any cost that she comes forward in public with her grievance. Further, the order of succession among the Syrian Christian of this coast is as follows:—"first sons, failing these, daughters, failing these, brothers and their children and lastly sisters and their children."¹ The widow has no place in the order of inheritance, nor the father. Nevertheless the father is recognised to be the foremost heir in the absence of lineal descendants.

So far as judicial decisions go, the right of the childless widow of a man to his entire estate to the exclusion of the sister and her son was recognised in 1049 M. E., and 1051 M. E., and her right to a share as prescribed by the Indian Succession Act was recognised in 1031. In a full Bench decision in 1037 of the Travancore High Court it was held that the widow of a childless person was entitled only to maintenance.² In the case of widows co-existing with children, the Cochin Chief Court has allowed the former to take one-third share in her husband's estates (A. S. No. 132 of 1054, A. S. No. 59 of 1055 of the Cochin Chief Court.

From the foregoing account it may be seen that the customary law on the rights of a widow is vague and unsettled, and the treatment accorded to childless widows among the Syrian Christians would appear to reveal the fact that women in their community labour under serious disabilities.

In regard to the rights of the mother of a deceased person, it was held that she is his heir in preference to his sister's son (A. S. No. 234 of 1049). In a Royal Appeal Case No. 2 of 1065 it was held that the mother and a half-brother on the father's side inherit equally the estate of the deceased. XII-T. L. R. 124.) It was also decided that a deceased person's mother should be preferred to his paternal uncle even though the mother had contracted a second marriage. Further, a mother of an intestate

¹ & ² *Report of the Christian Committee, Travancore*, pp. 30, 33.

excludes his paternal cousin. So far the principle that a mother should get a share equal to that of a brother and that she excludes all other heirs more remote than the brother may be considered to be well established.

There is, however, a difference of opinion in regard to the devolution of property obtained by one's own exertion as well as what is obtained from the father and other paternal relatives on the one hand, and property obtained from the mother and the maternal relatives on the other. Some are of opinion that property falling under the former category should go to the father and the paternal relatives, while what comes under the latter category should go to the mother and maternal relatives, while others according to custom state, that there is no difference between the two classes of property.¹

The extent of a mother's right in the property of a deceased son has been set at rest by a series of uniform decisions ranging over a period of nearly forty years. There are, it is alleged, some who, are not satisfied with the principle of these decisions.

Since the preparation of the above notes, a regulation to consolidate and amend the rules of law applicable to intestate succession among the Indian Christians of Travancore has been passed by His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore. A similar regulation in the Cochin State also is under contemplation. The main provisions of the regulation regarding the devolution of property of a Syrian Christian intestate and that of the other sects are as follow :

The property of an intestate devolves upon the wife or husband or upon the close relatives of the deceased as given below. If the deceased has left a widow and lineal descendants, a share equal to that of a son shall be allotted to her. When the lineal descendants of the deceased consist only of his daughters the descendants of any deceased daughter or daughters, the widow's share shall be equal to that of a daughter. If he has left only his father or mother, or paternal grandfather, or any lineal descendants of his father, or such grandfather, one-half of the intestate's property shall be allotted to his widow. If he has none of the relatives above referred to, this widow shall be entitled to the whole of his property.

The husband surviving his wife has the same rights in respect of her property as the widow has in respect of her husband's

¹ *Report of the Christian Committee, Travancore, pp. 34, 35.*

property if he or she dies intestate. When the intestate has left his mother, and any lineal descendants or father, the mother shall not be entitled to any share in the property of the deceased ; but when the intestate has left no lineal descendant, nor father, but has left lineal descendants of the father only, a share equal to that of a brother of the intestate shall be allotted to his mother. If, however, the lineal descendants of the intestate's father consist only of daughters or the lineal descendants of a deceased daughter or daughters, the mother's share shall be equal to that of a daughter. When the intestate without any of the foregoing relations has left his paternal grandfather or his lineal descendant one-half of his property shall be allotted to his mother. When the intestate has left none of the relations above referred to, or when he has left a widow, the residue after deducting her share shall belong to his mother. A widow or mother is entitled only to a life interest terminable at death, or remarriage or over any immovable property as abovementioned.

When a person dies intestate his relations in the order herein set forth, shall be entitled to succeed to the residue, if any, of his property that may be left after deducting the share of the widow or the mother, if any, under circumstances, which will entitle her to a share. The order of succession is, as follows :—

1. Sons and daughters and their lineal descendants as shall exist prior to the death of the deceased ;
2. Father ;
3. Brothers and sisters, and their descendants ;
4. Paternal grandfather ;
5. Children of the paternal grandfather and grandmother ;
6. Brothers and sisters of the half-blood on the mother's side, and their lineal descendants ;
7. Maternal grandfather ; and
8. Their lineal descendants.

If a son, or a daughter, or a sister, or a nephew, or a niece, or an uncle, or an aunt, or a first cousin of the intestate, who, if alive, at the time of the death of an intestate would have been an heir, shall have died in his life-time, the lineal descendant or descendants of such an heir shall solely or jointly take the share which they would have taken if living at the death of the intestate, and in such manner as if such deceased heir had died immediately after the death of the intestate. The male and female heirs mentioned above shall have equal shares.

The *Streedhanam* due to a daughter shall have one-fourth of the value of the share of a son, or Rs. 5,000 whichever is less.

Provided that any female heir of an intestate to whom *Streedhanam* was paid, or promised by the intestate, or in the intestate's lifetime, either by his wife or by himself, or after the death of such a wife or husband, or by their heirs, shall not be entitled to have any further claim on his property, when any of her brothers or their lineal descendants shall survive the intestate. Any *Streedhanam* promised but not paid shall be a charge upon his property.

INHERITANCE AMONG THE LATIN CHRISTIANS OF NORTH TRAVANCORE

The customary law of inheritance which obtains among the Latin Christians of North Travancore has been gravitating towards the usages among the Syrian Christians and law of inheritance among them is as vague as among others. Among the Latin Christians, all the heirs—whether male or female—of the same degree till some years ago, took equal shares in the intestate's property, and in O. S. No. 232 of 1052 on the file of the Alwaye Zillah Court, the right of the daughters of a Latin Christian to share equally with their brothers in their father's estate was fully recognized. In August 1900, the Archbishop of Varapuzha found that there was some trouble among his flock regarding the law of inheritance, and issued a circular to the vicars in his archdiocese, who in response to it, furnished him with various opinions. His Grace came to the conclusion that it was best to follow the opinion of the majority of the parishes and to hold that daughters were entitled only to *legitime* including the dowry. The members of this community inter-marry with their co-religionists in the Cochin State and elsewhere, and in these places the sons and daughters share equally in their father's estate. In XIII, T.L.R., pp. 215, it was held that according to the customary law of these Latin Christians (1) Daughters, if married, with *Streedhanam* do not share their father's property with sons, and (2) that sisters are not entitled to share in their brother's property so long as there are brothers or their descendants.

In A. S. 208 of 1070, it was held that the widow of a Latin Christian of North Travancore is, when there are children, entitled to one-eighth of her husband's estate absolutely, and

that the mother of a childless person is entitled to a share equal to that of a brother. In A. S. 120 of 1077 it was held that the daughters of a Latin Christian are entitled to succeed to their father's estate even when the latter leaves brothers. At least there seems to be a great approximation between the customary usages of the two communities.¹

INHERITANCE AMONG THE SOUTH TRAVANCORE CHRISTIANS.

The ancestors of the Roman Catholic Christians in South Travancore appear to have been converts of St. Francis Xavier and other missionaries about the middle of the sixteenth century, and the law of succession obtaining among their descendants is very vague and unsettled. In the case of a man who dies leaving only daughters, the girls are allowed to divide their property among them equally and take their respective shares absolutely. With regard to the daughters when there are sons, the present practice is for the sons to take the property and give the daughters anything they choose as *Streedhanam*. Some among the community are of opinion that that daughter should be satisfied with any pittance that the brothers give her, while all of them say that she may claim a reasonable dowry. Sometimes the church authorities to whom complaints are made see to the proper payment of the dowry to girls who are unfairly dealt with by the brothers. The system of demanding high dowries has become very common among them; and a large majority of girls obtain, as dowry, from their father, no less than half the son's share, but some want legislation to the effect that the payment should be taken to be in full discharge of every claim they might otherwise have upon their father's estate. This is the time-honoured usage.

A considerable majority in South Travancore are in favour of giving a small share in the estate of the deceased husband. When a person dies childless, leaving his father, mother, brothers and sisters, the practice is for the father to take the whole estate absolutely. With regard to the mother there is no uniform practice and the members of the community desire either half or one-third or one-fourth of the estate of the deceased to be given her with absolute interest in the share. Similarly sisters also must be allowed a share when there are brothers.

¹ *Report of the Christian Committee*, pp. 36-38.

Regarding the treatment of the widows belonging to the London Mission Society, The Rev. Arthur Parker who has a thorough knowledge of their customs and habits says the lot of a widow, is very miserable. "She seems to be grudged the small amount of food she eats. She is moved from family to family according to the wishes and convenience of others. If she has some shreds of personal belongings they are the object of the envy and greed of those who, according to the law, have to maintain her. The popular view is that she should share in the estate of the deceased."

Regarding Adoption, the following decrees of the Synod of Diamper may be found interesting:—

ADOPTION OF SONS ILLEGAL EXCEPT IN DEFAULT OF
CHILDREN.

"The Adoption of Sons is not lawful, but in defect of natural children; which not being understood by the Christians of this bishopric through their ignorance of the law, they do commonly adopt the children of their slaves born in their houses, or of other people, disinheriting their lawfully begotten children, sometimes upon the account of some differences they have had with them, and sometimes only for the affection they have to strangers, all which is contrary to law and reason, and is a manifest injustice and wrong done to their legitimate children; wherefore the Synod doth declare, that the said adoptions must not be practised where there are natural children, and being done are void, so that the persons thus adopted are not capable of inheriting anything, except what they may be left them by way of legacy, which must not exceed the third of the estate; no, not though the adoption was made before there were any legitimate children to inherit. The Synod doth furthermore declare. That the adoptions which have been made before the celebration of this Synod, where there are children and the adopted are not in actual possession of the estate, are void, neither shall the adopted have any share thereof, or having had any, shall be obliged to restore it, to which if it be found necessary, the prelate shall compel them by penalties and censures; but as to those who by virtue of such adoptions, have for a long time been in quiet possession of estates, the Synod by this decree does not intend to dispossess them thereof, by reason of the great disturbance and confusion the doing so would make in

this diocese, which is what this Synod pretends to hinder, leaving every one however in such cases, at liberty to take their remedy at law."

FORBIDS THE BISHOP TO SANCTION SUCH ADOPTION.

Whereas the way of adopting by ancient custom in this diocese is to carry the parties that are to be adopted before the bishop or prelate, with certain testimonials before whom they declare, that they take such a one for their son, whereupon the bishop passeth an *olla* or certificate, and so the adoption is perfected; the Synod doth command.—That from henceforward, the prelate do not accept of an adoption from any that have children of their own; or in case they have none, yet it shall be declared in the *olla*. That if they shall afterwards happen to have any, that the said *olla* shall be void to all intents and purposes; by which means the great injustices that are now so common in this diocese, will be prevented.

CONCLUSION

From the foregoing account of the customary law of inheritance among the Syrian Christian hitherto in vogue in Malabar, Cochin and Travancore, it may be seen that the rules were vague and unsettled. When disputes arose regarding the intestate succession among them, and suits were filed in Law Courts, each suit was decided according to its merits. Now that a regulation to consolidate and amend the rules of law applicable to intestate succession among them, was recently passed in Travancore, the difficulties have been mostly removed. It is hoped that a similar regulation will be passed in the Cochin State also.

(To be continued).

NOTES OF THE MONTH.

THE last week of September and the first week of October have marked a great advance on the Western front. During the last fortnight according to Reuter's summary, we have on a very vital spot sent the enemy back three miles, taken about 9,000 prisoners, and inflicted casualties estimated at about 40,000. There is no lack of courage on the part of the enemy. In spite of occasional readiness to surrender, they come on wave after wave in counter-attacks, yet they seldom reach our lines, and in almost every case where they do so, they are driven out again a few hours after. These successive victories, and the consciousness of power explain the optimism at the front. So far as we know the British soldier has never lost this confidence since the battle of the Marne. Now he is absolutely assured that it is only a question of time. Possibly the great attack all along the line is delayed until America is ready. Meanwhile it is a struggle for strategic positions.

Not less brilliant have been the operations at Ramadie on the Euphrates. The commander and staff with his army were captured by the British troops. About 4,000 men in all were taken.

THE German reply to the Pope is undoubtedly a most remarkable document. The Kaiser says he strove to the last in the crisis before the war to settle the conflict amicably. "The Imperial Government welcomes with special sympathy the leading idea of His Holiness in which the conviction is expressed that in the future material power must be superseded by the moral power of right," and so on *ad nauseam*. What about the twenty years of preparation for the great, offensive down to the last screw nail? What about the universal toast in the German navy, To the Day? What of the secret meeting with the Austrians prior to the war? Does the German Imperial Government imagine that the world has forgotten von Bernhardt and his teaching, and the policy of frightfulness, the burning of Louvain, the sinking of the British *S. S. Belgian Prince*, and a thousand horrors perpetrated in the name of war? All the world longs for peace, but so long as this attitude of self-righteousness is maintained, in the face of facts known to all the world, there is no hope of peace. There is, however, one element of hope. We cannot conceive that Germany would ever have adopted this tone but for the fact that she is nearing the end of her resources. She knows that she is beaten and is only fighting now for the best terms.

SOME weeks ago Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar presiding at a meeting of the Madura Tamil Sangam at Tinnevely gave sound advice to his hearers. He pointed out that the comparative neglect of Tamil was not due to the University or to Government as is frequently alleged, but to want of interest on the part of the community, for in a college of 300 students, which gave facilities for the study of Sanscrit and Tamil only twenty-two took either the one or the other language. "The work," he said, "that the Sangam was doing was highly to be commended. It occurred to him, however, that, instead of constantly parading before the public that Tamil was a divine gift, that its vocabulary was copious, and its diction rich and self-contained, an attempt might be made to supply easy facilities of expression by borrowing and adapting, if necessary, from other languages, terms that were easy to understand. Nearly every language in the world had benefitted by adaptations from other languages, and it was no humiliating indignity as was commonly supposed to borrow and improve a language. The Sangam might also do well to encourage the production of a compendious history of Tamil literature in its different ages, so that there might be a permanent record of it available to all in a handy volume."

THE work of the Y. M. C. A. has been so frequently commended in these columns that it may seem something of a superfluity to call attention to it again. But India has taken such a genuine interest in this work, if we may judge from the generous contributions that have been poured in, particularly from the mercantile community, that we shall be forgiven for quoting from the *Madras Mail* a correspondent's graphic account of recent work on the Mesopotamian front.

Too ambitious they seemed to us as we discussed the plans for the new centres that the Y.M.C.A. would open at the close of the then present operations. We were entirely in the dark as to where the new places would be—Kut or Baghdad—save a few, none knew prior to actually starting on the long trek to the "sacred city" what was the objective, but wherever it might be, we decided that the best and biggest "shows" would be made available for the men who had done the fighting. But the ambitious plans fell far short of what was actually done, and still further short of the opportunities which Baghdad and the new positions to the North opened up and which we were obliged to forego because Secretaries were not available.

It was just three days after the British entry into Baghdad that we were told at G.H.Q. that Y.M.C.A. was wanted at once, that we were to select our location and building, and report again at Headquarters. For the central place in the city, we selected a large building on the river front, 100 yards from the bridge head and almost in the exact centre of the city. The Army Commander approved of the selection, and the Military Governor formally turned it over to us. But the formal assigning of the building to the Y.M.C.A. did not give us immediate possession, as the proprietor of the hotel, for

such it had been, declined to leave. In vain he petitioned all in authority claiming that he had always been friendly to the conqueror, that he would remain so provided they allowed him to retain his hotel. So tenacious was he that it was not until the 25th that the betook himself to one of his "palaces" on the opposite bank. He was later propitiated by receiving permission to open a large tea garden in the grove adjoining G.H.Q., and to-day he is a good friend of the Y.M.C.A. One day of vigorous cleaning, and a portion of the building was ready for the opening of the Y.M.C.A. in Baghdad on the morning of the 26th March. "Cha, wads and fags," which being interpreted is tea, cakes and cigarettes, were placed on sale, and it was the only place in the city where a Tommy could get even these simple things without being fleeced of his last anna. A two-anna packet of "Scissors" cigarettes sold for a rupee in the streets. Comfortable lounges and chairs, which our friend the proprietor had left under great protest, gave the men the first comfortable seat that they had had in months, while the daily and illustrated papers and the gramophone provided interesting pleasures. The remaining portions of the building were opened as rapidly as the cleaning and whitewashing permitted.

One of the most distinctive features of the big hut in Baghdad is the accommodation of officers for whom there is a special tea room where the same conveniences as the men enjoy are made available for them. In addition, twelve bedrooms have been simply furnished, and officers who are in the city on a day or two's leave are enabled to secure a clean comfortable room for a nominal amount.

To avoid purchasing cakes and other articles, not made under strict sanitary supervision steps were taken at once to install in the building a large oven capable of turning out at a single baking 500 "wads," and one week after the place was opened, the bakery started turning out buns, tarts and cakes, at the rate of 200 dozens a day, supplying not only that centre but two other centres within easy radius that were subsequently opened. Ten days after the bakery was running, the mineral plant, which was secured in Baghdad with the help of the Military authorities, commenced manufacturing minerals for the Y. M. C. A. only. Still further assistance from the S. and T., this time an almost unlimited supply of ice, enabled us to start manufacturing our own ice-cream so that "cones" are now the most popular refreshment. Shower baths for the men were installed, and the latest departure, and one of the most appreciated, is a large stable capable of accommodating more than 100 horses so that the mounted men coming into the city may leave their horses under care and shelter from the sun during the day.

Less than one week after the opening of this centre, the—th Division work, which had been close behind the firing line since December, was re-opened in a spacious house three miles below Baghdad on the river front. Thorough cleaning, whitewashing and attractive furnishings so completely transformed the place that it was coveted by many, but even when the—th Division moved on to a more advanced position, the Y. M. C. A. still retained possession and is now conducting a large work for the men of the—th Division which moved into that area. Of course when the first Division moved to its new position in the vicinity of—the Y. M. C. A. Secretary moved with them where he is rendering efficient and needed service, though no commodious buildings are available, and tents are used.

The Lloyd Hut, previously located at Sheikh Saad when that was Advanced Base Headquarters, has moved with Advance Base to a position a

few miles below Baghdad, where the same Secretaries and equipment find an even greater need and a larger field of work.

Before the centres already opened were in smooth running order, the following telegram was received from the Staff Captain of the Brigade in the advance position on the Euphrates:—"General Officer Commanding—the Brigade considers it absolutely essential that a branch of the Y. M. C. A. should be opened for the 1,500 British troops under his command. Every facility and accommodation possible will be given. Could you send a representative here to discuss plans with him." While everyone was shouting for huts to be opened, this one offered a particularly strong appeal, as they were on the extreme left flank and were entirely dependent upon themselves for entertainment and amusement. As soon as transportation could be secured, a Secretary with full equipment and canteen opened a centre for these men, where the G. O. C. has lived up to his promise and done everything possible in the way of co-operation. To say that it is appreciated, is to put it mildly.

The last centre to be opened is the largest of any in Mesopotamia and it was opened more or less by chance. Arrangements had been made to carry on the work with one of the Divisions with which we had a Secretary for the past year. The Secretary had his equipment and stores already to transport, but an accident on the Line of Communications made it impossible for him to get through to them for at least a fortnight, as the limited transportation which could get through would be needed for rations. So rather than lose a fortnight the Secretary hastily changed his boxes to a river boat and started for another Division.

The camp was only a spot on the desert, and until the Red Triangle put in an appearance, life was exceedingly dull and monotonous. Tents were given us, and two Secretaries literally worked night and day licking the place into shape. The formal opening was to be on Monday night, but Saturday night they decided to open the canteen for a while just to see what would be the best hours. In less than half-an-hour, there was a quene extending over several *nullahs* and as far as the eye could reach in the twilight. A song service on the next night brought 800 men, and at the opening concert there were 1,500 present. Owing to the predilection of the Tommy not to turn up when he is scheduled for a number on the concert programme, the Secretary had a large number of artists, everyone of whom turned up. There was not quite two hours before the men had to be back in their tents, and when that time came, the concert was only about half through, and half the performers were beginning to feel that they had been "done out" of their turn. But such was not destined to be the case, as the interval, an unusually long one of 48 hours was announced. Following the interval, over 2,000 men returned for the second part.

"The very man we are looking for," which was the greeting of the Deputy Adjutant-General when the Secretary of the Y. M. C. A. presented himself at Baghdad, is the universal greeting of the officers, while the men say—"We're all right now the Y. M. is here." The field in the advance camps is almost untouched, and new camps will be opened as fast the men and funds are available.

WE are glad to note that the Government has opened an Institute at Bombay for the benefit of disabled Indian soldiers of the Indian

army. The Institute takes over, for six months or more all who have been disabled or pensioned as unfit for military service, provides them with clothes, food and other necessities, and teaches them a trade according to their wish and capacity. Classes have been opened in a large number of subjects including Tailoring, Agriculture, Motor car Driving, Knitting, Oil Engine Driving, Carpentering, and several other occupations. The task is undoubtedly a large one, but its value both to the individual sufferers and to the community is great.

LITERARY NOTICES AND NOTES.

Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Sikkim. By L. S. S. O'Malley, I.C.S. (Cambridge University Press. Price 4s. 6d. nett.)

The Punjab North-West Frontier Province, and Kashmer. By Sir James Dourie, M.A., K.C.S.I. (Cambridge University Press. Price 6s. nett.)

THESE two volumes belong to the series forming the Provincial Geographies of India issued under the general editorship of Sir T. H. Holland, K.C.I.E., D.Sc., F.R.S. Sometime ago appeared the first of the series, *The Madras Presidency with Mysore, Coorg and the Associated States*, written by Edgar Thurston, C.I.E. Such has been the success of the Madras number that the model therein adopted by Mr. Thurston has been adhered to in these succeeding volumes.

For the series we have nothing but the highest praise. Each volume is written by an acknowledged authority on the part treated. The information is accurate and up-to-date; the illustrations numerous and beautifully executed. Everything is here that the reader wants to know and couched in a most attractive form. Geography readers used to be so often a weariness of the flesh, but these attractive books rivet one's attention from the first page to the last. Authors, editors and publishers must alike be congratulated on having placed on the market a series which will assuredly meet with success, not only from students of geography but also from the general public both in India itself and also at Home.

The Body at Work. By Francis Gulick Jewett. (Ginn & Co.)

THE publishers are issuing the *Gulick Hygiene Series* of which the present book is the fourth. The series is edited by Luther Halsey Gulick, M.D., who in his preface states that the primary object in the series of text-books on physiology and hygiene is the establishment of

these hygienic habits which are basal to personal wholesomeness and efficiency, while the main object is to introduce that atmosphere, both of intellectual comprehension and social custom, which will result in the unconscious as well as the conscious development of the individual in these directions.

The present volume, which covers the usual school course in physiology, is wholly directed to the training of the individual to most efficient bodily conduct.

Most important are the chapters dealing with alcohol and circulation, adulterated alcohol and patent medicine, gland laboratories influenced by alcohol, hampering clothing, and that which destroys and hinders men saving themselves.

The treatment of the subject is distinctly fresh and stimulating, the illustrations are numerous and excellent while the general "get up" of the book leaves nothing to be desired,

LITERARY NOTES.

THE Sinn Fein rebellion and related movements, and the exemption of Ireland from conscription, have given a very general impression that the Irish have failed to play as large a part in this war as past history would lead us to expect. Such a conclusion is hardly just, and two recent books will do much to dispel it. *The Irish on the Somme* (Hodder and Stoughton, 2s. nett) deals with the Irish at large, *Irish Heroes in the War* (Everett, 7s. 6d. nett) is devoted specially to the exploits of the Tyneside Irish Brigade. The fact that on Tyneside alone 5,500 men of Irish birth or descent were recruited in twelve weeks, and formed into a separate brigade, and the estimate of half a million for the total number of Irishmen of all sorts with the colours, show that Irishmen in general have been far from apathetic. Indeed, as the *Times* reviewer points out, the large number of Irishmen out of Ireland (of the half-million, only 173,000 were enlisted in Ireland) suggests 'that the more familiar an Irishman is with British institutions the more ready he is to fight for them.'

OF all the theatres of war, the one that naturally appeals most strongly to readers in India is Mesopotamia. We may call attention to two books on this subject, one of which has a special interest for Madras. *Besieged in Kut and After*, by Major C. H. Barber, I. M. S. (Blackwood, 5s. nett), tells the heroic story of Townshend's gallant force, from the point of view of a non-combatant. *A Message from Mesopotamia*, by Sir Arthur Lawley (Hodder and Stoughton, 2s. nett), deals with a later and happier phase of the campaign. It is reassur-

ing to read that 'there is to-day no army in the world whose soldiers are better cared for than those fighting under Sir Stanley Maude.'

HODDER AND STOUGHTON, as the previous paragraphs testify, are among the most active in the publication of war books. In an informal way, they have practically become publishers for the Government. Their recent announcements include a large number of war pamphlets, as well as books, among which we note *Mare Liberum*, by Professor Ramsay Muir, *Belgium and Greece*, by J. W. Headlam, *The League of Peace and a Free Sea*, by Sir Julian Corbett, and William Archer's letter to Dr. George Brandes, *Shirking the Issue*—all at 1d. each.

AMONG books less directly connected with the War, but illuminating different aspects of the problems involved in it, we may notice three. *The Memoirs of a Balkan Diplomatist* (Cassell, 16s. nett) is from the pen of M. Chedomille Mijatovich, and tells with singular candour and clarity the political and diplomatic experiences of a statesman whose integrity and patriotism would be a credit to any country. One of his most striking achievements was to negotiate, as sole delegate for Serbia, the treaty of peace by which the Serbo-Bulgarian War of 1885 was closed. The treaty itself was amazingly brief: "Peace is re-established between Serbia and Bulgaria."

THE second, the work of two Russian authors, A. Belevsky and B. Voronoff, gives an account of the multifarious labours of the local Dumas and Zemstvos in Russia during the war, the practical efficiency of which augurs well for the future of Russia, if only the central government can be firmly established. It is published in Paris (Hachette, 3f. 50c.) under the title, *Les Organisations Publiques Russes et Leur Rôle pendant la Guerre*.

THE third has a special interest for British and Indian readers, from its bearing on the question of the future of the Hedjaz. *The Revolt in Arabia* (Putnams, 4s. nett) is by Dr. Snouck Hurgronje, who writes with authority on Islamic affairs. The antagonism now raised between the Shereef of Mecca and the titular Khalif, whose position is undermined both by political and military failure and by the very doubtful orthodoxy of the powers now dominant in Turkey, is fraught with great issues for Islam, and so for the British Empire as one of the great Muhammadan states.

WITH the prospects of peace growing brighter, the world is naturally turning its thoughts more and more to the work of re-

construction which must follow. Among many contributions to this study, Madras readers will note with interest *The Coming Polity*, by Victor Branford and Patrick Geddes, and *Ideals at War*, by Patrick Geddes and Gilbert Slater (Williams and Norgate, 5s. nett each). Professor Geddes may not always command assent; but he is always stimulating.

A NOTABLE work on Parliamentary procedure, which will be of value to public men and students of constitutional history, is *The Principles and Practice of the System of Control over Parliamentary Grants*, by Colonel Durell, C.B., Chief Paymaster of the War Office (John Hogg, 21s. nett). Colonel Durell writes with intimate knowledge of his subject, and the work, though specially opportune in this time of unprecedented expenditure, has a larger value as an authoritative treatment of a permanent department of national life.

WE cannot close our list without a brief reference to two Indian books of unusual interest. In *The Vaishnava Literature of Medieval Bengal* (Calcutta University), Rai Sahib Dineschandra Sen, the accomplished reader in Bengali to the University of Calcutta, gives an account of the Chaitanya cult in Bengal, which is valuable alike for literary study and for the religious history of India. *My Reminiscences*, by Sir Rabindranath Tagore, is now published in English by Macmillans (7s. 6d. nett). This deeply suggestive record of the early life of one of the greatest living Indians hardly calls for commendation: it should be sufficient to note the fact of publication.

SCIENCE NOTES.

THE *Scottish Naturalist* for June contains a very interesting article by Mr. W. Berry in which he urges the establishment of a chair of economic ornithology in one of the home universities. Analyses of the crop contents of several sparrows, wood pigeons and pheasants are given. The sparrow has been recommended by the authorities for almost complete destruction, yet examination of their food shows that even sparrows help to keep down insect pests. Black game and pheasants were similarly marked down by the Board of Agriculture for wholesale extermination. Now examination of the crop contents of 183 pheasants showed the remains of over 100,000 injurious beetles, harmful insects, larvæ and slugs; while husks and fragments of corn amounted only to 37. The crop of a single cock pheasant yielded 2,286 specimens of *Bibio*, 503 of the heather beetle, which plays so promin-

nent a part in the spread of gruose disease, besides fragments of many noxious weeds. In view of these facts a thorough revision of the list of birds considered harmful by the government seems necessary.

IN the *Revue Scientifique* for June 9th, Prof. E. Gley has an article entitled "Le Besoin d' Aliments Speciaux" which is very opportune in these days when there exist food controllers who know little or nothing about human physiology and physiological chemistry. In Britain most people imagine that the lack of one particular article of food can easily be replaced by another without hurt to the health of the consumer. That this is by no means the case is proved by the great number of people who, as a direct result of eating war bread, are suffering from stomach and also skin troubles.

NUTRITIVE material consists of four principal forms of carbohydrates, fats, proteins and mineral salts. These last cannot replace and cannot be replaced by any of the others. Carbohydrates and fats supplying energy, are to a certain extent interchangeable but neither of them can replace proteins which, again in turn, cannot replace either fats or carbohydrates. Further, vegetable proteins do not replace animal proteins. Researches by many workers have shown that the nitrogen balance, body weight and the promotion of growth, both in man and in animals, can only be maintained if the food taken contains tryptophane and lysin. Nitrogen balance and body weight cannot be kept up if the protrein be solely the zein of maize or the globulin of lupins. The gliadin of wheat and the protein of barley maintain bodily equilibrium but do not promote growth, because zein and globulin contain no tryptophane; while lysin is absent from gleadin and hordein. Meat is such a valuable food because it contains all the necessary amino-acids in suitable proportions.

RABBITS fed on food lacking cellulose die of intestinal obstruction. All the cellulose necessary to health is readily obtainable from the green vegetables ordinarily eaten with meat. For the same reason Prof. Gley advocates the use of dried fruits because they are even richer than green vegetables in cellulose and can be obtained all the year round.

AT Reading, the private garden of Dr. J. B. Hurry has for some years past been used in quite a novel way for educational purposes. Various plots have been laid out containing plants used in commerce and industry. Series A includes plants used in medicine *cf.* eucalyptus, belladonna, aconite, stramonium, gentian, liquorice, podophyllin,

asafoetida, valerian, henbane, castor oil, cinchona and the opium poppy. Series B consists of food plants *cf.* maize, millet, sugar, rice, banana, arrowroot, ginger, chicory, pepper, olive and cardamoms. Series C is that of the plants used for clothing and textiles *cf.* flax, hemp, cotton, jute and ramie nettle. Series D contains plants yielding dyes *cf.* wood, indigo, madder, dyer's weed, turmeric, anatto and alkanet. In adjacent conservatories are exhibited tropical economic plants *cf.* tea, coffee, soya beans, monkey nuts, guava, cinnamon and camphor. There is in addition, adjoining the conservatories, a small museum in which are the various products from all the different series of plants, each exhibit being properly labelled. School teachers, the senior pupils of the schools, visitors, and the general public have been keenly interested and have in large numbers availed themselves of the privilege of seeing this unique exhibition.

FOR many years the spent yeast which collected in huge quantities in the breweries and distilleries of Germany was a useless waste product. Yeast was known to contain a large amount of albumen and was therefore of potential food value. Means were then soon found to convert the waste yeast into human food. At first with its bitter taste, due to the hops, the yeast was manufactured only into soup tablets but by further processes of sweetening and dyeing quite a large number of foods fit for human consumption and of fodders for cattle were turned out, till all the waste material from the breweries and distilleries was utilized.

FURTHER improvements resulted in the increase of the albumen content of the yeast and huge plants were made with cement vats, the size of large swimming ponds, for the sole purpose of manufacturing and converting the yeast. Quite recently yeast has been found to be plastic and therefore capable of being moulded to any shape, with the result that it now replaces materials like bone, horn and rubber. The yeast is dyed and grained and its texture can be controlled to a great extent. The final product is a powder called "ernalith" which after dyeing is hot-pressed into any desired shape. It is very close in structure, conchoidal in fracture, and has sufficient elasticity for all ordinary purposes. It has always been difficult to attach a metal shank to a bone or horn button because the shank had to be either screwed or cemented in, but this new substance takes a vice-like grip of any metal inserted into it when it is first formed. Hence buttons of excellent quality can readily be made. Instead of metal, cotton, wool and asbestos fibres can be readily inserted into the soft "ernalith" which has come as a veritable boon to the Germans who naturally at

the present time are deprived of many materials which formerly were common on the continent. As yet buttons, name-plates and knife handles have been successfully made but the new material lends itself to making things essential to all branches of artistic and technical work and it will certainly remain after the war as a very cheap and very satisfactory article.

RECENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

THE August number of the *Contemporary Review* opens with an article entitled 'The Trials of Russia', by Dr. C. H. Wright. The Revolution, has brought about a most difficult situation. The Russian people is a highly complex one, and the Revolution, which is a highly complex force, is acting differently in different social and political groups. It was not a phase of the constitutional struggle. It was started by the 'Intelligentsia' and the working men of Petrograd and one or two other large towns. But it would have failed had not the army and the peasants joined it. These, however, were scarcely less alienated from the existing order than were the working men. The difficult situation in which the Russian people now find themselves is largely due to their own character and their history. They are highly emotional and occasionally energetic, so that when they become revolutionary they will not regulate their actions by the cold measures of political prudence. And debarred as they have been, during long years of oppression from the wholesome realism of freedom, they have found their consolation and their hope in Utopian ideas. The democracy of the Russian people is very different from what is called democracy in England. It is a feeling of brotherliness, not a theory of equality, and is therefore social rather than political. It is or tends to be a democracy of direct action, the Russians have a strong communal consciousness, but they have had no training in representative institutions. As a consequence Revolutionary Russia organised itself on social groups rather than in general institutions.

There is much anarchy in Russia, Dr. Wright says, but beneath the anarchy there is a new, an increasing unity. Give the people time, he says and give them help—moral and political help, not, in a narrow sense industrial. The problems and the needs of New Russia are primarily political. A new social and political synthesis has, to be brought about. It is quite certain in conclusion, that Revolutionary Russia has rejected all thoughts of a separate peace.

Mr. H. N. Brailsford contributes an article on 'The New Spirit in Austria'. The War, he says, has so far played the revolutionary more certainly with the internal structure of the Great Powers than with their frontiers. We are within sight of a federal Russian Republic, probably of a federal Austria, and of a democratic Hungary, and possibly also of a new orientation in Germany. The Allies are face to face with the question, whether their aims must be sought by map-making or whether they may not be attained by organic changes, national and international and the question in its most crucial form will comfort them in Austria-Hungary. Is dismemberment of the Dual Monarchy essential to a peace settlement? Mr. Brailsford points out that it is not solely a concern for the nationalities of Austria-Hungary which has made this a popular war-cry. Allied opinion is mainly concerned with the problem of treating the German hegemony in Central Europe. The Dual Monarchy exists in a state of complicated relationships. It was dependent on Berlin, because it dared not stand alone against Russian Pan Slavism, and the mechanism by which it was kept subject to Berlin was its division into two compartments, in one of which Germans and in the other Magyars maintained themselves as the ruling races and kept the Slavs in subjection. The Revolution in Russia has completely altered the state of affairs. With reactionary Pan Slavism gone, Austria-Hungary has now no need to fear Russia, and no motive to lean on Berlin. The defeat of German hegemony, therefore, Mr. Brailsford thinks, does not necessitate the dismemberment of the monarchy. For many reasons which he points out, it would not be a satisfactory solution of the problem. A much more hopeful solution is a Federalism which might take the form of a grouping of nationalities rather than the restoration of ancient historical units. As to the prospects of the realisation of Federalism by the spontaneous action of the rulers of Austria-Hungary, Mr. Brailsford says it is too soon to dogmatise on the subject. But he thinks that the action of the Emperor Karl in dismissing the "old gang" and restoring the Reichsrath and the appointment of Count Czernin as Foreign Minister show which way the wind blows. There are various other indications, he thinks, that the Federal solution would be more acceptable to the nationalities of the monarchy than dismemberment.

Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe has an article on 'America in the War.' It is largely a justification of President Wilson's leadership, which Mr. Ratcliffe says is now acknowledged by some of the most influential of his pre-War detractors to have been wise and right. If we think of the character and constituents of the President's own party, with its sectional conflicts and provincial tradition; if we think

of the endless opposition from the most powerful interests which a democratic administration in Washington has to combat; if we remember the racial rivalries and geographical remoteness which support the Middle Westerner in his detachment from the old world, and then consider what has happened during the present year, we cannot refuse to recognise the quality of Mr. Wilson's steady and purposeful leadership. Under his tutelage the business men of Chicago and St. Louis and the farmers of Kansas and Iowa have learned that the historical isolation of the United States is at an end and to realise the conception of world citizenship and its implications. Mr. Ratcliffe is careful to point out, however, that it was the Russian Revolution that ultimately made possible the entry of America into the War. In conclusion he deals briefly with the question of the future relations of England and America and with the reasons which prevent England from sharing to the same extent as France and the new Russia in the sympathy of the American people. England, he says will never be within sight of a full understanding with America until she has either discovered or accepted a settlement of the Irish question which shall conquer by its inherent justice and generosity.

Dr. Hugh H. L. Bellot discusses 'The Submarine Menace' and the relation of submarine warfare to international law. As a weapon of naval warfare, he says, the submarine has come to stay until it is superseded by a superior instrument of destruction, and the question is whether its operations are to be restricted in any, and if so, in what respect, or whether it is to be invested with unlimited powers of offence and with exceptional privileges of immunity from attack. He thinks it unnecessary to prove the illegality of the German practice, but he considers it essential to repute the German doctrine that since it is impossible for a submarine to conform to the obligations imposed upon a surface warship if it is to be an effective weapon of offence it is therefore to be released from such obligations. There is no objection, says Dr. Bellot, to the use of the submarine against warships, but it ought not to be improperly used against non-combatants and neutrals; if new rules have to be made for its use they must be based on legal principles. Under international law as it has been recognised up to the present war by civilized nations the destruction of belligerent or neutral merchantmen has been permissible only in exceptional circumstances, and as piracy has been put down and privateering has been abandoned through the force of public opinion Dr. Bellot thinks unrestricted submarine warfare after the German model is unlikely to receive greater toleration. The trouble is that any nation which determines to make war except in self-defence or in the cause of civilization will in all probability refuse to be bound

by any rules of warfare which it considers it to be to its advantage to break.

In an article entitled 'The Teacher and his Masters,' Professor John Adams deals with the national revival of interest in the schools and the public demand for educational reconstruction. It seems to be felt that education as at present carried on is not effectively serving the interests of either labour or capital. But there seems to be also a great divergence of opinion as to how the reconstruction of education should take place. A certain group of employers would have the curriculum modified so as to include for various groups of pupils certain subjects that have a special value for the particular kind of work in which they are interested. Another group lay more stress on what they call a good all-round education than upon specific preparation for any particular kind of work. In this they are practically at one with an organisation representative of labour called the Workers' Educational Association, whose object is to secure that every working class child shall have the opportunity of acquiring the highest education available to anyone in the country. The Workers' Educational Association look coldly upon early vocational training; they want the schools to turn out an all-round well-developed human being. While labour and capital have both demanded that the teachers shall turn out the products that they desire, they have done almost nothing, Professor Adams says to make definite suggestions for new lines of work in school.

'A Regular Officer' contributes a very readable article entitled 'Thoughts from the War.' It is impossible to summarise this article, but we may quote a few of the writer's arresting remarks. "Nowhere as in war is ill-luck so irremediable, is success so immensely rewarded." War, he says, has taught us that "misfortune brings less suffering than men expect, and luxury far less happiness." "The principal characteristic of the British fighting man, officer and soldier alike, is humour." The British soldier lacks imagination, says a Regular Officer "Scarcely one mental inch in front of him does he see." "War is essentially wasteful and extravagant, and we are keeping up its traditions in this line." 'A Regular Officer' thinks the British army still suffers from the fact that it takes its tone largely from the class of officers who affected to believe that energy and interest in work were bad form. He also thinks there is too much ill-informed criticism of superiors among the officers. He would like to see a little more real religion in the Army.

Rev. E. S. Waterhouse thinks theology will benefit greatly because for some time to come our thinking will be freed from German domination. Not that it has not in the past derived great benefit from

the patience, thoroughness, and industry that have characterised the best German scholarship, but because it will be freed from certain defects and evil tendencies that have become more and more marked in it of recent years. Among other articles we may mention 'England and Italy,' by Mrs. Humphry Ward; 'The Claims of Lithuania,' by Mr. G. Frederich Lees; 'Reconstruction in Spain: An Educational Effort,' by Mr. Stefan Moxon; and 'Albania, Austria, Italy, Essad,' by 'O de L.' The number concludes with the usual reviews of books.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

CONSIDERING the wide interests touched on by the War, the August number of this review has managed to include an unusual number of articles only indirectly connected with the subject. There is one long article upon Mesopotamia, and another very wise warning to certain political theorists that we are "At War with the German People," by General Stone. The Bishop for Northern Europe has also contributed an article on the soldiers interned in Switzerland, to which is added impressions of the Western Front.

But the greater space is given over to articles such as, "Cabinet and Convention" by Mr. D. C. Lathbury, "The Real Basis of Democracy" by Mr. E. Holmes, "Education in Copenhagen" by Miss Seller, and so on.

The article on "Cabinet and Convention" is remarkable in many ways. In the first place it is, when compared with articles we have read, positively buoyant in tone. Those who know Ireland are very much divided in their hopes and fears for the Convention—they are only agreed in being perplexed. There is no doubt that the Convention has survived one critical stage, but there are many critical stages ahead, and even if the Convention reaches final agreement, no single person in Ireland outside its members is bound by its decisions. It is well for optimistic prophets to remember this, and to add to their memories of the Irish Councils Bill 1906. At the same time the Convention has weathered the first storm; and the menace to all Ireland of romantic Sinn Feinism, may be sufficiently appreciated to bring the two great parties into agreement.

It is all to the good that the Chairman of the Convention is the one man in all Ireland who has managed to take a prominent part in public affairs and yet has avoided anything approaching acute partizanship.

"Christianity and History" by Mr. W. S. Lilly is a strangely conceived article in the form of a colloquy between three speakers, the

real subject matter of which is an attempt to answer, rather than to criticize Professor Bury's *History of Freedom of Thought*. The paper is certainly learned, and with its conclusions we are in sympathy, but is a dialogue the form in which to answer Professor Bury's book? To us, the artificiality of the method was a real stumbling block in judging the merits of the matter. We make the criticism because the aim of disproving Professor Bury's theory that Christianity killed free thought is one which ought to be borne in mind by the champions of the Faith. It would be difficult to prove (1) that Christianity had ever tried to suppress freedom of thought or speculation, though the Church has certainly again and again pronounced against what she believes to be wrong opinions; and on the other hand, (2) it would be impossible to discover any organized community which has permitted the public dissemination of what it considered dangerous opinions.

"Convocation *versus* the Church and the Bible" is the rather misleading title of an article by Mr. H. E. Wyatt. It would be a truer description of the contents to call it, "Convocation against Reprisals," for that is what is exercising Mr. Wyatt's mind. He is very greatly disturbed by a Resolution of the Lower House of Convocation advocating the discontinuance, so we understand, of the imprecatory psalms in the ordinary course of the daily offices. Apparently the Lower House in passing the Resolution termed the psalms in question un-Christian. Mr. Wyatt sees in this step, or recommendation to take a step, a serious menace to the Church's claim as to the authority of Church Councils, upon which the Canon of Holy Scripture rests. Further he considers that what has begun with the imprecatory psalms may be carried still further to exclude, shall we say, the *Song of Deborah* or the account of Jehu's "Zeal for the Lord" from the Sunday lessons. He even suggests that perhaps Our Lord's denunciations against the unbelief of Scribes and Pharisees might be admitted.

In answer, we would urge that in practice the Church has always made a distinction between the Old and New Testaments, omitting considerable portions of the former in the daily lessons and only a very few chapters from the *Apocalypse* in the latter—Why? Surely because the degree of applicability to our needs varies. Again, Mr. Wyatt is right in saying that the *Psalms* occupy an especially high place in Christian thought and service, but not all of them equally so. The psalms of malediction are not declared by Convocation to be outside the Canon, but unsuitable for recitation at the daily office, which they certainly are if taken literally. It is not their place in the Canon, but their suitability for a specific purpose, that Convocation discusses. Consequently it is utterly unfair to infer from this case a desire to delete from public reading other portions of Holy Scripture. But

this inference becomes monstrous when it is even hinted that parts of the Holy Gospels should be so treated.

It is however, clear that Mr. Wyatt is not so much interested in the fate of the imprecatory psalms, as in the bearing of the question, if any, on the War. He connects this act of Convocation with the protest of some Churchmen against reprisals. The man in the street wants reprisals for air raids, and the Church must say he is right, but is he? and, in any case, is it the Church's business to preach reprisals? The whole question is a very difficult one, on which the thoughtful part of the nation is, and must be, divided. It is just such a question as to ask, what will our attitude to Germany be after the War? Who can say? It all depends the extent of the reparation made by Germany.

But Mr. Wyatt's unfairness to the Church shows itself in his complaint that the Church has not produced one single straightforward prayer for Victory during the War. She did so long ago. In the *Forms of Prayer to be used at Sea* there is a prayer for victory as direct and unqualified as need be. It is humbly worded, as the prayers of all Christian men in the face of death must be and ought to be, but it is clear in petition and as beautiful as the splendid Thanksgiving after Victory in the same *Forms of Prayer*. There is no prayer in our Prayer-Book to be used after a defeat, the Church, like the Navy, clearly presuming there would be nobody to use it.

FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.

MR. ARCHIBALD HURD contributes the first part of an article with the title 'What would Nelson have done?' He points out that Nelson was never in command of more than a small part of the ships in commission, even at Trafalgar it was only about one-third; the enemy had many bases and each had to be watched. In this case the bases of the foe are close together, and so Lord Fisher in 1902 set about creating the Grand Fleet. The withdrawal of old cruisers, too weak to fight and too slow to run away, from foreign waters set free eleven or twelve thousand men badly needed at Home. The main task of the fleet was to be the blocking of the three-hundred mile opening of the North Sea between Shetland and Norway, and at the same time to bring him to action as quickly as possible if he emerged to do damage in the North Sea.

Mr. Hurd shows how careful Nelson was in blockading Toulon not to allow himself to be drawn into action close to that port: he was not going to expose his ships to the fire of the shore batteries,

where the enemy, too, could break off the action when it suited him. On three occasions the French fleet escaped. In the present war no cruiser of the regular navy has escaped from the North Sea, and the number of converted merchantmen has been small.

Passing to the commercial blockade, Mr. Hurd justifies the slow tightening of the blockade as following the course of American opinion. When the War broke out, the United States regarded it as a nuisance, particularly as trade was already depressed. The price of cotton was specially low, five or six cents a pound, but it gradually rose so that when it was declared contraband profits were sufficient. (A footnote states that the Germans were not dependent on cotton for the making of explosives. That lack of cotton would seriously inconvenience them is as true, and more to the point). The American protests were, in consequence, more of the nature of a notice that precedents were not to be established than of a real objection to the action taken.

Sir Thomas Holditch writes on 'A Jugo-Slav Federation.' Such a federation, of Slovenes, Croats, and Serbians, would be strong enough to face any Germanic combination.

The Slovenes have suffered from oppression, but they retain their democratic sentiments. They have, till now, served as a bulwark to the others, and they will, if respect is paid to nationality cut off Germany from the Adriatic. On the coast, Italians predominate, and some compromise must be come to. With the Czechs, who are northern Slavs, they are the most advanced of the Slav nationalities, and will serve as a link with the Western races. "Jugo-Slavia extends from the northern rim of the Save river basin and the valley of the Danube to the southern borders of Serbia, and within that extent of territory the Slav element amounts to 90 per cent. of the population." Reckoning in some additional districts we get an area 500 miles long from north to south and 150 miles broad. It would have a population of perhaps ten millions.

The Morava valley in the north of Serbia is on the line from Berlin to Constantinople. Bulgaria is resolved to keep it at any price, but she cannot be allowed to. Montenegro will remain independent, probably even outside the federation.

The Jugo-Slavs states will probably be, Serbia, Bosnia with Herzegovina, Croatia, Southern Styria, Southern Carniola, Slavonia with Syrmia. Salonika should be given to Serbia. Macedonia is so mixed that geography and not nationality must be the guide, and so Kavalla may go to Bulgaria. Dalmatia, though Slav, will probably be an Italian protectorate.

COLLEGE NOTES.

THE College reopened after the Michaelmas holidays, on Monday, the 8th instant. Mr. Macphail, discharged from St. George's Hospital in Bombay, has returned to Madras. Looking at him one feels deeply thankful to God for having spared for the College so unselfish and cheerful a worker, and one so well gifted for the task of opening the minds of the young men of Southern India to the larger facts of life. His experience during the last few months affords a striking example of the sacrifice and suffering undergone by so many Britishers in India during this terrible time of war. Last summer he went home during the vacation to make arrangements about his son Mr. Stewart Macphail's entering the army when he attains the age of eighteen early next year. On his way back to India Mr. Macphail's ship the "Mongolia" was sunk by a German's mine a short distance from Bombay. When the boats were being launched Mr. Macphail's right hand was severely injured and he fell into the sea. He was picked up however, and after spending ten hours in an open boat with fifty other persons was rescued by a coasting steamer which brought them to Bombay the following afternoon. Mr. Macphail was taken to St. George's Hospital, where he has been for the last three months and a half. Mrs. Macphail, who was in Kashmir at the time, did not hear of what had happened for a week, and Mr. Macphail's relatives at Home first learnt of his accident from a telegram in a London evening paper. Such is life with its perils and its pathos! How poor by the side of these grim happenings is the life of those who stay at home and seek to enrich themselves through the sacrifice of others!

THE War is making itself felt in the College through the absence, though temporary, of those who have gone out for military training. Though such absence is nothing compared with the almost complete depletion of schools, colleges and universities in Britain, yet it serves as a reminder of the duty which every man in India owes to the Empire under whose protecting shade he lives and thrives. Mr. Angus is engaged on active service duties in Fort St. George and his duties as Headmaster are being discharged by Mr. Joseph Muliylil, who is always willing to step into the breach whenever help is wanted.

Besides Mr. Angus several students of the College have enlisted in the Indian Defence Force. The following is the list of students now undergoing training:—

Mahomed Abdul Hamid	...	Fifth Year Philosophy (Honours)
P. Kothandaraman	...	" History "

P. Mahadevan	...	..	English	..
N. R. Venkataraman	...	..	English	..
S. Sundaram	...		Fourth Class Physical Science	
C. A. Ganapathi Iyer	...	..	History	
P. C. Kunhiraman	...	..	History	
V. Subramanian	...		Third Class History	
C. P. Doraikannu	...	..	History	
C. Natesan	...		Second Class Natural Science	

We are sorry we did not notice at the time, though it is not too late to record in the pages of this Magazine, the death of Mr. G. Govindarajulu Chettiar, Assistant Master, Christian College School, which took place in May last. He was a Christian College man through and through. Educated in the School and in the College, he graduated in 1886, when Dr. Miller who always had his weather eye open for young men who gave promise of proving successful teachers offered him the post of a form master in the school. A man of independent means, Mr. Govindarajulu Chetty found a congenial sphere of work among the youth who crowded our School classes, and by whom he was loved with a love, which was mingled with considerable respect for his qualities as a disciplinarian. There was no 'fuss' in his life. He cultivated a certain placidity of temper which enabled him to do thoroughly and carefully whatever he undertook. Neatness and accuracy marked his work. He always aimed at clearness of thought and expression. Facts and figures were the object of his endeavour. Not given to enthusiasms of any kind, inclined to be somewhat pessimistic, he was a shrewd observer and a level-headed judge of men and manners. He helped his pupils and the College authorities in various practical ways. In the management of sports and in the superintendence of tiffin-room accommodation his aid was valuable. As Secretary of the Council of Caithness Hall ever since that hostel was opened in the building which now belongs to the Second Students' Home, he rendered very useful service. Mr. Govindu—which was Dr. Miller's fond abbreviation of his name—was never very strong. One remembers how at the last meeting of the Caithness Hall Council he came up the Anderson Hall staircase, with the minutes' book in hand, gasping for breath. Little did the present writer think, when at that time he offered to read the minutes for him, that his friend's end was so near as it has now proved to have been.

The English Professor Gilbert Murray was present during the War at a meeting for Scandinavian students in one of the Scandinavian countries. He was very much impressed and touched by the way in which the students were singing their national and religious songs. In his speech to the students he said: "You are happy, you can sing. But may I ask you who are so fortunate, to try to understand the almost unbearable burden that rests on the peoples at war at the present time. Try from your standpoint to look at us with patience and longsuffering even if this awful tension should make us nervous and cause us to act more harshly, and less considerately, than we perhaps ought." And the Professor closed his speech with the touching words: "Never before this war have I known how dearly I love my country."

I believe Professor Murray has here struck the right note. We cannot form a just opinion of the religious conditions, if we do not keep in mind the mighty influence this awful war with all its sufferings has upon the human mind, especially among those engaged in the War.

With regard to the spiritual life of the soldiers, then I believe it is often quite different from what we are apt to think it to be. The feeling of tension, rapture and solemnity is often very much less than one would expect.

A German officer tells us how he had to cross a field with his company while the bullets were falling thickly around them. He observed that the man just behind him suddenly disappeared. He thought that he had been struck by a bullet, but when he looked back he saw,—that he had simply fallen asleep!

A soldier says: With cold blood, without thinking much about it, one lies there in the trenches and fires at one's fellow beings as if they were wild beasts. It does not affect one,—strange to tell.

When the War broke out, there were those who thought and said that Christianity had broken down, had shown itself to be bankrupt. Now it had clearly shown, so they said, that the whole thing was humbug. But the consequences which then ought to have followed, if they had been right in their condemnation, did not appear; just the opposite. Out at the front men began to pray who had never prayed before. In the Home-

lands the churches were thronged with worshippers, and this was the case in the neutral countries as well. One got the impression that the War had brought about a religious revival. And to a certain extent I believe this has been the case in many places, although this "war religiousness" often lacked very much of moral power.

The military leaders have recognized that religion is a mighty factor in keeping up the morale of the troops.

To the French army, the many priests who have had to serve as common soldiers, have been of invaluable help and importance in this respect: so the French officers say. And we know that almost the last words the late Lord Roberts said before he made his last journey to France in order to encourage his dear soldiers, was to impress upon them the necessity of not losing sight of the Christian ideals, and he pointed out to them that they would be in need of power from on high to withstand the two great temptations they would meet at the front, lust for revenge and a reckless immoral life.

There is no doubt that the awful sufferings thousands have undergone and are undergoing have shown us how the religious life that lives within the Church can unfold and has unfolded itself in a most wonderful manner during this war.

We Danes have had a unique and at the same time perhaps a sad opportunity of observing this fact. So many of our countrymen from the provinces that were taken from us by the Prussians in 1864 who have been oppressed in so many ways by the Germans during the last fifty years, have now had to go and fight with their oppressors against those for whom they had only friendly feelings. No wonder if the awful suffering of these men has shown itself in a deeper religious life. A young soldier from the northern part of Slesvig (this is the right name of this province, not "Schleswig") writes home to his mother at Christmas time: During the last week a sad feeling has been filling the hearts of all of us from North Slesvig. Christmas is at hand, and our thoughts go back to our homes and our dear ones there. We are singing our dear old Christmas hymns and carols. Another writes: This year the message of Christmas comes to us under such awful circumstances as we have never experienced before. And yet, God be praised

for His peace, that came to earth on the first Christmas the world ever saw, a peace that is worth more than the peace of Europe for which we are longing, and which will come at last."

And not only at the Front, but also in the Homelands these untold sufferings have unfolded the Christian faith in a wonderful way.

An Englishwoman has written the following touching poem in the *Commonwealth* for February, 1915 :

Keep him from thought of me
When I weep.
Keep him from pain through me
In hearts' deep.
Guard him from harm through me
If I sin ;
When I in souls wild strife
Fail to win.
My will I bring and lay
At thy feet,
Till in one perfect day
We may meet.
He was thy gift to me
Ne'er to part ;
Our trust will ever be
In thy heart.

Then there is Miss Edith Cavell who was shot by the Germans on the 12th October, 1915, in Belgium. In the midst of the most cruel sufferings she kept her faith in Christ steadfast until death.

A Dane who was present at the memorial service at St. Paul's writes: Softly and subdued came the singing from thousands of voices. Never did I hear singing like this;—first the old hymn: "Abide with me," and then the English translation of an old Danish hymn:

Through the night of doubt and sorrow
Onward goes the pilgrim band,
Singing songs of expectation
Marching to the promised land.

And in the midst of all this we stand before the great paradox that up there in "the Promised Land," we shall meet not only Edith Cavell but also men and women belonging to the very people who cruelly killed her. Thus it is with Christianity when it is placed in the midst of war. It sanctifies the love

of one's country; but Christianity also says: Patriotism is not enough! Christianity has at the same time in itself the sting and the glory to point to a kingdom, that is lifted high above all national contrasts and conflicts.

In Germany.—In the German national character there are, three deeply-rooted characteristics and elements. (1) Heartiness, cordiality. (2) Thoroughness and frugality. (3) The military spirit, lust for power and to a certain extent, brutality. All these three find expression in the German language. The German language bends itself melodiously to German poetry; it is able to express the scientist's deep thoughts in the immense long sentences, which are the horror of all foreigners who have to read them. And the language comes gruffly from the mouth of the non-commissioned officer; perhaps there is no language in the world in which you can turn out any man with one word as with the German: '*raus*.'

It is impossible in a paper like this to discuss all these three traits in the German national character. I shall only take the last one, because I believe it has to a very great extent not only created the present situation, but has also played a great part in shaping the often peculiar religious conditions of Germany.

Germany, apparently so united, is spiritually in the deepest discord with herself. In spite of protests from many pious men, the conviction that Germany was called by God to be the leader of the world became more and more officially recognized. God is the God of the Germans in a special sense, and therefore the State is everything—something for which everyone has to sacrifice himself and the State has the right to use everyone and everything in order to reach its goal;—a maxim which Kant, the great philosopher fought against when he asserted, that it is immoral to treat a man as a mere means to an end.

This religious—military spirit began to raise its head after the humiliating defeat of Germany by Napoleon in 1806, when Napoleon entered Berlin and Queen Louise had to flee from her capital. Then the Germans were determined to conquer the robber,—as they called Napoleon, and the conviction that they were called to be the leaders of Europe, took a faster hold of the people. God had called them as his special instruments.

The well-known German preacher Arndt calls God. "Thou old dear German God." And the idea took root in the hearts of the people—perhaps especially among the Prussians—that the whole of the continent should live in peace under the protecting wings of Germany!

There were voices in Germany that warned their people against this idea, but they were not listened to. Germany became embittered against those who could not see that it would be in their own interest to be united with the mighty Germany. In 1848 when Denmark beat the Germans, when they wanted to take Slesvig from us, one of the German poets made a popular song with the refrain: "Don't forget the Danes." They did not, and they achieved their object in 1864.

In 1861 one of the German priests tells his people, that under the German King, Germany as the central power will be able to rule the whole Continent; and after the successful wars with Denmark and France, the militarists raised their head high and have kept it so till now. Many of the Germans themselves lamented this state of things, they saw how degeneration was spreading and grieved at it. And here comes Germany's first and last delusion and fallacy,—she admitted the charge but she thought that war was the only remedy for it all. Instead of looking to God for help, the German people or rather the Prussians saw in war the remedy that should sanctify and redeem the people. And as far as an outsider is able to judge, the Church in Germany has failed,—utterly failed to raise its head and protest against this remedy. One German after another has during the War confessed this. One writes: "One of the most painful experiences we Germans have made during the last five decades is that our victories in the wars against France and Denmark have had very little influence upon our inner religious and moral life. It was just after these wars that the awful growth of religious degeneration commenced, together with the moral downfall and the unbridled enjoyment of the world. Will it be the same after this war?"

The Church could have helped the people here; but as stated above there was within the Church a party which rejoiced in nationality taking the lead over religion, and *der deutsche Gott* i.e. "The German God" became a common

expression. One of their pastors proclaimed with glowing enthusiasm during the present war, that the hour has come when Germany is asked whether she wishes to be the salt and the light of the world. To have any doubt as to the justice of the War would be a sin. The German army, he says, is a revelation of moral power; it is a duty of mercy to shorten the War by the hardest means. What happened was really this that a great section of the Church fell a prey to German militarism. The Church had to endorse the militarism and the militarism the Church, and what resulted was probably "quite as much a genuine bewilderment of mind as what has passed into history as a great corruption of behaviour" (the author of "*Voluntas Dei*."

It comes quite natural to a Dane to examine how he stands with regard to a people like the Germans. We owe a debt to the *old* Germany, but at the same time we stand with a deep aversion from the modern Germany; we have a deeply-rooted repugnance to the spirit that is dominating her at present.

If during the last fifty years we have changed our opinion with regard to Germany it is of course the case of Slesvig that is the main ground. But beyond that lies the deep contrast between our democratic development and the increasing autocratic rule in Germany. We have during the later decades like other people received much in the way of technics and science and certain forms of liberal theology from Germany but very little pertaining to the deepest in life: Moral views, poetry, religious leadership and church-work. What Germany has done in this respect we have either not been aware of or refused to receive. We felt that Germany had changed and we asked: Will she ever come back again to her old condition?

There is no doubt that at the beginning of the War a deep religious feeling took hold of the people of Germany,—although we may not be able to understand the nature of this feeling. It was a kind of spiritual mobilisation that took place simultaneously with the military mobilisation. On the day when war broke out the Kaiser told the people who had gathered round the palace: go to the churches and pray to God that He will vouchsafe victory to the German army and to the German cause. The churches were here as in other lands thronged with people, and

the pastors and the army chaplains could not cope with their work. But all came with the assurance that their cause was just and took it as a matter of course that God would grant to them the victory.

Yet a relapse soon set in. Professor Hauch in Leipzig says: "I do not believe that the War has brought about a real change in the religious conditions of our people." The cause was the same as mentioned before: the national religious feeling gained ascendance over true religion. A German pastor wrote to one of our Danish Bishops: I pity you Neutrals, that you are outside the great and mighty experience of God's glory here in Germany! You know nothing of all the great things that God during the War has granted to us!

This spiritual mobilisation had also as its object to convince the neutral world of the clear right of Germany in this war, and they were astonished and scandalised when they found that this their object was not being achieved;—but that many of us answered like the Dutchman who said: "Your guns are good, but your cause is bad."

Many of us had to ask ourselves, whether it would not be necessary to revise our conceptions not only of German science but also of the conception of the Christianity that has taken hold of so many of the Germans. Is the German Christianity not in danger of being strangled by a nationalistic Pharisaism?

One Dean Niese writes from Germany: "If a foreigner would ask the German people, from where do you get the hope of victory?—We answer him: Our faith is the victory that conquers the world. It is a just cause we are fighting for and therefore we must win. We are sure of God's help. We are fighting the cause of God; we are fighting exclusively for our faith. Therefore God is with us. Is God with us; who can be against us?"

One wonders that it is possible to write thus; but these are the bare facts we have to face.

During the last year other voices have been heard. Many of the Christian thinkers of Germany warn their people against subjecting their religion to the national feeling. In 1916 one writes: "The result of the War with regard to religion is frightfully meagre. Many of us feel with sorrow that the enormous

rising of the German Empire was only possible by a frightful self-emptying of the German Christian spirit,—unfortunately this is not felt in the whole of the German Church."

During the last month the disappointments have increased with the frightful losses, the standstill, the food difficulties. All this has changed the tone considerably, and there is no doubt, that there is a great desire among the people for peace.

On the 4th of May, Dr. Hadina, an Austrian wrote a poem, which closed with the following words :

Let love again reign,
Give us peace, give us peace.

And are we not many who look forward to the day when the German militarism shall be crushed, and the religious feelings of Germany again shall come to the front and help herself and others better to realise the love of God ?

In France.—The Frenchman is full of life, the Romanic blood flows in his veins. He is chivalrous as few. The best symbol of German militarism is a 42 cm. gun, frightfully smashing every thing that dares to oppose it. The militarism of the French—if one can speak of militarism in France—can be likened to a light, elegantly wielded rapier. France is the land of taste and tact, the world's teacher in beauty and courtesy.

A French writer gives us a touching evidence of this in the following story. An old officer lay on his death-bed when the order for mobilising came in 1914. He was one of the veterans from the war against Germany in 1870. Now he was lying here dying while the soldiers who were billeted in his house were making a noise downstairs. He heard it all, but he did not complain, he knew what it meant. Then he died. His wife came down to the soldiers and asked them if they would like to see the old brave officer on his death-bed. The soldiers were mostly common workmen and farmers. They only said, Thank you, Madame. But the wife was very much disappointed as she did not see a single one of the soldiers come into the chamber of death. The next day she said so to one of them. He answered, Pardon, Madame ; but we have all been there. We wanted to go up there all together and in our best uniforms, so we waited until we got them delivered to us on parade, and in order not

to disturb, we took care to go up there, while you Madame, were taking your breakfast.

The religious atmosphere of France and especially of Paris has never been regarded as especially exhilarating. Nay, Paris has often been called the most immoral city on the continent. This is most probably an exaggeration there are other cities just as immoral and those who know say, that many of the more than doubtful institutions and establishments that existed there were frequented much more by foreigners than by the French themselves. But yet there is no doubt that religion played a rather small part in the national life of France. For a time she was a faithful daughter of the Roman Catholic Church, although I believe, at times a rather rebellious and troublesome daughter.

In 1870 when Germany took Alsace-Lorraine a new religious patriotism was awakened in France, produced by the sorrow and pain of this loss and by the fervent hope that they would be united again.

It is not too much to say that France has astonished the world by unveiling her reserves of power. This awful war with all it means especially to France has been of immense spiritual benefit to the people of France,—this easy and as we thought nervous people who some thought were degenerate. Once more France has astonished the world,—perhaps more than ever before.

France did feel keenly—and they did so rightly—that they had not let loose the demon of war, and they accused Germany of having led humanity back to such a brutal way of settling conflicting questions.

Then came the invasion of Belgium,—then Louvain and all the horrors reported from Belgium. Then Rheims! One Frenchman who usually judges matters soberly says: "Our France, that is bleeding from so many other wounds has never suffered anything more horrid than the deliberate destruction of her pantheon, the cathedral of Rheims, Notre Dame de France. A work like the cathedral is much more than the life of a human being, it is a people, it is its centuries that still vibrate as a symphony in this organ of theirs."

We all know that there was war between the Roman

Catholic Church and the State of France. But the War stopped it. At the very beginning of the War on the 2nd of August, 1914, the Government suspended some of the laws that had been passed against the religious orders, and the cabinet gave permission for priests to be employed in the navy.

And the French Catholics threw themselves with glowing enthusiasm into the fight for their country. They hoped both for victory for France and for a religious regeneration of their people.

All the Roman Catholic priests had to enlist as common soldiers and they showed themselves excellent soldiers. A glowing love for their country was in them combined with the excellent discipline the church had taught them. And they came into much closer touch with the young soldiers than if they had been sent out as chaplains, sharing as they did everything with their comrades. They showed themselves to be an invaluable power to keep the *morale* of the troops. The soldiers gathered round them and listened willingly to them.

One of the priests writes: "Conversions are numerous. The renewal of France becomes evident day by day. The soldiers feel that they need something more than that which they have possessed hitherto. The invisible world was perfectly unknown to them, now they have got into touch with this invisible world by serving France."

And the War not only created religiousness but it also showed us that there was formerly more of it than we thought. A cavalry lieutenant tells us, how at the front in 1914 he wanted to attend divine service. He was afraid that he should find the church empty, but there was no need for any anxiety in this respect. The question was rather how to provide room for all the soldiers who wanted to attend and when the priest began to chant a Latin hymn the whole congregation joined in the singing, they all knew both the words and the tune.

What religiously has happened in the French army during the War is this, that the Roman Catholic Church has been reaping the fruits of a zealous work in the churches and in the schools.

And what happened among the soldiers also happened among the great masses of the people. They turned in their

calamity to God. France had in a very real and deep sense to think of the significance of suffering, especially in the parts of France occupied by the enemy, and the people came in great crowds to the houses of God to seek solace and comfort.

In the spring of 1915 some student leaders from a neutral land asked the French Professors G. Bonnett Maury, and A. Lods in Paris what the religious effect of the War really had shown itself to be. They both emphasized the idealism with which the fight is carried on. It is a fight between two irreconcilable principles: The French assertion of justice and the German doctrine that the state has nothing to do with morality. On this basis a great renewal of the religious life has taken place. One of them points out that the sacrifice of love that has been made in this war has thrown new light over the cross at Golgotha.

And yet we see here as in other lands that so much of the religious enthusiasm that was evident at the beginning of the War did not last.

A French paper writes: "At the beginning of the War a strong religious feeling fell on all the people. But where do we stand to-day? It is difficult to pronounce a just judgment; but this is at any rate certain, the religious movement has not given us all we expected it would give us. And yet in secret a great work of preparation is being done, a preparation that will bear fruit later on. We are living in a time of preparation. The innermost recesses of our souls are ploughed thoroughly by sufferings, and it is our duty in faithfulness to sow the seed of the gospel in the bloody furrows made by this plough."

Yes, bloody are these furrows! The Christian Student Association of France (the Protestant) had 430 members when the War broke out,—every tenth one of them has fallen, and only twelve of them have not been under arms.

One of the students writes from the front: "The question that in the beginning mostly occupied my thought was whether this war really was a just war on our part; but now I have the sure confidence that our cause is just and good, and that we have right on our side. But this war must bear its fruits. Out of all the sufferings and death must come a new life for the good of humanity. I am thinking constantly of the France of

the future days, this young France that is waiting for its hour. I cannot but believe that a sanctified France will emerge from this war, in which everyone knows only one goal for his life—duty."

And a little later he writes: "When I return, I must like all others be changed. I shall have no right to be what I was before, for what would then this awful time have benefited me?" On the 9th of May he was killed in action.

A French lady student writes: "There is a word that often comes to the lips of the soldiers who return from the Front: 'You cannot understand it.' There is no accusation in this, it is only the bare statement of a fact. Between them and us lies what they have lived through and what we can never have to live through, the awful spectacle of the carnage, death itself. They have touched the very shores of eternity, out there where there was the intense loneliness of the soul, bereft as they are of all that is conventional, low and vain.

The loud talk at the back of the Front, the eloquence of the newspapers, the blind hatred, can wring from these heroes only a sad and contemptuous smile, those who are out there at the Front have presented themselves as a quiet, living sacrifice. For them there are only a few things that yet are real, the simple eternal truths that came from the Man of Galilee: Goodness, simplicity, reverence for those who are small and insignificant and an unspeakable assurance of the love of God.

And we,—we too are changed. We believe that our first duty is to be true. We do not say peace where there is no peace, and we cannot believe in unity where there is no unity. The only position worthy of a Christian student is to be true and faithful. In the beginning of this war when the wave of hatred threatened to carry away also us Christians, then we looked at the Crucified, and His order was, Love.

Now we are judging the past in order to lay a firm foundation for the future, and the command of our Master is to institute righteousness—inward and outward righteousness—righteousness for all people, righteousness for the whole of the human race, that is what we are fighting for."

And she closes by praying, that as the Lord has delivered them from hatred, He in the same way may deliver them from

cowardice and help them to take an active part in the great work of restoration, that justice may win the victory, even if France, nay, even if the whole human race should go under.

In Britain.—Some years before the War a German and a Dane were discussing the English people. The German, an old Doctor, said snorting with anger: Do you know that there is one word that really can only be said in English and in no other language, in the same way, at any rate and that is the word: humbug! The Dane answered him: Do you know that there is another word that cannot be said in any other language than the English,—that is the word, Gentleman?

When we use the word "Ladylike" we think of the greatest refinement. But by "Gentleman" we think of something more, we think less of the form than of the contents that have created it. I believe the kernel in it is, loyalty and reverence, and these are some of the highest aspects of the English character.

We foreigners at times look at the British nation as a little peculiar on account of its great reverence for all the forms of society. We wonder perhaps at the great reverence the Englishman has for his King. An Englishman once explained this thus: "We have always had and have a great reverence for the man who occupies the chair, and the King is in the chair for the whole Empire"!

The Englishman is practical, the typical Englishman is no dreamer, although there may be a little of it in him on account of his Keltic descent. He had common sense as no one else. For example in the moral domain he seldom degenerates into breaking up the moral principles, and it is to him a matter of course that a religious conviction must express itself in a clear form; and his life has from the earliest time been connected with religion. An Englishman without reverence is as a woman without modesty, he has lost his mark of nobility.

The German theory that politics should be quite independent of religion is entirely rejected by the English Christian. He asserts that public life should submit itself to the laws of Christianity.

Absolute infidelity has meant very little in the public life of England. A direct disavowal of the Christian morality is

rare. Right through the nineteenth century many of England's greatest authors were influenced by Christianity, men like Dickens, Tennyson, Browning, Carlyle and Ruskin. And even the non-Christian teachers of Positivism do not take that negative position which was taken by their confreres on the continent. (Think of men like Darwin, Spencer and Stuart Mill).

In politics we see this difference clearly in the two great men of England and Germany: Gladstone and Bismarck. The one represents the English politics of liberty, the other the reactionary politics of might.

There are people in England who refuse all thought of war, —even the present one. It is especially the Quakers who take up this position. But even their greatest spokesman, Mr. Arnold S. Roundtree must admit: "If we refuse to take up the sword then we must be in possession of qualities that will have more effect than the sword." And they feel that this their position is difficult, not to say impossible. One of their number Miss A. Maude Roydon admits that in August 1914, war was for England better than neutrality. Keir Hardie died broken-hearted, while a man like Henderson, originally against all wars, approves of this war. And we find that the same is the case with regard to the question of conscription. Many were against it, but even a well-known leader of the workmen, an M. P. declares with the genuine English frankness that is so refreshing to a foreigner: "I wish the Government had introduced conscription a year and a half before they did, although I must admit, I then should have voted against it!"

Others look upon the War as a sad necessity. About 120 Christian Students gathered in January 1915, at Baslow, to discuss the question of the War. Opinions were divided. Some of them felt that the love of God could lead them nowhere else than to the battlefields of France and Belgium, there if it so should be, to give their lives for others. But all were not of the same opinion, and yet during the whole of the meeting there was in spite of this difference of opinion a wonderful oneness of spirit.

A German report of the meeting says: A difference of opinion like that at the meeting at Baslow would be unthinkable with us. For us there is no doubt as to the position of a warrior being a God—pleasing service just as Jesus has said! This

expression is as typically German as the report of the meeting is typically English.

The man who within the student world has done most to create a common way of thinking with regard to this question, which could unite the different parties is the Rev. William Temple, son of the former Archbishop. He is one of the leading men among those who have published "Papers for War Times."

What about the religious life? There is no doubt that there in this respect is more earnestness than formerly. Dames who have been in England during the War testify to this fact, and yet many lament that there still is much frivolity which is not to be found for example in France.

The Chaplain to the Bishop of London writes in 1915: To come to France is to enter quite a new atmosphere. Here is a nation which really feels that she is at war,—the whole spiritual atmosphere is contagious."

The Englishman is proud of his soldiers. He is a brave fellow with good humour. He is a sportsman to the core and is better equipped than any other soldier, and he shaves—if at all possible—every day. A German, Verner Sombart regards this as "an ugly sign of the hollow English shopkeeper culture!"

I have already referred to the late Lord Roberts' proclamation to his troops. Lord Kitchener issued a similar one which he closed with the words: "Fear God, honour the King."

Of course many of the soldiers did not follow this advice, just as they did not in other lands, and here as everywhere much of the religious feeling is very superficial. An Englishman says that to many a soldier God is not much more than an extra rifle.

It is especially the Y. M. C. A. and the Student Movement that have done a great work among the British soldiers and helped to deepen the spiritual life among them. A German working among the English prisoners of war says: "As it is in the English Churches, so I find it here, the Christian interest which these people have is astonishing."

The English did all they could to provide their soldiers and prisoners with religious literature. In Germany it is a familiar saying that an English prisoner of war has three New Testaments but only one coat! And all that could be done was done to provide the army with spiritual leaders and as far as an

outsider is able to gather there is an improvement in the religious life of the army.

Among the English people at Home, the change is not so great; in the beginning of the War there was here also a kind of "war religiousness" which however did not last here either. It is among those who really were religious before the War that the deepening of the religious life has taken place. But it is also felt that the spiritual result of the War among the people is not so great as one might have expected.

Already in the Autumn of 1914, Lord Roberts wrote: "We have got the men, we have got the guns, we have the money,—what we now need is a nation on its knees." "And Admiral Sir David Beatty, the hero of the sea battle near the Danish shores says: "England must find her way to humility and prayer."

But do you know what has made England greater then she was before, in the eyes of many of the neutral Christians? It is the sight of how the public religious consciousness has been able to a great extent to lead the nation, and to see how in spite of the many brutalities done by the Germans so many of the leading Englishman still preach and practice the Master's rule, that love to one's enemies is the greatest Christian virtue. Professor Sanday in Oxford writes: "We think of Germany as a noble nation that has gone wrong."

And this feeling was put to the test. The Lusitania affair, the Zeppelin raids, Miss Cavell's execution, the ruthless submarine warfare and the bad treatment of the English prisoners of war,—all this quite naturally embittered the feelings. Then came the proposals for reprisals; but the Archbishop of Canterbury put his foot down and protested against such a measure. Likewise the Evangelical Free Churches sent a protest against it to the Government.

Both the Anglican Church and the Free Churches are working among the people as never before. The feeling that lives in many an English Christian is expressed in the well-known verse.

I will not cease from mental fight,
Nor shall the sword sleep in my hand,
Till we have built Jerusalem,
In England's green and pleasant land.

And the churches understand that through all the sufferings God is leading the nation toward repentance and hope.

Repentance and hope!—But that is a message not only for England—that is a message needed by all of us, and not the least so by the smaller nations who are outside the War.

We have all of us—all earnest men at any rate—the problem of war before us. All worship of power and war-glorification belong to that which a Christian must fight against, for war always brings with it an awful unclean river of hatred and lies.

I believe we all feel that this war must be fought till the Prussian military menace is crushed. And yet do we not feel that behind the clashing of arms a hard spiritual fight is going on?

The time will surely come when the Church for its own life's sake must take up a mighty fight against war, to make war impossible, at the same time recognising, that as long as the War is a righteous war,—and that many of us neutrals believe the Allies' cause is—the leaders can and must claim all the help and the support their people are able to give. And as long as we believe the War to be righteous we have a right to pray God, that he will grant a victory that will result in destruction of militarism and tyranny.

The Professor of History in Bristol, G. H. Leonard, told his students the following touching incident. He himself felt the bitter necessity of the war and also its awful contradictions. And then he remembered how some years ago, he came to a small Catholic church in Nürnberg and there saw a little messenger boy come in and worship, putting his basket aside while doing so. Now, Professor Leonard says, most probably the boy is out in the trenches, and perhaps he and one of the soldiers of the Allies are trying to kill each other.

Professor Leonard goes further. He tells us about the Italian knight Giovanni Gualberto who 900 years ago met his brother's murderer in Florence. Giovanni wanted to wreak a cruel vengeance upon this his weaponless enemy, but the murderer fell down at his feet and asked for forgiveness for Christ's sake. And Giovanni put his sword in the scabbard. He remembered what day it was; it was Good Friday evening. And the legend tells us, that as he afterwards was praying before

the crucifix, the crucified Master bowed himself down over him and blessed him.

Here, so it seems to me we Christians have to learn a lesson. We can fight without hatred against tyranny and oppression as we believe the allied nations are doing at present; but can we not at the same time ask God for a heart that is able to forgive our enemies?

It may be hard and difficult,—nay it is hard and difficult when we remember all that has happened, and yet if this spirit takes greater possession of the Allied Nations and of those who are in sympathy with them the nearer will real and lasting peace be.

For it is that mind which was in Him Who brought peace to this world of ours.

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ORGANISATIONS OF THE SYRIAN CHRISTIANS IN FORMER TIMES: VIII.

SOCIO-RELIGIOUS ORGANISATION.

BY L. K. ANANTHA KRISHNA IYER, B.A., L.T.

THE Syrian Christians, before the sixteenth century, appear to have belonged to the village organisation of the Hindus, and retained most of their manners and customs. They joined their Hindu brethren in the sham fights of the *Onam* festivals and in other Hindu village pastimes. They maintained *kalarics* or gymnastic schools of their own. These and other customs were forbidden by the Synod of Diamper.¹ Regular parish organisation had not originated in the period above mentioned, and the churches were under the dioceses of bishops. After the Synod of Diamper in 1599, they were divided into parishes with a church and the requisite number of people in each of them, under the management of a vicar, and two or more *kaikkars* or trustees, the number of whom varied with the importance and property of the church. Each vicar is directed to make a roll of all the inhabitants of his parish, so that he may be acquainted with their customs and ways of living, and may administer the

¹ *Synod of Diamper, Session viii, Decrees 1-4. Christianity in India*, Hough, Vol. II, pp. 642-3.

sacraments to them and comfort them in their troubles and necessities, in order that the faithful may receive the sacrament from nobody else without his licence in form. The trustees or church-wardens, were and are even now elected from the body of the chief parishioners; the vicar, the trustees and the chief parishioners from the *yogam* of the church, and a disciplinary body which exercises considerable power in religious and social matters over the members of the congregation. They meet on all important occasions affecting the welfare of the church and the congregation. The trustees on the other hand are the custodians of the church property, and have to submit accounts of incomes and expenditures of the church to the *yogam* and finally to the metropolitan for information.

Among the Jacobite Syrians of Angamali, Akaparamba, in the neighbourhood where my investigations were made, their *Pothu-yogam* (or grand assembly) consists of the elderly or leading members *pramānis-edavaka pattakkar* or priests of the parish and the *kaikkars* or trustees. This *yogam* or meeting is convened to discuss and decide all important matters temporal and spiritual affecting their welfare. Their decision is communicated to the *mētran* or bishop for necessary sanction and approval. In some cases the *mētran* himself presides and has the matter decided in his presence.

Below this there is a minor assembly called *Sāḍirana yogam*, and this consists of the representatives from every *kara* or *muri*, the trustees and the priests of the parish. This *yogam* concerns itself only with matters of minor importance. In the event of any disagreement on any subject it is left to the disposal of the *Pothu-yogam*. There are twenty-four trustees out of whom two are elected every year, at the expiry of which they submit accounts of the income and expenditure to the *yogam* above referred to. All minor offences of the parishioners connected with religion are brought before the vicar, who, in consultation with a few of the elders, gives them light punishments such as to provide the supply of oil or candles for lighting, the burning of frankincense in the church or fines in the shape of money according to the means of the offender. In the case of serious crimes, the *yogam* assembles in the church, carefully enquires into the matter and the delinquents are punished according to the gravity of the offence. If the offenders do not submit to the punishments they are placed under an interdict by which they

are debarred from attendance in the church during ceremonies. In no case can a woman who has gone wrong be allowed to be divorced. The decision of the *yogam* is communicated to the Metropolitan for information and approval.

In the diocese of Kunnankulam the *yogam* above referred to consists of similar members who meet on similar occasions and their decisions are duly communicated to the Metropolitan. Should he, however, differ from the decision of the *yogam*, his opinion is not taken into consideration. Serious disputes have risen of late regarding the supreme authority of the bishop in matters temporal and spiritual. The parishioners of a fairly large number of churches affirm that the *yogam* of the churches are supreme authorities and their decision is communicated to the Metropolitan only as a matter of course. The Metropolitan, on the other hand, does not admit this and suits are filed in courts to establish his supremacy over the *yogam*.¹

It is comprised in the practice and discipline of the said Syrian Church.

(1) That the Metropolitan thereof must be a bishop consecrated by the hands or under the authority and commission of the said Patriarch of Antioch, and be appointed to the said See of Malankas by the said Patriarch and have the approval of the general body of the faithful in the said See.

(2) That the Metropolitan, Catanas, and Edavagakair shall be obedient, to the said Patriarch in all lawful things concerning the said Syrian Church.

(3) That the vicars and priests of the respective churches shall be appointed thereto by the said Metropolitan and by none other; and that the Metropolitan has power and authority to remove such vicars and priests and appoint others as and when he shall, as such Metropolitan, think fit:

(4) That the election of Kaikars by the *yogams* respectively in the several churches shall be subject to the confirmation of the said Metropolitan, and that the said Kaikars shall annually submit to the said Metropolitan true and faithful accounts of the receipts and disbursements of the income and properties of the respective churches, after having read the same before the assembled *yogam*.

(5) That the Metropolitan is entitled to receive fees called. " Kymoo-thoo " for every marriage celebrated in the said churches.

Among the Romo-Syrians and the Catholics of the Latin rite the *yogams* are similar and the *kaikkars* vary with the importance and property of the churches. They also meet on the occasions above referred to. All matters connected with the church, temporal and spiritual, are discussed, and the decision of the *yogam* is communicated to the bishop for sanction. Punishment for all ordinary offences of the members of the

¹ Judgment in His Highness the Raja's Court of Appeal in the Authat Church case, p. 3.

parish are similar to those abovementioned ; and in certain cases, the delinquents are directed to hold a kind of cross during the performance of ceremonies in the church, or go round it several times, holding it as directed. For serious offences, a skull was formerly suspended round the neck of the criminal while he appeared during the ceremonies or went round the church several times in the presence of the members of the community. Such punishments are no longer resorted to.

In former times, Christians when charged with a crime of which they were innocent, volunteered, in order to substantiate their innocence, to subject themselves to ordeals which were enjoined by Heathen rulers on their own people, such as handling bars of hot iron, thrusting their hands into boiling oil or swimming through rivers full of snakes, reckoning if they were innocent that none of those things could hurt them, but would certainly do so, if they were guilty of the crimes laid to their charge. They were also made to swear by Hindu deities. All these were prohibited by the Synod of Diamper, which laid it down that they sinned mortally in so doing. Under such circumstances they should prefer death to the submission to such ordeals.¹

ASTROLOGY, MAGIC, SORCERY, WITCHCRAFT.

The Syrian Christians in former times used to consult Hindu astrologers and their own superstitious priests for the auspicious days and hours, for marriage and the happiness or otherwise of the conjugal pair after the union. Further, on the wedding day, they used to make certain circles into which they used to put rice and perform certain superstitious ceremonies, and also make certain figures behind their doors and recite prayers with ceremonies all of which were intended to make the union happy. On the advice of the astrologers or fortune-tellers, matches were broken off and new ones were made.

They used to consult magicians, invite them to their houses, and through their help offer prayers and sacrifices to certain deities with a view to gain their ends. During sickness they used to send for them, perform some ceremony for the recovery and restoration of their health or in case of theft, to obtain a clue to the identity and whereabouts of the thief. Their services were

¹ *The Synod of Diamper Session ix, Decree xvi.*

The History of Christianity in India, Hough, Vol. II, pp. 677-8.

requisitioned to cure madness, to remove the distempers of their cattle, to make their garden fruitful. All these were considered to be of diabolical origin and repugnant to the Christian religion.¹

In Act III, Decree 14 of the Synod of Diamper or Udayampur, a book called *Parisman* or Persian Medicine which is full of sorceries is condemned. It is said to contain many superstitions, exorcisms for the casting out of devils, mixing some godly words with others that are not intelligible. The Rev. G. P. Badger speaks of the Nestorians of Persia using "charms against the evil eye, the poison of reptiles and plants, the rot and other diseases in sheep, the tyranny of rulers, and the designs of wicked men ; in which certain passages of Holy write are profanely used." He gives some specimens and tells us, he has in his possession an entire volume of these charms. *Parisman* is probably a corruption of the Malayalam word "Prasnum" astrology or astrological calculations."

Among the books likewise condemned by the Synod were, the *Book of Lots* and the *Ring of Solomon*. The first of these is said to have been a small manual consulted by the Syrians of former days before they entered on any formal undertaking. Its Malayalam name is *Wapustakom*. It was opened at random ; and by the favourable or unfavourable character of the first passage that met the eye, future action was determined. It had certain superstitious figures drawn in it. The *Ring of Solomon* was a spurious and pretentious work called *Aseks-de-Solomon*. It contains certain sententious sayings some of which are said to be of questionable morality ; but had Solomon's name appended to give them currency.²

Even in these days some sections of the Syrians have faith in astrology, get horoscopes for new-born babies, just as Hindus do, and make offerings in Hindu temples. Auspicious days are chosen for beginning important undertakings. Swearing by local Hindu deities has often come under my observation.

SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES AMONG SYRIAN CHRISTIANS.

In former times the government of the Syrian Christians, both in temporal and spiritual matters, devolved on the bishop in

¹ *The Synod of Diamper, Session ix, Decrees vi, vii, viii. The History of Christianity in India, Vol. II, pp. 663-673.*

² Whitehouse, *Lingerings of Light in a Dark Land*, pp. 50, 113.

whose diocese they belonged. Sometimes in fear of the judgment of the prelate in their controversies, they resorted to the rulers of the land for the redress of their grievances. This procedure was forbidden by the Synod of Diamper which allowed them to adopt this course only with the consent of the bishop. The same bishop in the synod condemned usury and extortion, and allowed only 10 per cent. interest for the money lent, and encouraged uniform weights and measures. (*The Synod of Diamper*, Session ix, Decrees ix, x, xv, xix).¹

A Church.—The Greek word *ecclesia* or church originally meant an assembly called together. Classical writers used the word to denote assemblies summoned by the public crier like those of the citizens of Athens. In the *Acts*, it was used both for a tumultuous "assembly" (*Acts* xix: pp. 32-40) and for an assembly lawfully convened for public business (*Acts* xix: 39). In the *Old Testament* it signifies a certain congregation, and the Old Testament Church is called the Church in *Acts* vii: 38; *Hebrews* ii: 12. The Church in its highest conception is an ideal body, and in this sense consists of persons who have accepted the Divine call to repentance and faith. In other words, the name Church signifies an assembly of persons who profess faith in Christ, a walking according to the Gospel rule (*Acts* ii: 47; v. 11; xii: xv: 3, 22; *Cor.* xx: 28; 1 *Cor.* ii: x: 32). Individual Churches are mentioned such as the Seven Churches in Asia, (*Rev.* i: iv: xi: etc.) churches in Galatia and Asia (*Cor.* xvi: 5, 19) and churches held in private houses (*Rom.* xvi: 5; *Col.* iv: 5).

To the Catholics, this Church of Christ is the Catholic Church under the government of St. Peter's successor the Bishop of Rome, because this church alone possesses, enjoys and shows forth all the four marks of God's true church as pointed out in Scripture, and declared in the Nicene Creed in the words: "I believe in one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church."

Catholicity.—Christ founded the Church for the salvation of the human race. He established it that it might preserve His revelation and dispense His grace to all nations. Hence it was necessary that it should be found in every land proclaiming his message to all men and communicating to them the means of grace. To this end "He laid on the Apostles the injunction

¹ *The History of Christianity in India*, Vol. II, pp. 673, 674, 677 and 679 (Hough).

to go and teach all nations." The Church which owns the Roman Pontiff as its supreme head extends its ministrations over the whole world. It owns its obligations to preach the Gospel to all peoples. No other church attempts the task or can use the title of Catholic with any appearance of justification. The Catholic Church of the present day is the same with the Catholic Church made up of the Apostles and their followers, and has, as a body, the same office, and the very same authority which Christ has given to them. The main characteristics of the Church are unity, holiness, universality and apostolicity.

THE SYRIAN CHURCH IN INDIA.

The history of any particular church says Hough, ought to consist of "its polity, its doctrines and its character;" because they constitute the chief objects of interest in all ecclesiastical records.¹

Judged by this standard, the Syrian Church is said to have been a daughter of the Primitive Church of Christ, and to have partaken of that alloy which too soon corrupted the profession of Christianity. Its polity was that of the Primitive Church since it was governed by bishops and served by the subordinate orders of priests and deacons; and this episcopal constitution had the sanction of the Apostles.

ARCHITECTURE OF THE SYRIAN CHURCHES.

The architecture of the ancient Syrian Churches was always the same; they were formerly built long and narrow with low entrances having buttresses supporting the walls and sloping roofs, and were easily distinguished from those of any other sect by having the chancel higher than the nave instead of being lower as with the Protestants. The facade had small columns, but they were never carved externally with emblematical figures as some of those latter erections were. No bells were permitted to be rung from the belfries as the Hindus asserted that their gods in the neighbouring temples were disturbed by the noise. The building and the surrounding wall and the cross in front at a distance, partakes of the character of a Hindu style of building.

¹ *Roman Catholicism* : Ch. Wright, p. 22-26.

² *The History of Christianity of India*, Hough, Vol. II, pp. 110.

They have so built their churches that in their profile, one always sees the porch, the nave and the chancel. The chancel has been described as a flattened tower, being square and always higher than the nave, which again is higher than the porch; and though built towards the east, the chancel lacks an east window. The western wall in modern days is adorned with plastered pillars and pinnacles, after the Portuguese fashion, and always shining white. The porch is sometimes fifty feet long, and is a place of general assembly and conversation. When the roofs have been re-tiled, the churches make a brilliant show against the dark green of the palm foliage amongst which they stand. There is a cross on every gable, and one rising from the centre of the four-roofed chancel tower; often it is of wrought iron in the Celtic shape. In high relief on the eastern and western walls of the church may be seen a cross supported by peacocks accompanied by various emblems, such as wheels, and in churches that have at any time been under Roman influence, statues of saints cut in stones and whitened like the rest are also found. Outside stands usually a large granite cross often twenty feet high on a basement containing small cups cut in the stone to serve as lamps on days of saints when it may be illuminated. A lofty wall of dark-red laterite with good coping surrounds the churchyard, but there are, or rather, were, when the missionaries first came in contact with the Syrians, no graves; the bones of the dead after a year's burial in the porch used to be taken up and thrown into a large well in a corner of the churchyard. A gate-house stands at the entrance of some churches, and there are often clergy-houses against the surrounding wall inside. At the west end of most of the churches, if not of all, is a gallery in which most of the bishops or clergy are expected to sleep, and there is a bed. There is also a small detached wooden room for the chief guest. In a few of the old churches the lamps used are similar to those in the synagogues of the Jews.

Inside these churches, there were galleries corresponding to the organ-lofts for the residence of unmarried priests. There were numerous crosses in various parts and one on the altar opposite which at the entrance of the chancel, a brass lamp, in which a light is always kept burning night and day, hangs from the roof.

Some of these ancient forms have been modified both with respect to worship, architecture, vestments, and the method of per-

forming the services, a short account of which, is, as follows:—The more modern churches are built in a style which are somewhat similar to those erected by the Jesuits, with pointed arches and windows, circular and fretted ceilings over both the altar and choir while the beams are exposed to view. No images are allowed within them. But some of them are adorned with paintings, which are said to be simply for ornamental purposes. There are three altars (which are termed thrones) in each church, the largest being at the east and within the chancel, covered with a white cloth, having a cross on it. The chancel is raised two steps higher than the body of the church. Before it hangs a veil, so that if necessary, it can be concealed from the congregation. Near the chancels are the bells used in honour of the host. Crucifixes are placed on the altars and in various parts of the building, some of them being plain, others adorned with or composed of gold, silver, wood or stone.

The following causes may violate and make the church impure and consequently render it unfit for worship. They are the shedding of human blood in the church caused by murder, fighting or otherwise, the burial of a person excommunicated from the Church, the burial of an infidel, and the consecration of a church by an excommunicated bishop. Under such circumstances, the bishop or the vicar can consecrate it with prayers and ceremonies contained in the Roman ceremonial translated into Syriac. In the cases above mentioned the churchyard is also violated. In the case of the burial of an infidel the walls have to be scraped.

In former times it was a custom for sick persons, out of devotion, to lie in churches with "their wives and families for several days hoping thereby to cure of them their distempers." The Synod of Diamper in its Decree XXXI of Session VIII, forbade it, on the consideration that the consecrated churches should not be defiled. The Synod declared that the sick might either lie "at home in their own houses," or reside in houses close to the churches, or in the porches thereof," but never within them.¹

In former times churches were often robbed of the poor's box, as they were not opened for many years. The Synod in its Decree XXVI, of Session VIII, chose four substantial and conscientious men to be overseers of the poor and to take care of the church, and these men should open the box at the end of every year, take

¹ *The History of Christianity in India*, Hough, Vol. II, pp. 663.

out all the 'alms' found therein, and have them entered in a book by one of the overseers. The said alms should then be kept in a chest provided with three different locks and keys. One of the keys should be in possession of the vicar, the rest with two overseers. The scrivener should have the account of the money obtained and the expenses incurred in connection with the church. The chest should be opened only in the presence of all of them. The Metropolitan was instructed to see that these directions were strictly carried out.¹

The Syrian Bishops.—The chief bishop among the Jacobite Syrians is called a Metropolitan, who has an assistant whom he consecrates as successor in the event of his death. The Metropolitans were elected from among the Malpans and consecrated in readiness on occasions when it was found extremely difficult or almost impossible to obtain foreign bishops as in after-times. The election used to take place in a General Assembly of the clergy, and the elders (*pulli-pramānikal*) of the church who ratified or rejected the choice of the person previously elected. If there were several candidates, lots were drawn for them, and the result was regarded as decisive.

The bishops are also nominated by their predecessors from the body of the Rambāns who are men selected by priests and elders in advance to fill the episcopate.

Below the bishops are the Mālpans or the Doctors of the Law who are the instructors of youths and those intended for Holy Orders. Their priests are called the *Kathanārs* who should pass through ostiary, reader, exorcist, acolyte, sub-deacon, deacon before becoming priests. But the first three offices do not exist. The deacons could be admitted as early as seven years of age, unless anything unusually bad could be brought against them. They were not under the necessity of leading a life of celibacy and the custom gained them higher favour.

It has been conclusively established that the Patriarch of Antioch is the paramount ecclesiastical authority over the see of Malankara, and that for a person to become a properly qualified Mētran of that See, the essentials are, that he should be consecrated by the said Patriarch or by some bishop authorised by him. No doubt, there were certain instances where these essentials were wanting, "the exception only go to prove the rule," and

¹ *The History of Christianity in India*, Hough, Vol. II, pp. 659-60.

such exceptions cannot be treated as evidencing any desire on the part of the Syrian community to repudiate the Patriarch's supremacy or the teachings of their church.¹

The bishop when in no great state wears a long, dark, purple silk vest, but when officiating, he wears a long yellow muslin robe thrown over his other garments. A long golden cross hangs round his neck. He wears a ring on his fourth finger and the episcopal mitre on his head. He holds a crozier or pastoral staff in his left hand and in his right a golden cross, at the bottom of which is tied a silk handkerchief with which he blesses.

The ordinary dress of priests consists of white trousers and a kind of long white shirt with short sleeves and a flap hanging down behind and supposed to be in the form of a cross. Over this the Jacobites now wear a black coat. On ceremonial occasions a white gown is worn in addition to an embroidered collar and waist-band and narrow sleeves. The Reformers keep the ancient white robe with a girdle.

Priests are allowed to marry, but may not enter into conjugal relations after their ordination. They cannot re-marry or marry a widow. They now shave their heads clean, but allow their beards to grow luxuriantly. The priests after their ordination are engaged to observe the canons of the Council of Nice.

Attached to each congregation existed a small court consisting of the *Kathanār* and four lay elders who meet in the church for admonitions, fines or excommunication. Each parish or rather the boundaries of each separate congregation are divided off, land marks made and the names of persons belonging to it are taken down, who must all receive the sacraments within their parishes. Before leaving their district for another, they must obtain a testimonial from their *Kathanārs* of having conducted themselves, soberly and steadily. A residence of twelve years in one parish is necessary before a person can become an elder.²

Celibacy of the Clergy.—One of the most difficult subjects which the Synod of Diamper had to deal with was that of matrimony, inasmuch as almost all the *Kathanārs* were married men. It is somewhat curious to observe how this is deplored.

“Whereas in this diocese (which the Synod has taken notice of with great sorrow) through their vile ignorance of the law, and

¹ Judgment in His Highness the Raja's Court of Appeal in the Arthal Cass, Special Appeal No. 7 of 1075.

² The Land of the Perumals, F. Day, pp. 258.

the abounding iniquity of the times, and their having been governed by schismatical prelates, priests have married after they were in orders, may have taken orders in order that they might marry the better, and have frequently married widows, and some have married three or four times, etc." But this Christian liberty was now to be restrained by Antichristian legislation. Rome was to manifest to this ancient branch of the church another mark of her apostacy, by "forbidding to marry."

"The legislation on this subject was most execrable in its spirit, as will be seen from the following extract:—"Henceforth no clerk in Holy Orders shall presume to marry, nor shall any *Kathanār* marry any such, nor shall any presume to be present at any such marriage, nor give counsel, favour or assistance thereunto. Any whoever shall offend in any of these particulars, must know that they are excommunicated and cursed, and are to be declared as such by the Church, and as to those who are married already, the Synod suspends them all, whether married once or oftener, from the ministry of their orders, and all sacerdotal acts, until such time as they have put away their wives effectually."¹

"Were such harsh measures as these were carried out it can hardly be conceived what disorder, confusion and misery must have ensued among a people who had always been true to believe, according to the apostolic statement, that "matrimony was honourable to all." The wives of the *Kathanārs* were even addressed as already stated, by a title of respect, and the best places in the church were assigned to them; and further in the event of the husband dying, the widow was considered to have a life interest in the income of the church in which he had ministered as real as that of the surviving priests; which truly wise and benevolent arrangement seemed to savour off those early times when widows were not "neglected in the daily ministrations." Many of the *Kathanār's* wives moreover, had large families, and some were already in Holy Orders; but henceforth these virtuous women were to be ruthlessly put away, as if they had occupied an unlawful position; and they and their children were to have a brand of infamy stamped upon their names. Menezes and his advisers herein doubtless overstepped the mark; and such a decree as the one

¹ *Lingerings of Light in a Dark Land.* T. Whitehouse, Chapter VII, pp. 112 and 113.

under consideration must have sorely embittered the minds of both clergy and laity—more so, probably, than anything else—against Papal intolerance, inasmuch as it affected the honour and social interests of almost every family that had any claim to a respectable position in society.”¹

It was also decreed that the wives who willingly separated from their husbands would be allowed to continue to enjoy their usual emoluments, and that in the event of their refusal to do so, would be degraded in the church and deprived of all advantages they had enjoyed till then. Further, legitimate sons of priests born previous to the Synod were declared eligible to the sacred office but not those born thereafter.

(To be continued).

WAR NOTES.*

THE FIRST THREE MONTHS OF THE FOURTH YEAR.

BY A. C. CLAYTON.

THE first three months of the fourth year of the War have shown clearly, in spite of the paralysis of Russia, how the War is being won by the Allies. To those readers who wonder how long the War will last and perhaps are not quite sure in their hearts that the Allies will win, a very brief outline of the story of the War during those three months ought to be of service.

The Western Front.—The Western Front is held by British, French, Belgian, Portuguese and American armies. Roughly speaking the Belgians hold the first few miles from the English Channel southwards towards Dixmude. Then come the British past Ypres, Armentieres, Lens, Arras, perhaps as far as Noyon. The French hold from Noyon past Rheims, Verdun, Nancy to Belfort and the boundary corner of Switzerland. Just where the Portuguese are and where the Americans will be, we are not told. And it should be added that there are British troops and

¹ *Lingerings of Light in a Dark Land*. T. Whitehouse, Chapter VII, pp. 112 and 113.

* These notes were written before the beginning of November.

French troops among the Belgians, and French among the British and British among the French. The whole front is one, and troops are sent where they are wanted according to their capability without reference to race. The 'friendly understanding'—'entente cordiale'—is a very real union.

Well, that being understood, what has been done on the West front since the beginning of August? Some of the very fiercest fighting in the War has taken place to the east of Ypres, to the north-west of Rheims (along the Chemin-des-Dames) and before Verdun. East of Ypres the Germans were driven by successive blows in September and October from the West-hoeck ridges and from Zonnebeke. In the battle of the Menin Ridges, as it is called, the Allies thus gained a position which put them on the higher ground six miles east of Ypres and gave their guns clear range over a lower stretch of country much to the discomfiture of the Germans. The five months' battle across the Chemin-des-Dames proved once more that even the most desperate thrusts of the German troops cannot break the French lines. And before Verdun the Germans were again taught the same lesson. Along the West front, then, there has been a steady terrible hammering of the German armies which has meant a great destruction of German soldiery and war material. The time is surely coming when the German lines from Nieuport to Lille must give way, and when that day comes the liberation of Belgium will not be far off.

The Italian Front.—Leaving minor details out of this chronicle, the main fact of these three months for Italy has been a wonderful advance north-east of Gorizia which began on August 19th. In that advance the Italians took 26,000 prisoners while capturing Bainsizza, and followed that up by taking Monte San Gabriele. By winning the Bainsizza plateau the Italians have turned the flank of the Austrian position in the Carso. They are now steadily winning inch after inch from the Austrians in a struggle for Monte Hermada. When the Italians have won Hermada the road to Trieste will be open. These successes can only be won very slowly because the whole country is rock and the Austrian defences of Trieste are so many rock-hewn or rock-built citadels. But the Italians are taking them. And Trieste—scarcely seven miles from Monte Hermada—will be the prize.

Russia.—These three months have been times of persistent disaster for Russia. There has been no central authority in matters civil or military. While the great masses of the peasant population remain passive, every scheme of government is wrecked by extremists and partizans who sacrifice the welfare of the new republic to impossible ideals or personal ambitions. The result has been that while Russia has suffered from disorganization the Germanic Powers have profited. On August 3rd, the Austrians retook Czernowitz (which has changed hands six times in this War) and on September 3rd the Germans took Riga. In both cases the Russians made no fight, and it was the insubordination of the Russian soldiery that gave both cities to the enemy. For the moment the enemy was unable to follow up his advantage. But to make up for enemy inaction came the desperate attempt of General Korniloff to make himself military dictator of the Republic. By the middle of September that attempt had failed, and after it the Russian army has seemed steadier than it has been since the revolution and has been able to announce small successes against the Germans on the Riga front. But they are now of little military value, for the German Fleet which could do nothing against the Allies' Fleet in the North Sea, has passed out from its security in the Kiel Canal into the Baltic and is there attacking the Russian naval defences. Oesel and Moen, islands that protect the Gulf of Riga are, as these notes are written (October 22nd), practically in the hands of the Germans. Reval, a great Russian naval arsenal is being evacuated. Kronstadt, the naval defence of Petrograd is threatened next, and, unless the winter frosts prevent navigation, Petrograd itself will be attacked. Now there is no use in saying that this is not about as distressing news as we could have from Russia. On the other hand it must be remembered that no observer of history could doubt that so tremendous a portent as the birth of a republic in Russia must be attended with all manner of mad indiscipline and confusion. And it must be remembered too that neither the Russian army, nor the Russian civil populace wants a German domination. The 1,200 delegates at the All-Russia Democratic Conference in October showed that Russia will not make peace with Germany. And it must be remembered in the third place that though the

Russian army is making such a poor show in actual fighting, it is still a powerful fighting force. The Germans and Austrians are bound to keep many hundreds of thousands of men on the Eastern Front to safeguard themselves even if the Russians continue as disorganised as they are. Much as enemy commands would like to and need to transfer all their troops and guns to the West, they dare not do so. By holding the enemy armies in the East the Russians are passively aiding their Allies in the West.

But Russia is serving German aims to this extent that for the time Russia is negligible as a military factor. And till the establishment of some authority that shall command general loyalty and general obedience, Russia will remain negligible. The whole world is watching the action of Kerensky who to-day is nominally head of the government, all there is of it, in Russia. If he can establish his rule, he will save Russia and prove himself the greatest of statesmen. And the way he has kept some sort of direction over affairs during these three months seems to show that he has the power and will win through—given a few weeks more of the crippled life that is so swiftly slipping from him, and which he is so recklessly and so bravely-spending for the Republic.

The Balkans:—The Rumanians though left unsupported by the Russian forces are making a magnificent defence against the Austro-German armies in the little tract of Rumania still in the possession of Rumanians. By this defence, the Rumanians are rendering Russia, particularly South-western Russia (with the great port Odessa) invaluable service. There is no reason to hope that this testing of Rumanian courage and resource can be ended till Russia finds herself again, but it is possible that the worst of the strain is over. In the southern Balkans there is now a strong line of Allied troops from the West coast to the Gulf of Rendina, east of Salonika, on the Aegean, barring the approach of the Germanic armies and submarines through the many ports of Greece to the Mediterranean, and blocking Bulgaria and Turkey from any effective co-operation with German plans. But the road from Berlin and Vienna to Constantinople is not yet cut by the Allies, and till that is done the great aim of the Allies in Salonika remains unfulfilled.

In Asia:—For the present it is clear that there is little reason to expect that the Russians will do more than hold Armenia, and that it is not possible to count on them for aid in the Turkish base at Mosul, which is said to be the most strongly fortified Turkish position in Turkey in Asia. On the other hand General Sir Stanley Maude won a striking victory over the Turkish forces in Ramadie on the Euphrates near Baghdad on the 28th and 29th of September, which prevents the Turks from being able to spare troops to help the Austro-German armies and must once more impress on the Turks the fact that they never made a greater mistake in all their history than when they joined Austria and Germany in November, 1914. (Incidentally it may be asked how did it come about that in India a few days before this victory a rumour had been circulating that another disaster had occurred to the British in Mesopotamia?)

Palestine and Egypt:—There is little to report from Palestine. The German officered Turkish army near Beersheba is numerically strong. The British force is making permanent the communications with its base in Egypt, and probably waiting for more favourable weather for military operations. There are hints in the papers that more is being done than we are told about, but the main purpose of the expedition to Gaza is of course the protection of Egypt and the Suez Canal, and there is perhaps little to be gained by extending its activities much beyond Gaza.

Africa:—At the beginning of October, the Germans in East Africa were uncertain masters of a territory about 250 miles long and 50 miles wide.

The weather in East Africa now permits military operations, and during the early weeks of October the Belgian and the British forces that are engaged in 'rounding up' the German forces still existing made a number of captures. For instance 15 Germans, 160 native troops and several hundred carrier coolies surrendered at the beginning of October between Kondoa Irangi and the railway that runs from the coast to Lake Taganyika. The Belgian troops took Mahenge in October. Compared with what is taking place in other war-areas such surrenders are insignificant. But they are important when one remembers that when a few more bands have been accounted

for, the whole of what was called German East Africa—a territory larger in area than the whole of the German Empire—will be in the undisputed possession of the Allies.

The Sea:—Apart from her action in the Baltic against Russia, Germany continues her attempts to cripple the sea traffic of the Allies by ruthless submarining, and though the German submarines torpedo about a dozen vessels over 1,600 tons and a few smaller craft every week, somewhere about 4,000 vessels reach and the same number leave the ports of the Allies every week, and the sea trade of the Allies is only slightly hindered. We are allowed to know that effective ways have been found of dealing with the German submarines. And all the while the German Fleet is interned in its own harbours.

The Air:—As if in hope of finding another means of intimidating the Allies into peace, the Germans have during the past few weeks directed a large number of air-raids against England, and have killed a few hundred innocent non-combatants, women and children. But such attacks are far from terrorising the English population. On the other hand they have made everybody concerned in the manufacture of aeroplanes in Britain and America do his utmost to increase the number manufactured, and already there is a reason to believe that Germany will soon be very sorry indeed that she used this particular means of destruction. There will be definite punishment for this particular form of 'German frightfulness'.

Peace-Talk:—And while Germany is carrying on these forms of futile exasperation, she tells the Pope that she is ready to make peace, if only the unreasonable and stupid Allies will agree to it!

The Allies will only make peace with Germany on the terms stated long ago. Germany must withdraw from Belgium and Russian Poland. Germany must make reparation to Belgium, France, and Russia for the desolation that she has wrought where her soldiers have gone. She must indemnify the Allies so far as may be for the enormous losses that have been caused by forcing them to defend themselves and their liberties when they were all unprepared. And beyond all else there must be security that neither Germany nor any other nation shall ever be in a position to bring such a catastrophe on the

world again. And what is said to Germany is said to Austria, to Turkey and Bulgaria. The guns along the 1,600 miles of the Allied front are driving this home to the intelligence of the Germanic Powers. And as one surveys the story of the past three months, one sees that that dread argument is telling.

NOTES OF THE MONTH.

THE changes in the fortunes of war come sometimes with kaleidoscopic rapidity. On no front was success more marked than on the Italian. Only the other day General Cadorna spoke of the Italian victory as probably the turning point of the War. Yet as we write the hard-won gains have been lost, and the Italian army is retiring into their own territory after seemingly very heavy losses. The causes of this extraordinary reversal are not yet fully apparent, but there seems little doubt that one important cause was the defection of a number of the Italian troops. The enemy's attempt to create disaffection on the Russian and Italian fronts have met with more success than their military efforts. So long as Russia stood firm Riga remained unassailable, and so long as the Italian army remained true, Austria was being steadily pushed back. But against treachery even the gods fight in vain. French and British troops are pouring into Italy, and it is possible that the Austrian inroad may be checked and even severely punished. But these things cannot be done in a day.

AGAINST this serious set-back we have to put the brilliant success of General Allenby at Beersheba and Gaza—names familiar to us from our childhood. Last month we noted the equally brilliant success at Ramadie on the Euphrates. This month our interest is centred on the Egyptian end of the long line. Some thousands of prisoners have been captured in and around Gaza, and, though details have not come to hand, it would appear that the Turkish defence in that part of the world is badly broken. There was much fitness in the telegraphic greetings exchanged between Sir Stanley Maude and General Allenby,

ON the Western front Sir Douglas Haig continues his successes. It is a long struggle, but not a hopeless one. Every week sees a new advance and records a new success; and constant raids are continually biting into the enemy's lines. The condition of Russia and Italy, however, has temporarily lessened the optimism that predicted the early close of the War. Unless the unexpected happens, which of course is

always possible and even probable in war, the struggle will continue for a long time yet. It is noteworthy that Sir Eric Geddes and other statesmen are preparing for a long war, and America seems to anticipate the same. Nevertheless, as we have said, it is the unexpected that happens, and while it is right to prepare for a long fight, it is equally wise to maintain a cheerful and hopeful outlook.

PROFESSOR HARPER, who occupies the chair of Russian Language at Chicago University, arrived a month ago in Scotland on his return from Russia with certain members of the American Diplomatic Mission. The following statement of his impressions is taken from the *Aberdeen Free Press*. His impressions are formed after years of residence in Russia, and after numerous visits :—

Speaking of Kerensky, that predominant figure of the revolution, Professor Harper said that neither he nor the men associated with him had ever had administrative experience. Under the old regime they were not allowed to do what might be termed public work, and that was a great handicap for them to-day. The Russians were constantly pointing out themselves that their inheritance of the sins of the old regime made matters very difficult for them. Kerensky's great weakness was his lack of administrative knowledge. His speeches were rather those of a political leader than the head of a great country at war. The Allies must recognise those facts in order to understand why things seemed to be moving so slowly in Russia. The leaders of the people had to educate themselves in administrative work. Kerensky must think of the aims of the revolution and must consolidate the conquests of the revolution and at the same time he had to reconcile that programme with the other programme for the effective prosecution of the war. Those were two lines of action quite contradictory to one another. No country had ever had to face two such enormous tasks at the same time. The extreme Socialists, the Internationalists and the Lenin crowd were making the position very difficult for Kerensky and his moderate constructive Socialists, but it was almost impossible for him to condemn the extremists, although there was much evidence that their programme was acting as a clog to the successful conduct of the war. Asked what his impressions were of Kerensky, Professor Harper said he looked a very tired man. He had been through a terrific struggle and though he said he was feeling better now than he did three months ago, he bore ample traces of strenuous times. Kerensky was certainly a man of strong and forcible character. With regard to the Russian General, Korniloff, Professor Harper said he was convinced that Korniloff was actuated by the highest patriotic motives when he endeavoured to gather together the reins of power into his own hands. Both Korniloff and Kerensky had been working for the salvation of their country, but the former had been looking at the situation from the point of a view of a leader of a great army, while the latter's point of view was that of a Socialist leader. The two points of view were radically different, and could not be reconciled. Thinking men like Kerensky knew quite well that unless victory was obtained in the field none of the fruits of the revolution would be left, and Russia would just become a German colony for exploitation.

Professor Harper's views on trade possibilities with Russia are particularly interesting. He explained that there was practically no business in Russia at the moment. The British Consul-General at Moscow, in the course of conversation with him (Professor Harper) had laid special emphasis on the necessity of Western business men acting immediately, and making trade connections in order that they might be prepared to assist in the work of reconstruction in Russia after the war. The Russians required British and American ideas and enterprise. They knew that before the war, but in the last three years they had realised as they had never done before their lack of practical experience in the various branches of trade and industry that brought a nation into a prominent place in the world's commerce. Russia had to be helped through her period of dislocation and helped to develop her own vast resources. Britishers and Americans would be made welcome, but the men who went to Russia must know something about the country and its people and have a knowledge of the language. He had been informed in Petrograd that a group of British educationists were to be invited to visit Russia to explain the organisation of technical education in this country, and he understood a similar invitation was being extended to American educationists.

Professor Harper, speaking of the people generally, or of, as it might be termed, "the Russian man in the street," said that only during the last six months had they been allowed to think things out. Previously their thinking had been done for them. The old regime kept order and discipline by police authority—by methods which were discredited by the manner in which they were enforced. The revolution had swept those methods away, and it had taken some time to restore the idea of discipline, the idea of order, and the idea of strong authority, and the process had not yet been completed.

One thing in particular which seemed very much out of place to Britishers and Americans was the frequent use of the word "revolutionary" in official documents and proclamations. In Russia one read—"We must establish strong revolutionary authority, strong revolutionary order, and strong revolutionary discipline." The word did seem out of place, but it was used for a purpose, and that was to indicate that there was to be no going back to the old system. To the Russian the word meant that they were to have a popular Government, unconscious discipline and order established by the people. In conclusion, Professor Harper remarked that he had found that British people and Americans residing in Russia shared the same views with regard to the prospects of a bright future for the country. The present was a very difficult time, but when one was acquainted with the great resources of the country, and realised what the people had gone through during the past six months of peaceful anarchy—for the revolution was peaceful when compared with others in history—one felt that the future of Russia was already secure. He was confident that the present-day leaders of Russian public opinion would give no countenance to the suggestion of a separate peace, and if the Allies would just have patience he believed all would come right in the end.

LITERARY NOTICES AND NOTES.

Shakespeare: Twelfth Night. Edited by Michael Macmillan, M.A., D.Litt., I. E. S. (retired). (Madras, Srinivasa Varadachari & Co., Price Re 1-12-0).

Dr. Macmillan is well known for his scholarly editions of *Julius Cæsar* and other plays, and this edition of *Twelfth Night* is worthy of his reputation. It may be cordially recommended to Indian students.

Errors of the press are few and unimportant. The notes are no mere compilation, but the work of a ripe scholar bringing his own judgment to bear on the text. Many old puzzles are treated in a fresh and interesting fashion.

The editor's introduction is a conscientious piece of work, but in one respect it is disappointing. Illyria requires a more sympathetic handling. Dr. Macmillan is not quite at home in Illyria. He takes Malvolio's side so strongly that he sometimes ignores the plainest words. He actually speaks of Malvolio's "pathetic appeal for release." To most readers Malvolio's letter seems resentful and almost threatening in tone. Resentment and menace are not accurately described as a "pathetic appeal." Dr. Macmillan is of opinion that "owing to improvement in moral sentiment modern audiences find the issue rather tragic than comic." Charles Lamb in a paradoxical mood, maintained that Malvolio is not essentially comic, but he did not assert that Malvolio is tragic. Whether Malvolio is essentially comic or only accidentally comic, is a question that may be left to Scholastic logicians, but it can hardly be denied that he is essentially insufferable, and that Shakespeare has taken pains to make him so. And if a practical joke played on an insufferable person by those who have had to endure him is tragic, the current definition of tragedy requires to be revised. Perhaps, Dr. Macmillan only means that the joke is carried too far.

Modern audiences, Dr. Macmillan says, see nothing in the *Merchant of Venice* but the "baiting of Shylock." Surely, this is a very extravagant way of stating the case. A modern reader would be more satisfied with the *Merchant of Venice*, if he found in the play a clearer recognition of the fact that the Jew of the Middle Ages was sullen and savage because others had made him so. But when we are asked to believe that Bassanio, scholar and soldier, Antonio, representative of the ancient Roman honour, and the fair and gracious

lady Portia, find their chief delight in tormenting a Jew, we begin to wonder where the "improvement in moral sentiment" will carry us.

On p. xl of the editor's introduction, we read "Iago plundered Roderigo by holding out to him the prospect of revenge." The prospect held out by Iago was surely not "revenge." However, such slips are few, and the only fault we can find with the book is that the editor judges the light-hearted irresponsibles of Illyria in the spirit of John Milton. Charles Lamb would be a safer guide in the country of Illyria.

Readings from Indian History for Boys and Girls, Part II.
By Ethel R. Sykes, pp. 222, with 68 illustrations and maps
(C. L. S. I. Price Re. 1-8-0.)

The aim of the author is admirable. Her hope is that the book may "help to unite the East and the West and lead to that truer understanding which alone can knit together peoples of all tongues and all colours as the children of one great Father." The illustrations are excellent, and the general get-up of the book leaves nothing to be desired. The plan of the book is not so successful, as it attempts an impossible compromise between the minute detail of Orme and the bird's-eye view of such a writer as Sir Alfred Lyall. On p. 133 a sentence must have fallen out, with the result that the reference to the Vellore Mutiny will convey no meaning to the young readers for whom the book is intended.

LITERARY NOTES.

THE latest (sixteenth) issue of new volumes in the Home University Library includes one which ought to make a very wide appeal—*Serbia*, written by Miss L. F. Waring, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin. In the larger happenings of the campaign in France and Flanders, and the Russian Revolution, we are apt to forget the little State whose wrongs played a prominent part in the opening of the War. But when the victorious Allies dictate their terms of peace, Serbia will be given a great opportunity as the keeper of the gate to the East. It is fitting that a knowledge of her tragic history should be disseminated through the handy and inexpensive H. U. L.

WE have received from Messrs. W. and A. K. Johnston, the well-known Edinburgh cartographers, specimens of a striking series of wall-maps for European History. They range from 'the Formation of the Roman Empire' to 'Europe in 1914,' and the main maps are

supplemented with useful insets. They are boldly executed in colour, on a scale suited to class work. Those we have examined are not flawless; but in the hands of a competent teacher they ought to prove illuminating. The maps may be obtained singly (mounted, 5s. nett), or in selections of six (mounted in one, 27s. 6d. nett), or the whole series in four such sets, as a complete wall atlas (£5 5s. nett).

WE may link together, as of kindred interest, two contributions to the popular study of that political marvel which we call the British Empire. *The Old Empire and the New*, by Dr. A. P. Newton (Dent, 2s. 6d. nett), is a careful study of our colonial history, in the Imperial Studies Series. The other book is *The Federation of Canada, 1867—1917*, published by the Oxford University Press for the University of Toronto (3s. nett), and signalling Canada's Jubilee. To all who value the privileges of citizenship in our Empire, these aids to the study of its history should be welcome.

MESSRS. HODDER AND STOUGHTON have published a fascinating book entitled *Silver: Its History and Romance* (21s. nett). The author, Mr. Benjamin White, deals with the whole story of the precious metal—its mining, its preparation, and the uses to which it has been put, with special treatment of some of the coinage systems in which it has played a part, of the London Silver Market, mints, bi-metallism, and so on. Some of the stories of discovery have all the flavour of romance, and the book will interest the general reader as well as the specialist.

Two novels by Henry James, posthumously published, are sure to attract attention. They are *The Ivory Tower* and *The Sense of the Past* (Collins, each 6s. nett). Neither is completely finished; but this adds greatly to their interest as examples of the novelist's method. The publishers have printed with each the preliminary sketch of the complete work from which it was the author's custom to elaborate his design. The convinced admirer will seize on these books with avidity. Many another reader, who perhaps admires less, will find a fascination in studying the working of the author's mind.

A PLEASING reminder that the world was not—and will not be—always at war is Miss Lucy M. J. Garnett's book on *Balkan Home Life* (Methuen, 10s. 6d. nett, illustrated). It may well be that after the War the Balkans will be more frequently visited by travellers. The peninsula is full of old-world beliefs and customs (notably, of the

fear of the Evil Eye); and those who cannot travel may find entertainment in these pages.

SPACE permits no more than a brief notice of two books we are loth to omit from our notes. *The Question of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles* (Stevens and Haynes, 12s. 6d. nett), is a discussion of a great crux in the eternal Eastern Question by two writers who speak with authority—Coleman Phillipson and Noel Buxton. *Spain*, by David Hannay (*The Nations' Histories*, Jack, 3s. 6d. nett), is a clear and sympathetic account of a nation whose past history contrasts so forcibly with its present appearance of impotence.

IN noticing a new volume of Louis Raemaekers's cartoons of the Great War, published by the Fine Art Society, the *Times* pays a well-deserved tribute to the great Dutch cartoonist. We cordially endorse its expression of 'reverence for the great and passionate mind in whose armoury malice is only one weapon, and for the hand which gives these drawings the majesty and the power due to their tremendous subject.' In our judgment, the development of Raemaekers's genius is an outstanding result of the War. For any man alive to the things of the spirit, his pictorial indictment of Germany and the Germans is a deeply significant token of the real issues of the War.

MR. LIONEL CURTIS has made his *Four Studies of Indian Government* accessible to any one who cares to pay a rupee for them. (They may be obtained, post free, on receipt of that amount, from Messrs. Wheeler and Co., 15 Elgin Road, Allahabad). It was very unfortunate that Mr. Curtis's endeavours to secure a dispassionate, all-round discussion of the problem of Indian government were frustrated by political clamour and misunderstanding. His candour in thus putting forward his tentative conclusions gives every one the opportunity of dealing with his suggestions in a spirit of equal candour. It is to be hoped that, now the heat which attended his visit to Madras has abated, his *Studies* will receive the calm and thoughtful consideration they so well deserve.

WE desire to call special attention to a book called *The English-Speaking Peoples* (Macmillans, 6s. 6d. nett), by Pro. George Louis Beer, as a very important contribution to the great work of reconstruction we all look forward to after the War. Prof. Beer emphasises the unique character of the British Empire as a new and unprecedented union of free communities. (Here we may note his general agreement

with Mr. Curtis's point of view in his studies of the British commonwealths.) Further, he advocates the extension of this elastic and indefinable union so as to include both the British commonwealths and the United States in a new political system. Before the War, in his memorable address to the American Bar Association, Lord Haldane emphasised the potentialities of our common conception of law for the development of a 'Higher Nationality.' The War has underlined the need and the value of such a development, while the splendid mutual loyalty of Britain and France has proved that an intangible *Entente* may prove stronger and more valuable than any formal treaty or constitution. If the world is to escape from the tyranny of recurrent war, this seems to be the door of hope. For its accomplishment, nothing has greater promise than the linking-up of the freedom-loving, English-speaking peoples.

SCIENCE NOTES.

THE hoopoe, with its beautiful plumage and graceful crest, seems so characteristic of warm climes that it is surprising to learn that it visits Britain during the spring and autumn migration. A correspondence is being carried on in the *Scotsman* at present regarding records of the appearance of this bird in Scotland. The earliest record is said to be that given by the Rev. Dr. Robert Bowmaker, Minister of Duns, who says, "on 18th September 1790 was found, three miles south-east from Duns, a bird very rare in Scotland. It was killed by a cat, and was discovered to be called a hoopoe in England, a weidshopf by the Germans, and to be the upupa of the ancients, described by Pliny, Aristotle, Pausanias, Ælian, etc. The bird is common in Germany, and sometimes even in England. A few days after, another upupa of a greener colour was seen flying about the garden of Kimmergham, but soon disappeared."

A year before this (1789), in England, Gilbert White records that "the most unusual birds I ever observed in these parts were a pair of hoopoes."

Of recent visits perhaps the most interesting is that recorded by Mr. A. H. Roberts who saw a hoopoe in November, 1905, at Onich, North Ballachulish. He was sheltering from a sudden shower of sleet under the trees at the gate of the old Parish Church of Onich, and had a good view of the bird for several minutes. It was a fine specimen and exhibited well its characteristic plumage while apparently seeking food on some heaps of stones and grass at the roadside.

RED sanderswood, though frequently called sandalwood, is obtained from a small tree, *Pterocarpus santalinus*, of the natural order Leguminosae, a very different tree from that from which white sandalwood is obtained, the latter being *Santalum album*, of the natural order Santalaceae. An account of its distribution and uses is given by Mr. T. A. Whitehead in *Forest Bulletin*, No. 34. It is a tree which grows to a height of about forty feet with pinnated leaves, having generally three leaflets and axillary racemes of flowers. The heartwood is dark red, with black veins, and so dense as to sink in water. In the old days it was often used as ballast in home-going ships and was spoken of as 'calature,' a name which Rumphius traces to the port of Kistnapatam, eighty-two miles north of Madras, which according to an old glossary, is the Greek, Sopatma, or otherwise, 'Caletore.' A Portuguese map of 1672 has a village called Caletur marked on it. It is remarkable, however, that, although the place was known to foreigners as Calitore or Caletur, that name was not used by British factors. This may have been because it was not sufficiently distinctive. The word means the village with the threshingfloor, and several other places in the Presidency have that name. For instance, there is a Kalattur, a few miles south of Chingleput, which is the village name of many people in Madras, and the Railway Company have found it necessary to use another name for the station.

The tree is found chiefly in the low scrub jungle which covers a large part of the Nellore District and the hill regions of neighbouring districts and its heartwood yields the red colouring matter santalin. This wood was formerly exported in large quantities to Europe for use as a dye, imparting a pink colour to cloth, and was employed also by apothecaries to colour certain preparations. It is still used in this country for such purposes and for making idols and Tirupati toys, but the main use of the tree now is for the construction of house-posts, as it is not attacked by white ants. Its use as a dye has been stimulated since the stoppage of German dyes and some beautiful clothes, dyed with it, may be seen at the Victoria Institute, Madras.

RECENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

TO Indian readers of the Magazine the most interesting article in the *Contemporary Review* for September will be that on 'India after the War,' by Mr. J. Ramsay Macdonald. When the War broke upon Europe, Mr. Macdonald says, India was in a state of considerable political unsettlement. Anarchism was troublesome, and, in Mr. Macdonald's opinion, the trouble was aggravated by the way in which the authorities were handling it. Centres of disaffection and revolutionary propaganda had been established in Europe and America, and the mind of young India was very much unsettled. The propaganda was confined to a few, but it gave trouble to and had a bad influence on the mind of the authorities. In the field of legitimate politics great changes were taking place, and a new constitutional movement far more insistent and definite than that which had hitherto existed, and far more powerfully supported, was showing itself. When the War broke out, the interests which it created swept other things to one side for the time being. India became very enthusiastic on the side of Great Britain and her Allies. She also began to count upon reward for what she was doing, in the form of greater political liberty. and by and by began to doubt whether she would obtain the reward on which she was counting. Then came the Mesopotamia Report, which, Mr. Macdonald says, has killed the Indian bureaucracy and discredited our method of Government. In his opinion a phase of Indian administration has come to an end.

We have governed, says Mr. Macdonald, and we have educated. We have opened doors cautiously and allowed the Indian to enter the inner shrines of our administration; we have given him a measure of self-government, and some representative authority; we have taught him the philosophy of Western liberty. But we have never loosened our grip upon him; we have never trusted him fully. The traditions of the Company still largely influence our Indian administration. The declared intention of the Government, Mr. Macdonald admits, has always been clear. We have been governing and educating India in order to free her. We have withheld from her none of that knowledge or thought the fruit of which is a demand for self-government. After the War, India will ask what our intentions with regard to such a demand are, and we shall have to answer. There will be those who will raise difficulties of various kinds in the way of self-government,

and will point to the risks involved. These men, Mr. Macdonald thinks, must not be taken as our guides: the risks must now be accepted.

India, Mr. Macdonald says, must no longer be regarded as a State to be governed as we govern a Crown Colony. Indians must henceforth be regarded not as subordinate to our flag and authority but as partners in the Empire, governing themselves more and more with what assistance from us is necessary, and becoming more and more responsible for their own destiny. This in the first place implies drastic reform of the India Office and a complete reconstitution of the Viceroy's Council. It implies, in the second place, that more power must be given to the Legislative Council, Provincial as well as Imperial, especially in regard to financial matters. Mr. Macdonald admits that to build up a system of representative Government in India will be a slow and difficult process, and that the change which he advocates cannot be worked out in a day or a year. But in this connection, he says, we ought to remember, in the first place, that India ought not to be governed from a centre but should be a federation of provinces, and, in the second place, that our conception of self-government are not the only ones possible. The real impediment to generous change, Mr. Macdonald says, is the deep-seated and almost irremovable conviction held by the present rulers that they and their countrymen are the only people that can rule India. They justify themselves by their efficiency. But efficiency, is not the end of Government. If into the ends of Government enter any considerations of liberty and self-expression, a high efficiency may have to be sacrificed to a lower in order to reach a further goal. Like most friends of India who have not lived and worked in India. Mr. Macdonald probably does not sufficiently appreciate the value of the experience and insight which life and work there give, and he probably does not realise that the truest sympathy with Indian aspirations is to be found among those who have that experience and insight, but on the whole he expresses himself more sanely on Indian politics than many professed friends of India have done.

Sir John Macdonell examines what he calls 'The Three European Settlements' in order to discover what lessons they have for the present time and what mistakes they should teach us to avoid. The three settlements referred to are the settlements of 1815, 1856, and 1873. The first great settlement of European affairs, he says, was the Peace of Westphalia but the first of the modern political settlement in—the sense of arrangements which recast boundaries and redistribute, territory and modify the political condition of a great many states and their relations to each other—is that of 1815, as expressed in the

Final Act of the Congress of Vienna. The scope of the work of this Congress was comprehensive, he says, but the principles upon which it proceeded were narrow. It was a diplomatic settlement, made chiefly in the interests of Austria, Prussia, and Russia; and the arrangements come to, which were to be perpetual, were made regardless of the wishes of the people concerned and with a view to insure military equilibrium and to curb France. There was no provision for growth in them. The settlement of 1856 was also a diplomatic settlement, and was marred by some of the defects of that of 1815, but in one respect it was an improvement on it. At the Congress of 1856 there was not the same scramble for territory as there had been in 1815. The spirit of humanity was forcing itself into foreign politics. As regards the settlement of 1878, Mr. Macdonell says the Treaty of Berlin satisfied no one. The statesmen who drafted it were thinking mainly of manpower, frontiers, sources of taxation, and prestige. They made no close study of the ethnography of the Balkan peninsula and the national aspirations of its varied inhabitants. At the same time there was at the Berlin Congress the semblance of consulting the wishes of the people concerned—some faint recognition of the principle of nationality.

The lesson he draws from the story of the three settlements is that any future settlement is bound to fail unless it is based on the principle that Governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed and that no right exists anywhere to hand people about from sovereignty to sovereignty unless provision is made for changes from time to time in order to give effect to that principle; and unless the settlement is not merely the balance of power in a new form but an arrangement for the peaceful development of free peoples. Failure will be repeated also unless those who are to arrange the settlement do not before entering the Congress at which this is done think out many difficult questions down to points of detail.

'The Future of the German Colonies' is discussed in articles by Sir H. H. Johnston and Mr. William Harbutt Dawson. Sir H. H. Johnston is of opinion that none of the Colonies should be returned to Germany: Mr. Dawson thinks that some of them should be returned but on conditions. He agrees with Sir H. H. Johnston in holding that the restoration of German South-West Africa is unthinkable. Sir H. H. Johnston makes a somewhat ingenious proposal with regard to the German Colonies in the event of the War not going so rapidly in favour of the Allies as they would wish. This is to offer to buy these Colonies from Germany (and parts of Europe now occupied by her) in order to relieve her of the duty of indemnifying Belgium and to save her from utter bankruptcy. This

offer would be accompanied with a guarantee that no ban would be put on German commerce or German citizens in the countries now at war with Germany. Mr. Dawson takes a very different view of the matter. He thinks it would be a great mistake to belittle German national sentiment on the colonial movement, and that to withhold colonies from Germany would be a petty act of retaliation which might be pregnant with large and disastrous results. As Great Britain would be the country most interested, it would practically be to tell Germany that henceforth she must not colonise except by permission of Great Britain. This might create a very awkward situation for us at some future time. Mr. Dawson maintains on the other hand that it is to the interest of Great Britain more than of any other country that Germany should be encouraged and even assisted to colonise and to acquire a "rightful place in the sun." But he is quite convinced of the necessity of exacting guarantees for her good behaviour in any of the colonies she might be allowed to retain. Sir H. H. Johnston asks whether, if Germany should accept some such compromise as he suggests, we should forget and forgive. His own feeling is decidedly no. He thinks Germany has sinned beyond pardon.

Mr. A. F. Bell throws a good deal of light on the internal condition of Spain, in which for many years there has been a great deal of political restlessness. The choice for Spain, he says, seems to be between an ancient and somewhat rusty machine, which still moves forward and is capable, given sincerity and goodwill on the part of all those concerned, of increasing its speed, and chaos, a machinery from which all the screws and hinges have been loosened or removed. Like other countries Spain suffers much from the War, but as the people have abundance of cheap and excellent white bread they have reason to be contented. Mr. Bell thinks that in spite of German intrigue Spain will remain true to Great Britain and France.

Mr. W. B. Harris contributes a very interesting article on 'Morocco in War-Time.' He says that considering the situation that existed in Morocco before and at the outbreak of the war, nothing is more remarkable than the attitude of the people towards France. German intrigue in Morocco has failed and failed for ever, he says. For this most satisfactory state of affairs the credit is due to General Lyautey, who was sent to Morocco as Resident-General in 1912.

Dr. James Moffatt has a very readable article on the literary world of England in September a hundred years ago. Mr. J. Beattie Crozier writes on Emerson, Cicero, the Stoics, and Myself. He discusses Emerson's relation to Cicero and the Stoics, and his own relation to Emerson, who was the instructor of his youth. He regards the common Over-Soul and the common Law of Compensations as

dreams, but he still reverences the Master of his youth for his penetration into all the ways of the world and of human life, for his breadth of comprehension, and for the rare serenity and beauty of his high and noble character. Mr. S. Rappoport deals with 'The Ruthenian Question in Russia'; Mr. Farman with 'The American Aviation Programme'; and the Rev. J. R. Cohu with the Report of the Archbishops' Committee. Mr. J. T. Dodd advocates the appointment of women as justices of the peace; Mrs. Zangwill relates some of her experiences at hop-picking; and 'Leander' gives an amusing reminiscence of a Prussian Guardsman. The Literary Supplement, with which the number concludes, contains a short article by Mr. J. E. G. deMontmorency and the usual reviews of books.

FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.

DR. DILLON in his article on 'The War Current and Peace Eddies' points out how the hopes with which we began the third year of the War have been disappointed. The Governments are still confident, but the nations are beginning to be weary of the War; on paper, the aims of the two sides seem very similar, but the Germans are still aspiring to the hegemony of the world. It is still part of their nature, and no declaration by the Chancellor can alter that fact; as President Wilson says, "in such a Government, following such methods, we can never have a friend." Broadly speaking, the Allies stand for the principle of nationality, but this has to be taken with reservations. Alsace-Lorraine belongs to France by the real sentiment of its people, which a plebiscite might not represent; for there are many German immigrants, there are a number partially reconciled to Germany, and many have left their native land for France. Similarly, a strictly population basis would not be satisfactory for either the Italian or the Slav claimants of Dalmatia. A 'negotiated peace' would be a German success. The Russian Revolution shows no sign of settling down into an orderly government, and German policy will be to encourage the tendency to split up into many states. Dr. Dillon, whose inclination towards pessimism it is well to remember, concludes, "The coalition can still win the War and impose its own peace terms if it becomes one, as the enemy is one, continues the struggle unflaggingly and utilises its vast resources to the fullest and perseveres to the bitter end, undeterred by the magnitude of the sacrifices demanded and by the effects of these on its individual members."

His Excellency Ismail Kemal Bey who was for more than fifty years in the administrative and political service of the Ottoman Empire, and noted for his labours on behalf of a constitutional régime,

and then became head of the Provisional Government of independent Albania, discusses 'Armenia and the Armenians.' Although they had often suffered, from the beginning of the Ottoman Empire until the reign of Abd-ul-Hamid, the Armenians enjoyed a long period of relative peace. They were not objects of suspicion as the Greek Christians were; they provided the Porte with Ministers, and were favourably treated in the reforms of 1860. In 1894 things suddenly changed. Abd-ul-Hamid considered that to preserve the autocracy the people must be kept in ignorance, which was not difficult with regard to most of his subjects; but the Armenians were receiving education in considerable numbers and mingling, as they did, freely with his Musalman subjects were esteemed a source of danger. Also Britain, by treaty, had the right to demand reforms in Asia Minor, and the Armenians having trade relations with Manchester were the most likely to put this machinery in motion. An agitation among the Armenians in Russia made the Sultan give the order for the massacre of Armenians at Sassoun. The British Ambassador, Sir Philip Currie, took energetic action, but the Sultan, feeling sure of the support of Russia, resisted. Sir Philip then sent his military attaché and the Consul to Sassoun to make inquiries; the Sultan then decided to appear to yield, made excuses as to the nature of the order, and said he wished representatives of the French and the Russian embassies to accompany the British attaché; he refused, however, all the British demands. The three ambassadors drew up a list of reforms, but the Foreign Offices of France and Russia instructed their ambassadors not to press for them. The Sultan proposed an alternative set. Meanwhile, nothing was done. The Armenians in Constantinople held a peaceful demonstration—against the advice of the Patriarch—and were ferociously attacked. Massacres took place all over the country and in Asia Minor. The ambassadors presented a joint note, and the Armenians of Constantinople locked themselves up in the churches, saying they would rather die of hunger than be butchered. The Sultan had to give way and appointed Kiamil Pasha to be Vizier of a responsible ministry, only to relieve him of office at once. Under Rifaat Pasha the massacres continued. The ambassadors proposed doubling the number of guard-vessels before Constantinople, and the proposal brought the Sultan to reason at once. Permanent reforms would have followed, but the chargé d' affaires was unwilling to take the responsibility which Sir Philip Currie would gladly have assumed, and the opportunity passed.

COLLEGE NOTES.

THE celebration of Deepavalli in Caithness Hall this year is memorable for the tribute of regard and admiration paid by the members to Mr. F. W. Henderson who is "somewhere" on the Western front. For the past few years the graduates among the out-going members have been presenting to the Hostel a bromide enlargement of the portrait of one or another of the older Professors of the College. Thus the walls of the Hostel library are adorned with portraits of Dr. Miller, Dr. Russell, Dr. Skinner and Mr. Pittendrigh. "The nobler part" which Mr. Henderson has chosen for himself in this time of war and suffering has touched the imagination and captivated the moral sense of the members of Caithness Hall. They accordingly decided that the recipient of the pictorial honour this year should be the former Superintendent of the Hostel who represents the College in the firing line. Mrs. Skinner unveiled the portrait of Lieutenant F. W. Henderson in his uniform. Dr. Skinner who presided at the function spoke as follows :—

I am glad that this honour has been done to Mr. Henderson. During the six years that he was at work in the College, he won for himself a peculiar place in our affection and regard. What specially appealed to us, I think, was the quiet, gracious courtesy of the man combined with a subtle influence that had its root in a thoughtful, reverent and deeply spiritual nature. I sometimes find it difficult to conceive Mr. Henderson playing his part in the midst of the turmoil, activity and danger of modern war. But Mr. Henderson was a man of a strong sense of duty. He had no love for war. He hated it. But he saw where duty lay, and before he went on furlough he intimated his purpose to join the army. He has been on active service at the front for over two years ; and has providentially escaped from great danger. Whatever his duties are, we are sure that he is discharging them with courage and patience and that fine conscientiousness which was so characteristic of him. He is still on the staff of the College ; and we are looking forward to the time when, the War being over, armies disbanded, and wearied soldiers refreshed with rest, he will return to the work he loves best, his work as friend and helper and teacher of the students of the Madras Christian College. It is our prayer that these hopes may be realised and meanwhile, I know it will be a pleasure to Mr. Henderson to hear of what has been done to-night, to know that he is still remembered with affection, and that there are many in Madras who are waiting to extend to him a thankful welcome when at length he returns. The portrait which has been unveiled to-night will serve, I hope, to keep his memory alive among those of you who knew him, and be a silent witness to those ideals of

chivalry, honour and manly gentleness, of which he was the very perfect embodiment.

In replying to greetings to past from present members Mr. C. Koti Reddy, B.A., Barrister-at-Law observed that in India the college hostels were most like colleges in the residential universities of Britain in affording scope for free social life and true comradeship among students. He wondered why there should be a large number of vacancies in the Hall now. It was not so when he was a member nearly ten years ago. He suggested that it might be that there were fewer non-Brahmin students in the College now and appealed to the Principal to give to non-Brahmin students every possible facility for entering the College. Mr. Keti Reddi also said that when he was in Britain qualifying for the Bar, he visited Dr. Miller at Burgo Park and found him as keenly interested in the College as ever.

After the usual dramatic performances in English and Tamil were over, a number of prizes, decided by competitions of various sorts, were given away and books presented to the Library. In bringing the proceedings to a close Dr. Skinner said :—

The celebration of Deepavalli Day is now a well-established institution in Caithness Hall. It began in the early days of the Hostel, when it was still housed in the building now used as the Second Students' Home; and it has gone on from year to year ever since, acquiring new features as the years passed. The presentation of books to the Library, such as we have had to-night, was, I think, a feature of it from the first. But the athletic and other competitions and the prizes awarded in connection with them are a new feature. I cannot help thinking that this annual celebration plays a very valuable part in the life of the Hall. It brings together the old and the present members, renewing for the former the memories of their College days and reminding the latter of old traditions which it is their duty and their privilege to uphold. By the competitions now associated with it, it also provides for the members, for weeks before the celebration itself, an opportunity for co-operation, friendly rivalry and common activities, which is of great value as serving to promote the spirit of comradeship among individuals and classes in the Hostel and as affording a suitable outlet for energies and capacities that do not find their satisfaction in the ordinary routine of College life. I trust that these advantages have been fully realized on the present occasion. Their realisation does demand a certain amount of good humour and the suppression of all instincts that are inimical to fair-play and the rightful supremacy of common interests. But I am glad to think that on this as on former occasions, such difficulties have been overcome and that the present celebration of Deepavalli Day will leave behind it a legacy of good feeling, whose influence will be felt in all departments of the Hostel life. The Hostel is here to be a home to students of the College, a home of comfort, a home of pure living and high thinking, a home in which all that is best in you will be drawn out and find expression. May I ask you, on this Deepavalli Day, to renew your allegiance to these ideals, to realise anew the many

hopes that rest on you as members of Caithness Hall and students of the Madras Christian College?

AN APPEAL TO COLLEGE STUDENTS.

THE Young Men's Brotherhood of the College has offered its services to the Union Jack Fête and "Our Day" Committees. It is hoped that all the students of the College will readily co-operate with the Brotherhood in carrying out its programme of help.

We can help these two patriotic movements in many ways and without much sacrifice. We can buy for ourselves the tiny Union Jacks which are now on sale; we can induce our friends to buy them. The flag costs only one anna, but it is hoped that those who can afford to give more will do so, for be it remembered that every anna paid will go to heal the wounds of the heroic men who are fighting for us, and enabling us to pursue our studies in peace. Every one should have at least one Union Jack on his coat on "Our Day": we can also help the movement by buying tickets for Her Excellency's Lucky Bag and by helping to sell them to friends and relatives. If each student of the College buys one ticket and sells another to his friend, Rs. 1,200 will thus have been easily realised.

Fuller information about the scheme will be published on the College notice-boards.

O. C. SRINAVASAN,

*General Secretary,
Christian College Brotherhood.*

The following account of his experiences by Mr. Macphail will be read with great interest by all his old students and friends.

"The *Mongolia* in which I had travelled from Marseilles was mined at 12-15 in the afternoon of Saturday, 23rd June. We were at the time between fifty and sixty miles from Bombay and expected to arrive there before four o'clock. It is generally believed that the mine was one of those laid by the Germans off the west coast of India last March. At the time when the explosion occurred, I was sitting writing in the music room which is very far forward. The mine or mines—for some heard two explosions—caught the *Mongolia* far aft in the engine-room near the second saloon. The explosion I believe was very violent, and people were knocked out of their chairs. Personally, however, I felt and heard hardly anything as I was so far forward. I felt the ship give a little jolt and heard something like a grunt. The engines stopped and there was a clatter of broken plates, and people began to run, so I realised what had happened. In a minute I heard the blasts of the steam whistle which meant we were to take to the boats. We had had boat drill three or four times, so everyone

knew exactly where to go. I ran down to my cabin and got a life-belt, my topee and a handbag. In the Mediterranean we had always had our life-belts with us even at meals, and I had constantly worn or carried with me a life-saving waistcoat. After Suez, however, it was believed there was little danger and I had actually packed up my waistcoat. I secured a life-belt belonging to the ship which proved most useful. When I reached the promenade deck where most of the boats were, I fastened on the belt and took a few things out of my hand-bag. The boat to which I was assigned was just beginning to be lowered. We had been told at boat drill that able-bodied men should wait till the boat was in the water and then climb down into it. As the ship was still floating on an even keel, I returned to my cabin to get a wrap in case it might be cold in the boat at night. On returning to the promenade deck I found that my boat had already filled up and pushed off. As I learnt afterwards, there had been a rush of servants into it when it was being lowered past the hurricane deck. Several of us had in consequence to go into other boats. As there was no time to be lost I climbed down into one that was being lowered and sat down in the bow close to the pulley by which the boat was being lowered. Another man came climbing down on the top of me. I hardly know what happened next but I fancy that in order to steady myself I must have placed my right hand on the block or on the falls—the ropes by which the boat was being lowered: anyhow the next thing I knew was that my fingers were caught in the block and by the movement of the ropes my hand was being dragged in. I could not pull it out and screamed out to haul up the boat a little, but that was impossible. At the same moment another man who was climbing down the falls got his fingers nipped by the moving ropes and he also screamed out. One of the officers on board the steamer seeing what was happening gave the order "Cut away the falls." We had a hatchet in the boat and one of the passengers got it out and cut through the ropes just above my fingers. At the moment he gave the final cut the people on board the ship cut or let go the falls at the stern of the boat so that it fell into the water on an even keel. If they had not done it very skilfully we should all have been at once tilted out into the sea. We fell about twelve feet and the gunwale of the boat was within an inch or two of the water. My hand was released at once and the sight I got of it made me think my hand was done for. I had not much time for thinking, however, for the shock threw me overboard and I had to do a little swimming in the Indian Ocean. I fell between the boat and the ship and was a little afraid I might be crushed between them. However I was not but swam about till I was hauled on board. We picked up one or two others but the man who had been caught in the falls above me fell on the other side of the boat and drifted away. We tried to go after him but it was very difficult to row a heavily-laden boat with a big sea running, so we shouted to another boat in which there were only two men, and which was near him, to pick him up. When we last saw him the other boat was making its way towards him, but although some others were picked up by it he, sad to say, was not, for his name appeared among the list of the missing. We pushed off from the ship

and waited to see the end of it. It was difficult to believe that it was really sinking for it still kept on an even keel. At last it began to go down at the stern and I expected to see the spectacle so often described of the bow standing right up into the air, but it righted itself again and sank quickly and evenly. As the water poured in over the top of the engine-room skylights there was a kind of flurry but no explosion. Then the funnels disappeared and the masts gradually went down. We must have been in fairly shallow water, however, for before the masts had completely disappeared the hull of the *Mongolia* reached the bottom, and when we left the spot a considerable portion of the masts was still visible. All that was left besides of the fine ship was a little scum of coal dust on the water, a few pieces of floating wreckage, and the thirteen boats with their occupants. It was 12-31 p.m. when the *Mongolia* sank; sixteen minutes only after the explosion. It was a little difficult to realise all that had taken place. There had been no excitement and no panic. People were perhaps a little dazed by the suddenness of it all, and the quietness both on the ship and in the boats was almost uncanny. It certainly was not pleasant to know that we were in an open boat on the Indian Ocean a good many miles from land. Still things might have been worse. Though as the monsoon was on there was a heavy sea, there was little wind and so the waves did not break over us. Further what wind there was, was taking us towards the land. It was a cloudy day and so those who had no hats were not so exposed to the sun as they might have been. We had hard biscuits and water, but the motion of the boat prevented a good many from caring to think about food. We did not know exactly how far we were from land but we thought it possible that we might be picked up.

Once the ship had sunk we had to decide what course we were to follow. The other boats put up their masts, hoisted their sails, and made away eastwards to the land. Our mast however had fallen overboard when the boat fell into the water. Also the officer who should have taken charge of our boat had been left on board, and there was no one to take his place. We had fifty-one people in the boat—six of them being women, but most of them were passengers, and of the members of the crew with us there was not one that was competent to sail a boat. We held a council of war and decided that it was best in the circumstances to try to remain as near the wreck as possible. We calculated that probably a wireless message asking for assistance had been despatched and that in any case the non-appearance of the *Mongolia* would lead to the despatch of a ship to look for her. We found afterwards that we were mistaken in both points. Our wireless had been shattered by the explosion and we ourselves brought the news of the loss of the *Mongolia* to Bombay. To prevent drifting we put out a sea anchor—a large canvas bag attached to a rope, in shape something like a parachute or the extinguisher of a candle. We had no rudder as we had lost it along with the mast, but one of the passengers who had some knowledge of sailing steered with an oar in the stern of the boat. Some one kindly tied a handkerchief round my hand and some one else tied a silk scarf round my wrist to check the bleeding, and I got a towel for a sling. Later on

when, owing to loss of blood and my wet clothes, I began to feel cold. I was given a seat on a water barrel in the bottom of the boat. There were three other wounded men in the boat. One of them a Goanese cook had been badly scalded by the bursting of a steam pipe in the galley or kitchen where he was working. The poor man died in hospital three or four weeks later. A young European steward had been caught like me in the falls but had managed to get his hand out before it was seriously injured. A third member of the crew, an Indian, had also been injured by the ropes and had lost three fingers. We sat all day more or less in silence till in the afternoon we saw a distant steamer. We tried to attract its attention by hoisting a white petticoat on an oar and by burning a flare but it was too far off to see us. Some time after it had become dark we were discussing the desirability of lighting a flare when some one saw a light and suggested it was a steamer looking for us. The young steward who suggested that it might be a lighthouse was distinctly unpopular for a little. We lighted our flare and presently it became clear that the light was that of a steamer and that it was coming in our direction. When it came near we hailed it and told who we were. They had not heard of the loss of the *Mongolia* but said they would lie to and take us on board. With considerable difficulty we rowed along side. A rope was thrown which we caught but somehow it was allowed to slip, and to everyone's disgust we drifted away to a considerable distance. The steamer put down its accommodation ladder and men with lights stood on it. We managed to crawl back again and this time ropes were made fast both at the bow and the stern. It was no easy matter getting on board. In the heavy sea the steamer was rolling while our boat was heaving up and down on the waves. Several times I thought the ladder and the boat would both be smashed. However, all our fifty-one managed to get on board without accident. When my turn came I stood on the seat while one of my fellow passengers kindly held me, and as the boat rose on the wave I hurled myself on to the ladder where a man caught me and prevented me from being sucked back by the wave which came up to my waist. The steamer turned out to be a coaster named the Sabamarthi, bound for Goa. The captain—a Muhammadan—treated us very kindly and put the scanty accommodation at our disposal. In view of my wounded condition I was given a berth in a cabin where I could lie down and get some sleep. I believe two other boats tried to make for the ship but did not succeed, and the captain said he could do nothing till morning except stay where we were. It was by this time about ten o'clock at night. When morning came it was seen we could do nothing for the others as the steamer could not venture nearer the shore so the captain decided to go back with us to Bombay. Just before entering the harbour we picked up and took in tow one of the boats, and two others later on sailed up to Bombay. The nine others made the coast about fifty miles south of Bombay. We arrived at the Carnac Pier early in the afternoon, and before three o'clock those of who had been wounded were inmates of one hospital or another.

The loss of our mast proved to be a blessing in disguise for it led

to our being picked up soon. The occupants of the nine boats which reached the coast did not arrive in Bombay till Tuesday afternoon. Two of them—one being the boat I should have been in—were capsized in the surf but fortunately all got safely to shore. In the case of one of them, however, the occupants had to cling to the keel for an hour and a half. One of them was an elderly gentleman, a much respected member of the Legislature of New South Wales, and as a result of the exposure and his exertions he died in hospital two or three days after his arrival in Bombay. In all about thirty lives were lost, for all those who were in the engine room at the time of the explosion were killed. For myself I had to remain in St. George's Hospital for three months and a half owing to the serious nature of the injuries to my right hand. It was found to be necessary to amputate my third and fourth fingers, and I believe that for a time it was doubtful whether I should not have to lose the whole of my hand. I am thankful to say, that thanks to medical skill, I have been spared that loss and that it is hoped that in time I may yet really have a good deal of use of my right hand."

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THE TRUE CHURCH.

By C. KINGSLEY WILLIAMS, M.A.

"And they continued steadfastly in the Apostles' teaching and fellowship, in the breaking of bread, and the prayers."—Acts ii: 42.

I. The world has changed more rapidly and completely since the oldest here was born than in any previous two centuries. The study of history has made such strides that we probably know more accurately what kind of man Jesus Christ was than any generation since St. John died. Science, again, has made the world smaller to-day than South India was fifty years ago. Asia, too, is at last awake: and the old contrast of east and west has less meaning every day.

Naturally then the place and the nature of the Church of Christ are discussed in a very different spirit.

Fifty years ago men gave much troubled thought to the question "Which is the true Church? Among many claimants, which has the authentic marks? Rome anathematises Canterbury: and Bishops dispute with Presbyters. Wesleyans assert that Mr. Wesley's sermons—certain selected ones, that is, (his own selection)—contain what the New Testament was all along trying to teach. What is a man to do: where can he find the real Ark in which to hide him from the flood? Which is really water-tight?"

But less and less are men inclined to apply the old tests.

"Apostolic succession: bishops ordained by bishops ordained by bishops ordained by St. Peter, who was ordained by Christ"—such was the cry of one party. But less and less are the best men concerned about such things. "Apostolic succession: unproved, improbable, and useless if proved," is the judgment, if not the language, of the plain man.

"A Church organised on the New Testament model"—so sang another party. But the study of history which has renewed for us the portrait of Jesus has at the same time forced us to admit that there is no one New Testament model discoverable in the New Testament; and more and more men are saying "If Christ is really alive, why should an organisation suitable in Corinth 2,000 years ago, necessarily be suitable in London or Rome or Madras to-day?—if Christ really is alive."

For that is the crucial question. Is He alive? Is he able to do to-day what they tell us He did in the old days before us: and that was not a matter ordaining bishops or presbyters, but of binding together into one company, into one fellowship, into one home, men as divergent, as centrifugal, as egotistical as selfish, as you and I are.

The question in short is not so much "Where can I find the Church which is guaranteed by external marks to be true": but rather "Where can I find a spiritual home, where in truth and in deed I can give all I have in service, and receive it back again in human confidence and human love?"

II. Perhaps it may be worth while to examine briefly what is involved in the fellowship for which you and all the world are looking, and never more earnestly than to-day when half the world is drenched with blood.

1. First, we need a common allegiance. That is what underlies, I fancy, the rather terrifying phrase "Apostles' doctrine." The instruction of the twelve disciples—what did those transformed ordinary middle-class provincial Jews talk about in the groups that gathered round them?

Listen to one of them. I think we can overhear him:

"We had been alone with him for several weeks, a long way from home, away up in the north-west where the crowds could not come, and the Raja's party could not touch us, nor the priests either—they had made a plot together against him, you know. And one day he asked us what people were saying about him. And we told him the rumours we had heard. People had been much excited: and yet he seemed very different from what they had hoped he would be when he startled the country-side with his talk about the kingdom coming.

"And then he asked us what we thought of him. How he looked then, as he asked the question—such a brave eager modest look on his face.—And then all of a sudden it seemed to dawn on me. I had half suspected it before: but now I felt I could stake my life on it; and I blurted out: 'You are God's own anointed son'—and I meant it too—he *was* bigger and better and nobler than anything I had ever dreamt of before. . . But I did not really understand even then. And when he said that. . . they would kill him. . . in the end—O Fool that I was! I tried to dissuade him. . . as the devil had done before. . . and he called me Devil."

"Yes" said another—"and even after that, though we loved him and stuck close to him, we did not understand. Do you remember that day when James and I came and tried to make him promise to give us places over your heads. . . . O how angry you were. . . . One on his right hand and one on his left. . . Blind, that we were--the two thieves got those places—on Calvary."

So I think they talked; and others caught the contagion of their love and felt the glow of the assurance in their hearts that He of whom they spoke was ALIVE again.

And in allegiance to Him they found themselves loving one another in a strange new way.

2. We need a common task. And that we can find only where they found it. There is only one task yet discovered that can permanently bind together men and women as diverse and egotistical and selfish as you and I are. And that is the assertion of the Kingship of Jesus in human life.

They asserted it in their worship. They still went to temple and synagogue: but temple and synagogue-worship were full of forward looking hopes that had been fulfilled for them in the discovery that the Broken Failure who had died with a sob on the cross was God's own good man—not dead but alive among them. And one of the prayers that burst from them as they bent beneath the storm of hatred we still can read.—"Lord consider the threats of these men, and grant that thy servants may be perfectly fearless in speaking thy word, when thy hand is stretched out to cure and to perform wonders by the name of thy holy servant Jesus." They asserted the kingship of Jesus in their worship.

And they asserted it in their whole attitude to life. Human life, they cried, is to be transformed, revolutionised, turned upside down. The world's values are to be proved, are being proved, false; and Jesus is to prove, is proving, his valuations right. How absurd it must have sounded. The Jewish world immediately about them: narrowly intolerant, proudly nationalistic, consumed with its own ambitions. And beyond, the ancient culture and proud imperialism of home. How absurd that they should dream that Jesus could turn *that* upside down. But they knew that he had revolutionised them: and if that were possible, nothing was impossible for God.

3. A common allegiance and the sharing of a common task bring a new method of fellowship. This is the story of people who did things together, did everything together. They prayed together, they worshipped together; but they did more—they did that which I am more and more convinced can alone make common prayer and common worship more than a ceremony, a lifeless rite: they ate together. "Day after day they resorted with one accord to the temple, and broke bread together in their own homes."

And they shared not only their food but their possessions. "All that believed unto united fellowship were wont to hold all things as common, and they kept selling their lands and property and distributed as any one might chance to have need."* "Their feeling" says Chrysostom "was just as if they were under the paternal roof all for a while sharing alike." "Every man" says a friend of mine in a letter from the front, "every man seems ready to hail every other as a long lost chum.....I have lent to men at one time or another several hundred francs, on nothing but a verbal promise of return: and none of the men had I seen before. Yet I have had all returned except one and a half francs."

III. And what of the Christians that we know—what of the Christian Church that we *are*?

I make no charges: but may I ask a few questions?

(a) Paley in a famous, an infamous, chapter argues that Christianity must obviously be of divine origin because the early Christians were filled with missionary enthusiasm whereas

* Moffatt's translation.

the Christians of his day were not. Are we arguing that our religion is divine because it cannot bind us as it bound them into the kind of fellowship for which the world is longing? If so we had better give up the farce at once.

(b) The letter from France I have quoted contains an expression of views that are held by a large and growing number to-day. "After this war" said a Sergeant-Major one day "I am not going to take any part in organised religion." I said "What did you do before the war?" He said "I was the superintendent of a Wesleyan Sunday School. Then I thought the worst sins were those of the flesh, drink and women. During the war I have seen Christ in the drunkard and in the man diseased." And he gave me instances. "But the worst sin seems to me now to be 'swank.'" (which of course is precisely the pride, or play-acting which Christ most violently condemned). "It is 'swank' that keeps the churches from co-operation. We are tired of strife. Political parties have united: rival trade unions have sunk their differences. We do not want organic union, but we do demand co-operation, and where we do not see it, we won't help in." Dare you say this is not true?

(c) The other day I was talking with a Brahman friend. I am not sure whether he could call himself a Theosophist now or not: but I know he has found a fellowship among Theosophists, a disregard of racial differences, that he does not expect to find among Christians. And what can we offer him? A household here and a household there: but where can you show him a living society, a real fellowship of Christian friends in Madras.

(d) It is abundantly clear to those who have eyes that nothing but a miracle is going to prevent the deepening and widening of the gulf between Indian and European in the next few years. Are those who bear the name of Christ going to provide an atmosphere of friendliness in which the most difficult and provoking subjects can be discussed without racial prejudice in the name of Christ? If you want temperate and reasonable criticism do you always seek it in a community of professing Christians?

The old days of isolation and exclusiveness have passed never to return; we cannot live unto ourselves even if we would:

the world is one big parcherry now; we may make peace or we may make war. Are Christians to yield the palm for brotherliness to Theosophists? Are we to prove Christ weaker than Koothoomi?

The answer to all these questions depends on the reality of our allegiance to our Master, the seriousness with which we face our task of making Him king, and our willingness to share with one another, which is to love one another, even as Christ loved us.

THE AGE OF TIRUVALLUVAR.

BY J. LAKSHMANA PILLAI, B.A.

OF all uncertainties, the greatest are those which attach to the dates of Tamil authors, and here is a wide field open for scholars and antiquarians for research and investigation. The date of Tiruvalluvar, one of the world's great religio-ethical teachers the famous author of the immortal *Kural*, the greatest boast of the Tamil Language, is still enveloped in the darkest mystery. Even the author's real name is still unknown. I have attempted to shew in my article on "Christ and Tiruvalluvar"—contributed to the "Monthly Review," that the real name of Tiruvalluvar was Mathanuponki, a Buddistic name, the only one, out of the ten appellations by which he is known to literature, which is a proper name, *vide* the following verse by Nalkoor Velviyar:—

உப்பக்க நோக்கி உபகேசி தோள் மணந்தான்
உத்தர மாமதுரைக் கச்சென்ப—இப்பக்கம்
மாதானு பங்கி மறுவில் புலச்செந்தாப்
போதார் புனற்கூடற் கச்சு.

Even this may be a name only assumed by him after he became a *sanyasin*, but it is indisputably more real than the name Tiruvalluvar, which is plainly nothing but the name of the Dravidian caste or the race which he belonged, with the epithet திரு (Tiru), meaning 'sacred', prefixed to it. Another version is that 'Valluvar' is only an honorific title meaning 'Pandit.'

The widest disparities of opinion occur as to the date assigned to Tiruvalluvar, several investigators placing him in the early centuries of the Christian era, others in the eighth and some others in the fourteenth century. At such a time, it will not be wrong to place before the public data on the subject upon which reliance can be placed. These data are to be found in the Ceylonese chronicle, the *Mahavanso*. This work may seem open to criticism as an oriental one, and its historic value may be questioned. Judging from the general tenor of the work, it is the only one, I believe, outside the record of the discoveries of archaeologists, which makes an approximation to being a professedly historical work. The incidents depicted may contain certain exaggerations here and there, but it would be folly to deny that there is a broad substratum of truth embedded in them. The dates particularly are, I believe, with few exceptions, what may and should be accepted, until substantial evidence to the contrary is otherwise forthcoming. At least, these dates have not yet been authoritatively challenged by anyone.

Before dealing with the subject of Tiruvalluvar's date, I will subjoin an extract from an article by Mr. T. Ponnambalom Pillai, M.R.A.S., on the Indo-Ceylon connection in *The People's Magazine* of Colombo, Vol. III, No. 54, page 423, which furnished me with the clue to the said date. "In the beginning of the second century B.C. we find Elala Singhan, the patron of the great moralist Tiruvalluvar, and uncle of the reigning Chola king, invading Ceylon with a huge army and subjugating the greater part of North-Ceylon. He held it under his sway for over forty years. Though he as well as his nephew, the Chola king, were defeated and slain about the middle of that century, peace was restored between the two countries and there appears to have been friendly intercourse between them."

Following up this hint, I have traced in the *Mahavanso* of Ceylon the passages relating to Elala Singham (called Elara in the *Mahavanso*) which show the approximate date of Elara's career, and therefore of the man whose patron he was, namely, the great Tiruvalluvar. For the identification of Elara with Elala Singham Mr. Ponnambalom Pillai himself is my authority, as will be seen from the tenor of the extract above quoted.

Read the following extract from Chapter XXI, page 82,

of George Turnour's translation of the first part, prefixed to B. C. Wijesinha Mudaliar's edition which gives an account of Elara's life and achievements. "Two Damila (Malabar) youths powerful in their cavalry and navy named, Sina and Grithika, putting to death this protector of the land (Sura Tissa) righteously reigned for twenty-two years. At the termination of that period, Asela, son of Mutasiva and the ninth of the ten brothers born of the same mother, putting them (the usurpers) to death, reigned at Anuvadhapura for ten years.

A Damila named Elara of the illustrious "riju" tribe, invading this island from the Chola country for the purpose of usurping the sovereignty and putting to death the reigning King Asela, ruled the kingdom for forty-four years,—administering justice with impartiality to friends and foes.

At the head of his bed a bell with a long rope was suspended, in order that it might be rung by those who sought redress. The said monarch had a son and a daughter. This royal prince on an excursion to the Tissa tank in his chariot, unintentionally killed a full-grown calf, which was on the road with its dam, by the wheel of the carriage passing over its neck. The cow repairing to the said bell (rope) threw herself against it. The consequence of that peal of the bell was, that the king struck off the head of his son with that very wheel.

Although this king was ignorant of the "Ratanattaya" as well as of its inestimable importance and immutable virtues, protecting the institutions (of the land), he repaired to the Cetiya mountain; and offered his protection to the priesthood." Duttha Gamani having put him (Elara) to death, became king, *vide* the following description. The reigning monarch Elara hearing of the approach of the Raja Duttha Gamani with hostile intent, assembled his ministers and thus addressed these personages:—"This Raja is himself a hero, he has also many valiant warriors (in his army); Councillors, what should be done? what do ye advise?" These warriors of King Elara, commencing with Dighajantu came to this resolution, "To-morrow we will attack him."

The Raja Duttha Gamani also consulted with his mother. At her recommendation he formed thirty-two strong ramparts. The King displayed in each of these posts personifications of

himself with a royal standard-bearer attending on him ; while the monarch himself remained in an inner fortification.

King Elara, accoutred for battle and supported by his military array, mounted on his state elephant, Mahapabbata, advanced against him. At the commencement of the onset, the valiant Dighajantu with sword and shield in hand striking terror by the fury of his attack, sprang up eighteen cubits into the air, and piercing the figure which represented the King, took the first rampart. In this manner having carried all the other posts, he approached the fortification defended by Gamani, the Raja himself. The powerful warrior Suranimala, shouting out his own name to him who was rushing at the King, taunted him. The one (Dighajantu) was incensed, and replying " Let me slay you first" made a leap at him. The other met the assailant with his shield, saying to himself, ' I will demolish him (Dighajantu) and his shield at once and slashed at the shield with his sword. The other cast the shield at him. Dighajantu plunging at that unresisting shield, fell with it and Suranimala springing up, slew the prostrate (enemy) with his sword. Phussadeva sounded his chank (conch) and the army of Damilas gave way. Elara rallied it ; and many Damilas were slain. The water of the tank at the place was discoloured by the blood of the slain and from that circumstance the lake has been celebrated by the name of " Kulatha."

The monarch Duttha Gamani then having made this proclamation by beat of drums, " No other person but myself shall assail Elara" accoutred for combat, mounted on his well-appointed state elephant Kandala, went in pursuit of Elara, and reached the southern gate. These two monarchs entered into personal combat near the southern gate of the city. Elara hurled his spear, Gamani evaded it, and making his own elephant charge with her tusks the other elephant, and *hurling* at the same time his javelin at Elara, he and his elephant both fell together there.

There this conqueror, in the field of victory, surrounded by his martial might, reducing Lanka under (the shadow of) one canopy of dominion, entered the capital.

Summoning within the town the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, within the distance of a *yogama*, he held a festival in honor of King Elara. When he had burnt the corpse on a funeral

pile on the spot where he fell, he built a tomb there ; and ordained that it should receive honours (like unto those conferred on Cakkavatti). Even unto this day, monarchs who have succeeded to the kingdom of Lanka, on reaching that quarter of the city, *whatever the procession may be*, silence their musical band. In this manner, Duttha Gamani, having made prisoners thirty-two Damila chieftains, ruled over Lanka sole sovereign." (*Chap. 25.*)

In the list of kings up to Duttha Gamani, the vanquisher of Elara, given in Part I of *Mahavanso*, with dates of their reigns, the date of accession to the throne of Elara (a Tamil usurper) is given as 205 B.C., and of his vanquisher Duttha Gamani or Duta Gemunu as 161 B.C. If the incidents of the career of Elara portrayed in the passages quoted above, are correct in the main—and I know of no other historical or literary work which calls them into question—then we should not be wrong in putting down the age of Tiruvalluvar as approximately between 200 and 150 B.C.

There is nothing intrinsically improbable in such a conclusion and nothing has yet been brought forward to disprove or discredit this account found in a tolerably authentic, though Oriental, chronicle of the doings and achievements of Ceylonese kings. The conclusions arrived at by Mr. Krishnaswami Iyengar, M.A., as regards the age of the Third Academy of Madura, which he aptly calls the Augustin Age of Tamil Literature, is in perfect accord with our finding for the age of Tiruvalluvar. For that Academy, he shows by his elaborate and cogent reasoning to have existed about the middle of the second century of the Christian era. His data for such a conclusion is to be found in a certain incident to which reference is found in the famous Tamil epic poem, *Chillappadikaram*. It is the visit of the Ceylonese King Gajabahu I. to the court of his contemporary Cheran Senguttuvan, the brother of Ilankovadigal, the author of the poem. The clue to Gajabahu's age, namely, the second century of the Christian era, is again to be found in the *Mahavanso*. In the *Chillappadikaram*, and in *Manimekalai*, another epic produced at the same time, in which the same story is continued and which was composed by Sittalai Chattanar of Madura in conjunction with Ilankovadigal, quotations from the *Kural* are found, as for instance, the oft quoted line.

“தெய்வந் தொழாஅள் கொழுநற் றெழுதெழுவாள்
பெய்யெனப் பெய்யு மழை.”

This clearly shows that the *Kural* of Tiruvalluvar was anterior to those epics. Add to these, the fact that Cheramanperumal, himself an ancient author, (the age of the Cheramanperumal dynasty having been fixed between the 5th and 9th centuries by Keralapattiyom and Cholapurvarpathayom) in his *Adiyula* makes the following two quotations from the *Kural*,

“இல்லாரை யெல்லாரும் எங்குவர் செல்வரை
எல்லாரும் செய்வர் சிறப்பு.”

“கண்டுக்கேட் ணெடுயிர்த் துற்றறியும் ஐம்புலனும்
ஒண்டொடி கண்ணே யுள.”

He calls these “ancient sayings,”

“பண்டையோர் கூட்டுரை.” Similar quotations from the *Kural* are also to be found in other classical works of the age of the Third Tamil Academy such as *Kalladam* (கல்லாடம்).

Thus, all available evidence goes to confirm the date which we may reasonably infer from the *Mahavanso* to have been the date of Tiruvalluvar, and we have therefore to accept it as conclusive, until strong evidence to disprove it is otherwise forthcoming. The date being thus fixed, it would not be wrong now to suppose that some of the Tamil classics can claim to be contemporary with *at least* later Greek literature. The surmises of Dr. Pope and Bishop Caldwell based on the alleged visit of St. Thomas to Mylapore (near St. Thomas' Mount) that Tiruvalluvar may have been in some degree inspired by the spirit of the teachings of Christ imbibed through his disciple St. Thomas, also fall to the ground, it being now clear that Tiruvalluvar preceded Christ by nearly two centuries.

SOME REVELATIONS OF THE WAR.

BY A. C. CLAYTON.

THE last few days of July and the first few days of August, 1914, will be remembered in history as a time of awakening for the British Empire and for all the world too. Anyone who looks back at the newspapers and magazines of the earlier part of that July becomes conscious that he is reading comments and criticisms of passing events that are entirely beside the mark or are based on false views. It is as though a child were playing with its toys while the first vibrations of an earthquake were causing the roof and walls of the house around it to quiver. Those complacent journalists were men asleep. Each month since then has brought with it new knowledge. We have learned that as an Empire we were completely deceived—almost to our utter ruin—by an enemy whom most of us had believed to be our real friend and ally. And each month has added to the certainty of the perfidy of that enemy. We all knew that Austria cherished bitter hatred against Serbia. We knew that Austria and Germany had reason to beware of Russia. We knew that Germany had inflicted unforgivable wrongs on France in 1870, and that Germany meant to do further harm to France—‘to leave her only her eyes to weep with’—when she had opportunity. But we did not believe nor could we be persuaded into believing that Germany meant harm to Britain. We knew that certain Germans looked forward to making Germany the supreme world-power. We knew that the German fleet wanted the Day to come when it might conquer the British navy. But we thought that these warlike schemes were the ideas of a few hot-heads. We believed the Kaiser when he posed as the lover of peace. We thought of him as a somewhat erratic and impetuous but surely truthful and high-minded monarch, altogether unwilling to allow the militarist party to plunge Germany into war with Russia, or even France, and least of all with Britain.

II The revelation of Germany.—The violation of the neutrality of Belgium—which Germany herself had guaranteed more than once—was the first news to most of us that the German Govern-

ment was not to be trusted to abide by the treaties it had signed. Then we found that German vessels had been laying mines in British waters before war had been declared. And then came all the rest of the defiances of humanity which ruined Belgium and the north of France and would have ruined Europe had it not been that the Allies were just able to hold their own in face of the attack. The use of poison gas, the raids made by air-ships and aeroplanes, the sinking of merchant and passenger ships, neutral as well as British, without warning, the enslavement of the people of Belgium, were not fair fighting. They were the methods of a bully and of a stupid bully who cannot understand that such brutality is a proof that there can be no safety for anyone till he is beaten. By the excesses and cruelties that have surprised us, we have learned that Germans are not the kindly, truthful 'heralds of God's will, messengers of His word' with a mission for 'the ennoblement of the world', but the enemies of the peace and liberty of all nations.

We are getting over our surprise. German "frightfulness" is now a commonplace. German treachery and faithlessness have become so notorious that no greater insult can be offered to a man than to call him a 'German.' But every now and then a little new light is thrown on the subject. The 'Willy' and 'Nicky' telegrams for instance were a crowning proof that the Kaiser himself as well as his advisers had long sought the downfall of Britain.

'Willy' and 'Nicky.'—Perhaps a word or two about those telegrams will make the point clearer to some of my readers in India. When the Tsar of Russia was dethroned at the Revolution in March, and was sent into exile, he left behind him a great many documents which had hitherto been kept secret. Among them were a series of telegrams written in English which had passed between the Kaiser—who signed himself 'Willy'—and the ex-Tsar, who signed himself Nicky. These telegrams were sent in 1904. That was during the Russo-Japanese War. The Russian fleet outward bound to fight (and be beaten by) the Japanese had in the North Sea fired on some British fishing boats, suspecting them to be Japanese torpedo-boats! At least so the Russians said—but it has long been

thought by some that it was German secret-service agents who misled the Russians. Anyhow the Russians had fired on our fishing boats, and naturally the deed was much resented. The relations between Russia and Britain were thus exceedingly strained. Understanding this, the Kaiser suggested to the Tsar that he and Russia should make an alliance. Russia, was then to tell her Ally France that such a treaty had been made. France could not hope to stand against Germany and Russia with Austria in the background, and would have to join them and break the 'friendly understanding' that existed between herself and Britain, which would thus be isolated. 'In this way' says 'Willy' to 'Nicky' a powerful combination of the three strongest continental Powers will be formed, to attack which the Anglo-Saxon group will think twice before acting. You ought not to forget to order new ships, so as to be ready with them when the Russo-Japanese war is over. The docile Tsar swallowed the bait, and the treaty between the two Emperors was signed. When some responsible Russian statesmen learned of it, they persuaded the Tsar to draw back. But as far as intention went the correspondence and the treaty stand on record as proof of a deliberate hostility to England. And yet in the Guildhall in London on a visit to England in 1907 the Kaiser declared that the maintenance of the peace of the world and of good relations between Germany and Great Britain were his unswerving purpose. Like his Government, like his military officials, the Kaiser has proved himself unworthy of trust.

Another Telegram.—Mention of telegrams reminds one of the story of another telegram to Russia. In those days in July, 1914, after Austria had presented an ultimatum to Serbia that was so insulting that it was clearly meant to drive Serbia into War, King George and Viscount Grey were doing their best to secure at least a hearing for terms of peace. They suggested that Austria should be satisfied with occupying Belgrade, the capital of Serbia, as a pledge that Austrian demands would be fairly settled, and that then Austria should await mediation.

The Kaiser admitted that he sent on this proposal to the Austrian Government with his approval.

Now if Austria accepted those terms, Russia would be content, and would tell Serbia to agree, and peace would be preserv-

ed. But the Kaiser—who said ‘my aim is above all the maintenance of peace’—did not want that. He meant to have war with Russia, who, he believed, was weak and unready. Indeed at a council of Austrian and German officials held at Potsdam, presided over by the Kaiser, on July 5, 1914, it had been decided to force humiliation on Serbia, though that was certain to cause Russia to take up arms in defence of her injured Ally. So while he pretended to advocate mediation, the Kaiser let Austria know that he wanted her to fight Serbia even if it meant war with Russia, and he was very much astonished to find Austria had at last realised what War with Russia must mean and was actually prepared to accept the British suggestion of mediation.

As Austria would not defy Russia, the Kaiser decided to entrap Russia into an act of open hostility. At the instance of the German authorities a sham edition of the Berlin semi-official newspaper, the *Lokal-Anzeiger*, was issued declaring that Germany had ordered all her troops throughout the Empire to mobilise. Of course this sham newspaper came at once into the hands of the Russian Ambassador in Berlin, and he instantly telegraphed the news to his Government in Petrograd. After the Ambassador's telegram had gone, the sham edition of the *Lokal-Anzeiger* was withdrawn, and a contradiction of the news about mobilisation was published in a genuine edition. This too came to the Russian Ambassador, who of course at once sent a second telegram correcting his previous message. Mr. Gerárd, who was the American Ambassador in Berlin and has published a book about his experiences there, states that that second telegram of the Russian Ambassador was intentionally delayed by the authorities in Berlin for twelve hours.

Meanwhile the Tsar's Government, with only the first telegram before them, believing that Germany was gathering her armies to attack Russia (which was true) had telegraphed from one end of Russia to another ordering the Russian armies to mobilise.

This was sufficient for the Kaiser. He told the British that it was too late to consider mediation as Russia was mobilising against Austria and Germany, and he made the mobilisation which he had himself definitely provoked the occasion for War

with Russia, pretending that Russia was the aggressor. When President Wilson says that we cannot take the word of the present rulers of Germany as a guarantee of anything that is to endure, he speaks the plain truth, for the War has revealed the Kaiser and his counsellors as men who will deliberately lie to further their own ends.

Russia.—The War has brought to light a Russia different entirely from the Russia about which we thought that we knew something in 1914. We used to speak of Russia as a 'giant' somewhat slow and stupid but of terrible strength. We knew that there were anarchists and folk with strange impracticable political ideas in Russia, but we had the idea that enthusiasm for the War had swamped their energies for the time being. And watching the marvellous advance of the Russian army into Galicia and East Prussia in 1914, the masterly retreat, the attack on the Bukovina, the defence against Mackensen, the great retreat in 1915, and the great Russian offensive in 1916 under Brussiloff, the impression of the growing power of Russia became more and more definite. It was fully expected that in 1917, Russia would deal one of the final blows at Germany and Austria. Now we know that all the while the Tsar was a traitor to the cause of his own Empire and of the Allies. No one accuses him of the deliberate falseness of the Kaiser. The Tsar was too weak a man for that. But he allowed himself to be the tool of the pro-German and German courtiers around him. And then the end of Tsardom came. The Revolution of March, 1915, was the beginning of a new period in Russia, of a new Russia. Every revolution in history is the work of extremists. But a revolution, such as that of the United States of America, can only be successful if moderation and tolerance insure the loyalty of all classes, and if the spirit of obedience to law and order continues to rule the conduct of the majority of the common wealth. Now that has not been the case at all in Russia. The extremists were able to dethrone the Tsar. They were able to find a number of very able men to form one government after another. Among them there has arisen one heroic figure, Kerensky, but so far it has seemed as if the sudden success of the Revolution was as surprising to its authors as to the rest of the world. They were ready to make a revolution,

They were quite unprepared for the responsibilities of governing.

It has seemed to be the aim of every man in Russia, soldier, sailor, artisan, member of the learned professions, or merchant, to assert his own freedom. The civil executive is powerless to prevent crime. The army is paralysed. The navy is unreliable. Russians hate Germans. They have not the least thought of allowing Germany to dominate Russia. But with the Germans masters of Riga and at the mouth of the Gulf of Finland, with German-Austrian armies threatening Odessa, the Russia that will not obey Kerensky and Brussiloff is face to face with terrible disaster. Germany cannot conquer Russia. There is no possibility of that. Germany has no soldiers to spare for conquests in Russia. But for the time being Russia is her own enemy and by her folly and indiscipline has certainly held back the Allies from victory, thrown the organisation of the vast Russian territories into a chaos from which it will take years to rescue them, lost great cities and sacrificed the lives of thousands of Russian soldiers and citizens. Russia has freed herself from despotism, but Russians have yet to learn that the first principle of liberty is obedience to law. Russia will come through the ordeal, just as France came through a far worse ordeal at the end of the eighteenth century. The end is not yet, but brighter days are coming

Of neutral nations and of our Allies.—There is no space here to speak in any detail of what may be called the minor discoveries that the War has made known to us about the sympathies and the practices of such neutral nations as Holland and Sweden. Both are in deadly peril from Germany by land or by sea. Both are tempted to make unheard of profit by supplying Germany with material for munitions or with food-stuffs. That is understood, and because of this much is forgiven. But there is no excuse for Sweden allowing German representatives to hand communications to the Swedish representatives in Argentina or Mexico, or anywhere else, so that these may be transmitted as confidential messages to the Swedish Government, and be sent on to Germany by Swedish Government officials in Sweden, especially when those messages advise the sinking of the ships of another neutral, with whom

Germany and Sweden profess to be at peace, and tell where it can be done. This petty treachery can have been of little use to Germany or to German submarines. But that the pro-German Government of Sweden could connive at it is another instance of the way in which German militarism destroys the true sense of honour in all those whom it influences. In splendid contrast to such crookedness, the directness and clean and abiding courage of France and Italy have been an inspiration to us all. No admiration can tell the valour of France or the daring of Italian soldiers on the Alps and the Carso.

Of Belgium, of Serbia, of Rumania, of Japan, of Turkey and of Bulgaria there is no space to speak, though each in its own way has given us a surprise. But one word must be given to America.

America.—To many of us at the beginning of the War the attitude of America was a revelation full of disappointment and pain. To speak frankly, the silence of the American Government on the German outrages in Belgium, and the want of firmness towards German submarinism, and the somewhat irritating character of the American notes to Britain on various matters, were not worthy of American traditions of love of fair play and righteousness. ~~Allowing for all the difficulties of the President,~~ we could not think that they justified such lack of friendliness. The over-careful neutrality of America was one of the surprises of the War. It was a surprise that lasted nearly three years.

But the action of America when in April 1917, she joined the Allies was a greater and a most cheering surprise. The thoroughness of American organization, the enthusiasm of America for the cause, the reliability of American fellowship, came to us, and to all the Allies to hearten them in the hour when the vacillation and disorder of Russia were at their worst. Without Russia, the Allies could have won the War, but it would have been won only slowly and perhaps after yet another three years of struggle. With America, the Allies will win the War and win it swiftly.

And the victory that we shall win with America to help us will be no truce to permit our enemies to re-arm themselves with new and deadlier weapons. It will be a victory establishing righteousness in this world as it has never been established before.

In Memory

*Verses from a new hymn by John S. Arkwright, sung at Westminster Abbey
August 5, 1917.*

O valiant Hearts, who to your glory came
Through dust of conflict and through battle-flame ;
Tranquil you lie, your knightly virtue proved,
Your memory hallowed in the land you loved.

Proudly you gathered, rank on rank, to war;
As who had heard God's message from afar ;
All you had hoped for, all you had, you gave
To save Mankind—yourselves you scorned to save.

Splendid you passed the great surrender made,
Into the light that never more shall fade ;
Deep your contentment in that blest abode,
Who wait the last clear trumpet-call of God.

* * * *

O risen Lord, O Shepherd of our Dead,
Whose Cross has bought them and whose Staff has led—
In glorious hope their proud and sorrowing land
Commits her children to Thy gracious hand.

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ORGANISATIONS OF THE SYRIAN CHRISTIANS IN FORMER TIMES: VIII.

SOCIO-RELIGIOUS ORGANISATION.—(Continued).

By L. K. ANANTHA KRISHNA IYER, B.A., L.T.

SYRIAN LITURGIES

JACOBITES and St. Thomas' Christians use the Syriac Liturgy of St. James, but few, even among the priests, understand Syriac ; among the Reformed Syrian Christians, a Malayalam translation of the Syriac Liturgy has now been generally adopted. The Jacobites say masses for the dead and believe in purgatory ? They invoke the Virgin Mary, venerate the Cross and relics of the saints. They prescribe auricular confession before mass, and at mass administer the bread dipped in the wine and recite the Eastern form of Nicene Creed. Jacobite Syrians observe the seven sacra-

ments, while the Reformed Syrians have only three namely, Baptism, Holy Orders and Matrimony.

The Syriac Liturgies are numerous. The Church maintains the doctrines of the trinity and unity, and that of the atonement, but does not wholly admit justification by faith. Transubstantiation is now part of the creed, priests pray for the quick and the dead, and also separately and distinctly for the dead. They beg for the intercession of the Virgin Mary, worship her with many prayers and fast in her honour. They also worship the saints, the altars and the host. The prayers are in the Syriac tongue, a language believed to have been used by the Lord and His apostles, but not understood by the Syrian congregations of the present day. The clergy claim the power of excommunicating and thereby destroying the souls and bodies of the offenders. They have extreme unction and auricular confession. God the Father, is represented in their churches and incense is burned, but there is no exposition of the Scriptures. The practice of blessing holy water was commenced amongst them about the seventh century. It is generally mixed with a little earth from St. Thomas' Mount, near Madras. They excommunicate the murderer who is never absolved, not even after death.

The altar is twelve by eighteen inches in size and is consecrated at Easter, after which it must not be touched by unconsecrated hands. The services are chanted by the priests, who at intervals pray in a low tone accompanied by frequent crossings and prostrations, while the congregation in the meantime occupy themselves with their own devotions. When the priests chant the words "Peace on earth, good-will towards men," the *Kathanars* take the right hand of the officiating priest and so pass the "Peace" to the congregation, each of whom takes his neighbours right hand and salutes him with the word "peace." The women are seated apart from the men. At the conclusion of the service the senior priest present, stands at the door and, as the congregation passes out, each individual member receives his blessing unless guilty of any act considered sufficiently bad to deprive him of it. Formerly its being withheld was regarded as a very severe punishment.

During Lent and other great fasts, service is performed three times a day, at morning, evening, and midnight, at the two former no one fails to be present to receive the blessing, and offer vows of peace and obedience, which is done by taking the

priest's hands between their own raising them on high, and then kissing them. On Sundays, service is performed twice a day. On the first Wednesday in Lent, they anoint the head with holy oil, which consists of olive oil made from the branches of olive trees, that were blessed before the fruits were formed, for doing which there is a particular ceremony. At this time the Roman Catholics use ashes, and it is probable that the custom has originated the use of oil by the Syrians, as also the theatrical performances, which take place a few days before Lent, may be regarded as a species of carnival. During Lent, which with them lasts for fifty days, they abstain from flesh, fish, eggs, milk, butter and spirituous liquors. They also fast in Advent, on the Assumption of the Virgin Mary from the first to the fifteenth of August, and in commemoration of the Apostles, which begins after Pentecost and lasts fifty days, and at the Nativity of the Saviour, for twenty-five days before Christmas, beginning at sunset of the preceding day and lasting for twenty-four hours. All these fasts must be kept under pain of excommunication. At the celebration of the Eucharist, the cup is placed at the east end of the altar and the plate on the west, close to two others, the one containing a sponge to wipe the priest's fingers, the other a dish and spoon, the whole being covered with a white cloth. The cake is circular and composed of wheaten flour, like a pie. Some portion of it is invariably kept until the communion following and mixed with the next baking, and thus they believe that they have retained some of the bread which was used at "the Lord Supper." This cake is stamped with the figure of the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew, with a square in the centre, outside of which are two circular lines, and between each line of the cross is a smaller line in the same direction converging to the centre. Consequently, each quarter of the cake has a perfect cross, and three lines or twelve in all, signifying the twelve apostles. When the priest consecrates the bread, he raises it, on which tom-toms and cymbals strike up, and the curtain is drawn shutting the priest from the gaze of the congregation. He then prays alone, after which the curtain is drawn aside, and he advances holding the bread in his right hand, and the wine in his left, and chanting a hymn. He then turns round the altar and receives the elements, and the music again strikes up, followed by a silence during which the priest mutters a short prayer to himself. Three priests celebrate the Eucharist at the same time at the three different altars.

The clergy receive the elements separately every day, and the laity only three times a year, with the difference that for them bread is dipped in the wine which is not the case with the priests.

Love-feasts are still held. Large quantities of sugar-cane, rice, honey, and flour are collected and stored up for the occasion. When the time arrives, cakes are baked and plantains, etc. procured, the fast being celebrated in a room adjoining the church. The various portions are distributed by a blessing of the priests. The guests are seated in rows, each provided with a plantain leaf on their knees to serve instead of a plate. Silence is then commanded and the church overseers walk down the rows to see that no one is omitted and that all share alike. What is left may be eaten by a heathen.

The main characteristics of the Syrian Church are:—

1. "The Syrian Church presents an undeniable instance of an ancient church preserved in its purity for the past sixteen or seventeen centuries on the coast of Malabar, which has never acknowledged the supremacy of the Roman Pontiff, nor his peculiar dogmas since the Cross revolt."

2. "The church exhibits an independent testimony to the Apostolic polity of the Church in the threefold order of bishop, priest and deacon, as sketched by St. Paul in his Epistles to Timothy and Titus and deducible from St. John's letter to the seven Asiatic churches written sixty years after the promulgation of the Gospel, and uniformly acknowledged by the ecclesiastical writers of the age immediately next to that of the Apostles."¹

The following are the main points in which the Syrian Church differs from the Church of Rome:—The Jacobite Syrians reject the supremacy of the Pope, acknowledge the supreme authority of the Holy Scriptures, hold no traditions of equal or co-ordinate rank with the Scriptures without comment for perusal by the people, do not receive the Council of Trent, do not enforce the celibacy of the clergy, nor allow images in churches. They recognise orthodox Churches as branches of Christ's Holy Catholic Church, and accept the canons of the first Council of Nice, 325 A.D., as well as those of Constantinople, 331 A.D. and Ephesus, 431 A. D. rejecting only those of Chalcedon twenty years later."²

¹ *The Indian Christians of St. Thomas*, pp. 124.

² *The Indian Christians of St. Thomas*, pp. 121-123.

Reformed Syrians wish to multiply the copies of the Syrian scriptures, to translate the Scriptures into Malayalam, to establish schools on Scripture principles, to improve the education of the clergy, and make use of the vernacular in preaching and expounding the Gospel.¹

The Jacobite Syrian church contains the very essence of Popery without the supremacy of the Church of Rome. The great body believe in transubstantiation, the sacrifice of the mass for the living and the dead, prayers for the departed, purgatory, worship of the Virgin Mary, veneration of the saints, prayers in an unknown tongue, extreme unction, allow pictures in their churches representing God the Father, prayers to the altar and the chancel, connected with which are the elevation of the host, the burning of incense, and the ringing of bells, at the time of that elevation the priest receiving mass alone.

DOCTRINES AND THE CUSTOMS OF THE CHURCH OF MALABAR BEFORE THE SYNOD OF DIAMPER

The Malabar church rejected the Pope's supremacy, and denied the doctrine of transubstantiation. In the latter case, the Syrians maintained the spiritual presence of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament and rejected as an absurdity the figment of the actual presence, when it was first brought before their notice. They condemned the adoration of images. At that time no idol was to be seen in their churches except a few in the neighbourhood of the Portuguese stations, from whom some Syrians have learned how to make use of them. This statement does not apply to the figure of the cross which they had long regarded with reverence and placed in all their churches. Gradually some of those who resided near the Portuguese had learned to pray to the Virgin Mary and other saints. They maintained that the Church of Rome had corrupted the true faith. They had heard nothing of purgatory, and were at a loss to understand what Menezes meant when he first brought it to their knowledge. They had no knowledge of masses for the dead. They made no use of holy oil in the administration of baptism. It was customary after the service to rub the infant's body with cocoanut oil or gergelin, a species of saffron. This practice, though not attended with prayer or benediction, they regarded as somewhat sacred. They had no knowledge of extreme unction nor

¹ *The Indian Christians of St. Thomas*, pp. 129.

had they heard of oracular confession. When it was first proposed to them they shrank from it with great horror. They soon found how entirely it held them in bondage to a mercenary priesthood who carried their jurisdiction to their very thoughts and intentions of the heart and to the domestic secrets of a family. They never dreamt of the celibacy of the clergy, who were allowed to marry with all the freedom of laity. The wives of the clergy were called *cataniares* and took precedence of the other women in the church and everywhere else, and were distinguished by a cross of gold or of some inferior metal suspended from the neck. They denied that matrimony was a sacrament. They appear to have held only two orders, priesthood and the diaconate and though they have since been multiplied after the example of Rome, yet all the inferior orders are included in the diaconate and conferred together. The priests are called *kasheehas*, the deacons *shumshanas*. They celebrated the communions with cakes mixing the meal with a little oil and salt.

M. Renaedot, in his history of the Patriarchs of Alexandria, says that this was the usual practice of the Syrian Jacobites. They consecrated the elements with prayer, believing that without the Holy Ghost the mere words of the priest would be of no avail. They administered in both kinds to all communicants. The present practice is to dip the cake in the wine and put it in the communicant's mouth; but it is uncertain whether the custom prevailed before the Synod of Diamper. They admitted to communion the members of other churches. In all questions of doctrine they appealed to the authority of the sacred Scripture as decisive, and not like Romanists to any addition, to Fathers or decisions of the Church or interpretations of the priests. They are said to have held the three sacraments—Baptism, the Eucharist and Holy Orders—and these sacraments very strikingly distinguish them from the Roman Church.

Professor Lee in his history of the Syrian Church in India confirms the fact that the Syrians had not observed the sacraments with regard to confirmation. Menezes was well aware that it was wholly unknown in India. (*vide* footnote in Hough's *Christianity in India*, Vol. II, pp. 18-21).

The difference in tenets between the Jacobite Syrians and the Reformed Syrians are these:—

Both the Jacobite and the St. Thomas' Syrians use the liturgy of St. James. The latter have, however, made some

modifications by deleting certain passages from it. The Jacobite Syrians look upon the Holy Bible as the main authority in matters of doctrine, practice and ritual; they do not allow the Bible to be interpreted except by the traditions of the Church, the writings of the early Fathers and the decrees of the Holy Synods of the undivided Christian period; but the St. Thomas' Syrians believe that the Holy Bible is unique and supreme in such matters. The Jacobites have faith in the efficacy and necessity of prayers, charity, etc. for the benefit of the departed souls, of the invocation of the Virgin Mary, and the saints in divine worship, of pilgrimages and of confessing sins too, and of obtaining absolution from priests. The St. Thomas' Syrians on the other hand consider these and other similar practices as unscriptural, tending not to the edification of the believers, but to the drawing away of the minds of believers, from the vital and real spiritual truths of the Christian revelation. The Jacobites administer the Lord's Supper to the laity and to the non-celebrating clergy in the form of consecrated bread dipped in consecrated wine, and regard it a sin to administer the elements separately after having united them in token of Christ's resurrection. The St. Thomas' Syrians admit the laity to both the elements after the act of uniting them. While the Jacobite Syrians allow the marriage ceremonies on Sundays on the plea that, being of the nature of a sacrament, they ought to be celebrated on Sundays, the St. Thomas' Syrians regard this practice as unscriptural, the Sabbath being set apart for rest and religious exercises. While the Jacobites believe that the mass is as much a memorial of Christ's oblation on the Cross as it is an holy sacrifice offered for the remission of the sins of the living and of the faithful dead, the St. Thomas' Syrians observe it as a commemoration of Christ's sacrifice on the Cross. The Jacobites venerate the cross and the relics of saints, while the St. Thomas' Syrians regard the practice as idolatry. The Jacobites perform mass for the dead, while St. Thomas' Syrians regard it as unscriptural. With the Jacobites, re-marriage, marriage of widows, and marriage after admission to full priesthood, reduce a priest to the status of a layman, and one united in such marriage is not permitted to perform priestly functions, whereas priests of the St. Thomas' Syrians are allowed to contract marriage without forfeiture of their priestly rights. The Jacobite Syrians believe in the efficacy of infant baptism, and acknowledge baptismal regenera-

tion, while the St. Thomas' Syrians who also baptise infants, deny the doctrine of regeneration in baptism and regard the ceremony as a mere external sign of admission to church communion. The Jacobites observe special feasts, and abstain from certain articles of food during such feasts, while the St. Thomas' Syrians regard the practice as superstitious.

(Concluded.)

NOTES OF THE MONTH.

THE month has not been without great events. In our last issue we chronicled both success and failure, success in Palestine, losses in Italy. This month it is for the most part unbroken success. On the Western front a magnificent surprise attack led by a very large number of tanks and without artillery preparation broke through the Hindenburg line, and captured over 11,000 prisoners. This led to the hurrying up of vast German forces, and ultimately to our withdrawal from about a third of the section captured. This partial retirement is no doubt regrettable but it does not in any sense annul the victories of the previous days.

German East Africa is now finally cleared of the enemy, the last body of two thousand men being driven into Portuguese territory. The large number of prisoners captured during the last weeks of the campaign numbering many thousands, white and black, shows the formidable character of the defence and the task that lay before our troops. With the capture of East Africa the last German colony has gone. Whatever may be the case after the War is over, for the present the net result to Germany has been the hauling down of her flag from every bit of the world's surface except in her own land and in captured Belgium and Northern France. Whether the decision after the War will return her any of her lost possessions remains to be seen, but there is abundant evidence that colonial determination to exclude Germany from the Pacific as well as from Africa will have to be reckoned with.

THAT this determination will prove an important factor is evident in the literature of the day. A recent work entitled *The New Pacific* by Mr. C. Brunsdon Fletcher, a well-known and gifted Australian journalist has something to say on this so far as the Pacific is concerned.

¹ *The History of Christianity in India*, Hough, Vol. II, pp. 13-18.

The book appears with a preface by Viscount Bryce, and a foreword by the Right Hon. W. M. Hughes, the Prime Minister of Australia. Mr. Hughes entertains no illusions regarding Germany's action in the past. "The history of the last forty years in this quarter of the globe is full of extraordinary interest because Germany has been brewing her devil's broth for the benefit of civilisation in an ocean which sooner or later must become the balancing centre of the world's trade and development. . . Germany laid her plans as carefully against Australia as she did against France and Belgium, against Russia and Servia, and against Great Britain herself in the final cast." If such are the views of Australia's Prime Minister we may be sure that Australian opinion will not suffer gladly the presence of German power in her neighbourhood. And what is true of Australia is true also of South Africa. Unless a decisive victory is obtained by the *Entente* Powers, and consequently the power to decide the future of Germany's former colonies, the risk of trouble within the British Empire will be great.

The Theosophist for November contains an attack on Dr. Farquhar for statements made by him in a paper called *The Challenge*. Dr. Farquhar is well able to take care of himself, but it is desirable that a few words should be said here about the statment made in *The Theosophist* that before the investigation by Mr. Hodgson of the Psychical Research Society, the accusation brought by the Coulombs had been thoroughly investigated and disproved. The accusation referred to originally appeared in the pages of this Magazine and was never investigated in the only way in which it could have been investigated properly, *viz.*, in a court of law. The accusation brought against Madame Blavatsky was one of falsehood and fraud, the evidence was given in the shape of letters written by Madame Blavatsky to M. and Madame Coulomb and the accusation, was never disproved.

As many people are ignorant of what actually happened in 1884, it may be well to give a short account of the facts. The Theosophical Society had been attracting a good deal of attention both in India and in the West because of the strange "phenomena" which were alleged to be performed by the *Mahatmas* acting through their chosen agent, Madame Blavatsky. The "phenomena" were of a trivial enough character. Locks of hair, cigarettes, cigarette papers were transmitted by "occult" means from one place to another; crockery was found in an unlikely place or when broken was repaired in a mysterious manner; and letters from the *Mahatma* Koot Hoomi were delivered in unusual ways. The occult has a great attraction for many people and the idea that it was possible to work a kind of spiritual parcel-post

with the aid of the Tibetan *Mahatmas* appealed to many people for whom the other sides of Theosophical teaching had little interest. The boom which the "phenomena" were giving to Madame Blavatsky and her Society received a great set-back owing to a quarrel which broke out among the devotees at the Theosophical headquarters at the Adyar. In the beginning of 1884, there were living there a Monsieur and Madame M. Coulomb. M. Coulomb was a clever workman, and Madame Coulomb had at one time be-friended Madame Blavatsky. They had joined Madame Blavatsky in 1882 and became her special confidants. When Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott went to Europe in February, 1884, the Coulombs were left in charge of Madame Blavatsky's rooms. This was resented by the other members of the Theosophical Society, especially because it was felt that Madame Coulomb, from the way she talked, was not a true believer. Ultimately the Coulombs were expelled from the Society and from the Adyar. Madame Blavatsky was thus in the unpleasant dilemma of having to choose between her friends the Coulombs and the rest of the Society, and she chose to throw the Coulombs over.

After the Coulombs left it was discovered that machinery for trickery existed at the Adyar. The "Shrine," a cabinet in which broken saucers could be made whole and in which letters were transmitted to and from the Mahatmas, was found by some members of the Society to have a sliding panel, and arrangements were in existence which showed that it was possible to have access to it from Madame Blavatsky's room on the other side of the wall. The explanation given by the Theosophists was that this had been done by the Coulombs to ruin Madame Blavatsky, but most people believed that there was a simpler explanation, and that the "phenomena" were a fraud.

In August 1884, Madame Coulomb brought to the Editor of this Magazine a number of letters which purported to be written by Madame Blavatsky, and which if genuine proved conclusively that a great fraud on the public was being perpetrated. This Magazine had had no quarrel with the Theosophical Society, and indeed had expressed its approval of some of its ideals. But its Editor and those whom he consulted when they had studied the letters and were convinced that they were genuine, felt it to be a public duty to expose the fraud. A number of the letters were published in the articles called *The Collapse of Koot Hoomi* in the issues of September and October, 1884. The publication produced a sensation. There was no mincing of matters. Madame Blavatsky was openly charged with falsehood and fraud and in particular with attempting to obtain a large sum of money by the fraudulent dispatch of a telegram. It was felt by all thinking people that the only way for Madame Blavatsky

to rehabilitate herself was by means of legal action. At first threats of legal proceedings were made, but nothing came of them. Madame Blavatsky came out from Europe, but a Committee of Theosophists investigated the charges and declared that they were unfounded. This was the only way in which the charges were "investigated and disproved." The Committee further said it was not necessary to take legal proceedings, as the letters "necessarily appear absurd to those acquainted with our philosophy and facts, and as those who are not acquainted with those facts could not have their opinions changed even by a judicial verdict in favour of Madame Blavatsky, therefore it is the unanimous opinion of this committee that Madame Blavatsky should not prosecute her defamers in a court of law." So the great opportunity was lost for ever of disproving the charges. It was a simple issue. Were the Coulomb letters forgeries or not? The Theosophists maintained they were, but shrank from having the issue tried in a court of law. What thinking men thought of it may be seen from the following quotation from that distinguished Indian Sir Madhava Rau, K. C. S. I. Writing in the *Madras Times* to Theosophists, he said: "The phenomena she had professed to perform in connection with the Mahatmas were certainly most incredible *at the very outset*. Then again the disclosures that have been made by *The Christian College Magazine* are most fatal and tend to prove that these phenomena were common and vulgar tricks. Then again Madame Blavatsky has utterly abstained from meeting those disclosures in a court of justice and vindicating her conduct and character greatly as those are now impugned. Take these facts together and ponder over them. Their cumulative effect can lead to but one conclusion."

The Theosophist has a very characteristic remark about one of the results of the exposure. It says, "Dr. Farquhar adds the obvious falsehood that a law-suit was started in Madras in consequence of which Madame Blavatsky and all her closest associates in the phenomena fled from Madras. We were under the impression that Colonel Olcott, her closest associate, lived in Adyar and died there in 1907." This is cleverly put, but in the first place, as readers of this Magazine's account of the *Collapse of Koot Hoomi* will remember, it was carefully stated in our pages, that no charge of complicity in the "phenomena" was made against Colonel Olcott. In the second place, though a law-suit was not actually started the preliminary steps had been taken in a suit that would have put Madame Blavatsky into the witness-box. Towards the end of March, 1885, Madame Coulomb through her solicitors called upon one of Madame Blavatsky's promi-

neat European supporters to apologise for having spoken of her as having forged the letters and threatening that unless he did so before the 2nd of April, she would take legal proceedings against him. By a curious coincidence it was found just at this time that the state of Madame Blavatsky's health made it necessary for her to leave India, and she sailed in the *S.S. Tibre* on the 2nd April. As the chief witness had disappeared, the case was not proceeded with. The full account of what happened appeared in a letter from Madame Coulomb to the *Madras Mail*, on the 22nd April. Another curious coincidence is that with the disappearance of Madame Blavatsky from the scene the "phenomena" ceased. The simplest and surest way to disprove the charge that the "phenomena" were fraudulent would have been to repeat the "phenomena" under conditions in which the Coulombs' allegations were fully met. Not only did the "phenomena" cease; it is significant that the Theosophists themselves had been at pains to destroy the "shrine" which the Coulombs' revelations had brought into disrepute.

A SUPPLEMENT to Government Order No. 559 dated 1st May, 1917, has been issued in Government Order No. 1531 dated 3rd December, 1917. The later order empowers heads of colleges to enforce at their discretion the orders of No. 559 regarding the attendance of undergraduate students at political meetings. The new order will, we presume, remove the objections urged against the earlier order, for there is no difference of opinion among educational authorities that attendance of students at political meetings of the type so familiar to us is wholly prejudicial to their studies. Many false impressions have been circulated to the effect that Government Order No. 559 was intended to check a nascent nationalism, nothing could be further from the truth. The objection to the participation of students in political meetings holds good for all parties in political meetings whether on the one side or on the other, though naturally the most dangerous one are those in which violent diatribes against authority are indulged in. We have heard a great deal of late of a 'calm atmosphere' for Mr. Montagu; a far more clamant need is a calm atmosphere for our students, a real calm in which they may devote themselves to quiet thought and study. To this end the efforts of Government have been directed.

AN announcement of great importance to the Jewish people, hailed by the *Jewish Chronicle* as marking a new epoch for the Jews, has been made by Mr. Balfour on behalf of the Government to Lord Rothschild. He stated that the Government viewed with favour the establishment

in Palestine of the national home for the Jewish people and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the attainment of this object, it being understood that nothing will be done to prejudice the civil and religious rights of non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status of Jews in any other country.

It will be a very remarkable outcome of the War if the old Jewish aspirations unfulfilled for nearly 2,000 years should at last be realised. In this connection the following note by the Rev. J. T. Webster in the October *Record* of the United Free Church of Scotland may be of interest:—

“In an impressive speech at last General Assembly, the Bishop of Stepney, indicating historical facts, said that “of all movements in the whole world, no movements have so much significance to us as the movements of the Jewish race. History seems to show that wherever we have a movement of the Jews, God means something by it. All history points to the fact that when the Jews are on the move, great things are taking place.”

They are on the move to-day, as never perhaps in any Christian century. Jewry throughout the world has been shaken to its roots. The walls of the Polish ghetto have fallen, and hundreds of thousands, if not millions, have moved eastwards; at one stroke the Russian Revolution removed the shackles from six million Jews and set them free from a bondage paralleled only by that in which Pharaoh held their ancestors. Roumania has given her word that after the War liberty will be the portion of her Jewish inhabitants, and the whole of the Chosen People will then have been emancipated. The Jews bear their share in the present world-conflict; at present a brigade of Jews is being formed in Britain—the purpose being, as is reported, to send them to help in the new conquest of the Holy Land. The Jewish Nationalist movement, daily increasing in strength, has so crystallized its demands that the establishment of some sort of autonomous Jewish state in Palestine has become a subject in the counsels of statesmen. On the other hand, the Synagogue is in a ferment with regard to the future existence of Judaism; Jewish leaders openly express their fears that political emancipation spells the end of Jewish orthodoxy and can only result in the complete disintegration of the forces of Judaism.

This present and prospective upheaval is giving an open door to the Church. Hitherto, seemingly unconscious of her power in the Gospel, she has failed to do more than touch the barest fringes of Jewry, and has waited, as it were, for some miraculous intervention, outside herself, which would lead to the redemption of Israel. The evangeli-

zation of the Jews is a work, as the Bishop already quoted stated, "into which the Church as a whole has *not yet begun* to throw her heart with enthusiasm." But events call her to have herself prepared to seek the lost sheep of the house of Israel. They are on the move.

Our Jewish Committee has set itself to prepare for the future. It is endeavouring to make the facts of the situation known to presbyteries and congregations; it is taking counsel with other Jewish committees; by appointment of the General Assembly, it is pursuing an inquiry into the whole situation created in Jewry by the War; under its auspices, one successful conference on the Jewish question has already been held, and it is projecting an Inter-Presbyterian Council to meet in Glasgow in January, on Post-War needs and co-operative effort in Jewish evangelization. As a more immediate practical effort it has also in hand the raising of a Special War Fund for relief of Jewish distress and for the reconstruction of our mission work.

Such a fund is a distinct necessity if our Church is to bear its share in the solution of the after-war Jewish problem. The need for it has grown with the continuance of the War. So great is the misery and so widespread the distress that efforts for relief have never met the needs, and now the fount of charity begins to dry up, while, calamity following calamity, conditions have become worse than ever. The recent great fire at Salonika has left 50,000 Jews without shelter. If in Russia the Revolution, which gave liberty, inspired hope in the hearts of millions of Jews there, this is now also the hour of their direst agony. Recent weeks have brought us knowledge of rival factions of bitterness, demoralization, bloodshed, and threatening famine; but the Western world little realizes how the exiled Jews are the first to suffer from the unrest, confusion, and general disorganization, or how continuous fear of popular outbursts wears out their spirit. The Russian retreats have increased the numbers of refugees and added to the congestion; in certain places out-breaks of fire have occurred, in others inundations, and by an irony of fate the fugitives have been the principal sufferers. Food prices are prohibitive; people, formerly of wealth, sell their daughters' hair to buy bread. Death from starvation is a real fact; mothers are often happy to see their nursing babies die and end their misery. In the Holy Land conditions are, if possible, still worse. Typhus, cholera, and hunger are in all the land. There is scarcely a house where the spectre of famine has not stood on the threshold; women and children are starving and naked; in the towns a child may be purchased for a shilling or two—sold in desperation by starving parents. The dead lie unburied, and in some places no living being is to be found—death or exile has marked the fate of the inhabitants, and the only sound heard is the twittering

of sparrows building their nests in the deserted houses. Truly the Jews are on the move, but in the first instance it is a march on the highway of sorrow.

Such a tale of human sorrow cannot fail to move the heart of Scotland, and the fact that tens of thousands of Jews have laid down their lives on the battlefield in the Allies' cause is an added reason why we should help their families. The Jewish Committee has already passed £7,500 in the relief-grants for Russia, Egypt, and Palestine. Sums are still being sent through Christian workers to Russia; the Church of Scotland acts with us on behalf of fugitives in Egypt; for Palestine all the missionary societies are co-operating with us. Dr. Paterson of Hebron, now in Egypt, is our representative on the Administrative Committee for Syria and Palestine Relief. Five thousand pounds has been marked for reconstruction of our stations and hospitals, and, while food and clothing are required, it cannot be over-emphasized that nothing will be more needed, whenever the land is open, than the help our hospitals can give; without direct Christian work, Israel's deepest sore will remain unhealed. The reconstruction side of the War Fund accordingly requires special consideration, for, the Jews being on the move and the door being open, it is ours to meet them with the gospel. Over £6,000 is still required to make up the sum sanctioned by the General Assembly."

LITERARY NOTES.

THE wide interest aroused by Sir Oliver Lodge's *Raymond* is evidence of the fascination exercised over the human mind by supposed communications from the unseen world. In noticing a more recent contribution to the same subject (*On the Threshold of the Unseen*, by Sir W. F. Barrett, Kegan Paul, 6s. 6d. nett), the reviewer in *The Hibbert Journal* pertinently points out how incredulous, in spite of their will to believe, most men are even towards phenomena attested by eminent men of science like Sir William Crookes, Sir Oliver Lodge, Lord Rayleigh, and Sir William Barrett himself. The truth is, in our opinion, that all such evidence is either superfluous or inadequate. The man who has learnt from Jesus the certainty of eternal life has no need of it: the others will not 'be persuaded though one rose from the dead.'

DR. HASTINGS'S monumental *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* has reached its ninth volume and the article on Phrygians. Among the articles likely to attract immediate notice is that on

'Nietzsche,' by J. Havelock Ellis. We might also indicate as worthy of special attention, coming from the pens of highly qualified authors, 'Neo-Platonism,' by Dean Inge, and 'Philistines,' by Professor R. A. Stewart Macalister.

WE have before now had occasion to notice the elaborate work on Luther by Dr. Grisar, a member of the Society of Jesus. The sixth volume of the authorised translation, by E. M. Lamond, has now been published by Kegan Paul (12s. nett). But it is important that the reader should notice the limitations of the work. Not only must he allow for the fact that the author, as a Jesuit, can hardly be expected to view his 'hero' with approval. He must also make allowance for a distressing lack of the sense of humour. As *The Times Literary Supplement*, in a front-page notice, aptly says—'Every one who writes about particular passages of Luther's life must consult Professor Grisar for details. But if a man wants to understand Luther he had better content himself with the few pages of Melancthon's life of him, or Michelet's brilliant sketch,' or Köstlin, or Principal Lindsay's history of the Reformation.

TWO or three books among those directed to the inevitable aftermath of the War, and the labours of reconstruction, may be briefly noticed. *Proposals for the Prevention of Future Wars*, by various contributors (Allen and Unwin, 1s. nett), commands attention, if only because Viscount Bryce is one of the contributors. There is also *The Framework of a Lasting Peace*, edited by Leonard S. Woolf (Allen and Unwin, 4s. 6d. nett), a thoughtful, comparative review of past essays in this direction. *Freedom*, by Gilbert Cannan (Headley Bros., 2s. nett), is perhaps more stimulating by its passion than convincing by its argument.

A SUGGESTIVE contribution to the important task of retaining the salutary influence of the Classics in our necessary reconstruction of education is Professor Rhys Roberts's lecture, delivered before the British Academy, on *Greek Civilization as a Study for the People*. It is published by Milford, at 1s. nett, and is not without a moral for Indian readers.

READERS in India, as well as in Britain, will note with interest the publication of a new book by Dr. T. R. Glover. Its title, *From Pericles to Philip*, gives the range of time it covers; and its aim is to reveal, from the records of their many-sided activities and their con-

ceptions of conduct and education, how the Greeks of that age looked upon life. There are all too few good books on the fourth century in Greece, and Dr. Glover's work may help to make it more alive for those who have hitherto found its history rather dry. The book is published by Methuens (8s. 6d. nett).

A TIMELY publication, and yet of more than merely topical interest is the brilliant sketch of the long history of Mesopotamia, by Mr. Edwyn Bevan, entitled *The Land of the Two Rivers* (Arnold, 2s. 6d. nett). The gifted historian of the Seleucid dynasty writes with peculiar authority, and the quality of his work may be judged from the tribute of the *Times* reviewer, who compares it to those two masterly sketches, *The Dawn of History*, by Professor J. L. Myres, and *The Ancient East*, by Dr. Hogarth. Any one who even faintly realises the older history of Mesopotamia, from the days of Sumer and Akkad to the splendid Caliphate of the Abbassids, must rejoice at the prospect that at last it is to be delivered from the desolating yoke of the Turk.

MOST of our readers know something of Professor Saintsbury's voluminous and at the same time vivid and illuminating studies of English literature. As if it were not enough that he seems to have read everything ever written in that wide field, he has now shown once more how his catholic taste has comprehended an unusually complete study of the literature of France. *A History of the French Novel to the Close of the Nineteenth Century*, of which the first volume is now published by Macmillans (18s. nett), will lay the world of letters under one more heavy debt to the veteran Professor and author.

BOOK NOTICES.

THE following publications are by the Christian Literature Society, Madras, Allahabad, Calcutta, Rangoon and Colombo.

FOUNDATIONS FOR BELIEF IN GOD. By W. H. Campbell, M.A., B.D. (Telugu), pp. 128, price 3 annas.

An excellent little work on Christian Evidences. This second edition will be welcomed by many teachers and others whose work leads them to present the arguments for Christianity, systematically and constructively.

THE LORD'S DAY. By the Rev. A. M. Boggs. Two editions (English and Telugu), pp. 40, price 2 annas.

A brief and telling booklet designed to meet the arguments for observing the Seventh Day, or the old Jewish Sabbath, as distinguished from the observance of the "First Day of the Week," or the Christian Sunday. It is the best presentation in brief compass which we have seen. It should have a wide circulation.

CHRISTIANITY TESTED BY REASON. By Rev. R. A. Hume, M.A., D.D., of Ahmednager. Second Edition (revised), pp. 32, price 1½ annas. (English).

A concise statement of the principal truths of the Christian religion, together with reasons, very clearly and simply put, for holding them. Very useful for putting into the hands of inquirers, and of Christian workers who are often met with objections of a sort which they do not know just how to answer.

BIBLE STUDIES IN EVANGELISM. By Rev. A. A. Scott, B.A., B.D., of the Indore Christian College (English), pp. 68, price 3 annas.

A valuable contribution to Evangelistic Campaign Literature, designed to stimulate especially the volunteer and non-professional worker. The booklet is devotional throughout, and non-controversial. The four parts treat of The Duty of Evangelism; The Message of Evangelism; The Preparation for Delivery of the Message; and How the Message is to be presented.

COMMENTARY ON HOSEA (Telugu), pp. 134, price 10 annas.

The first twenty-one pages are given up to introductory matter pertaining to the life and times of the Prophet, and to an analysis of his writing. The remainder of the book is given to the full text of the Prophecy and to brief comments together with quite full references and cross references. A useful and much needed book.

THE UNIQUENESS OF CHRIST (Tamil), pp. 16, price 3 pies.

This tract was published first in English by the Association Press of the Y. M. C. A. and is now put forth in the vernacular as one of the publications of the Evangelistic Forward Movement in South India.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION IN INDIA.

*(An open letter from the National Missionary Council to
Missionaries in India).*

AT a time when the situation of public affairs in this country gives occasion for great anxiety, the National Missionary Council respectfully asks the Missionaries throughout India to make the public affairs of the country a subject of the most earnest prayer, that God may give to our rulers wisdom and strength, and to all who take part in political deliberations a spirit of calmness and reasonableness and a single eye to the better government of this country in the interest of all its inhabitants both the great and the small, the powerful and the weak, the educated and the ignorant.

Further, we would ask all missionaries to consider afresh the great ideals for which, in the providence of God, governments exist; and to let those principles dominate and control their own thinking in these times of controversy, and, when occasion requires, to make these principles clear to others. It is as much an ideal of good government to provide for everyone of its subjects the opportunity for the development of his personality, as it is to provide for the whole body politic the blessings of order, peace and justice.

The former of these is an ideal of good government because the better the individual citizens are, the better is the whole State. As the messengers of Christ we teach the freedom of man's will and the responsibility towards God and man which attaches to that freedom. We teach that our Lord came that men might have life and have it more abundantly. We are well aware that nothing adds more to the richness of man's life and to the development of his personality than responsibility. Among the responsibilities which thus draw out the best of man's powers is responsibility to his nation for its good government. Accordingly one result of our work will be to make men fit for, as well as desirous of, taking their share in the burden of responsibility for their country's welfare. We ask our Missionary brethren to fix their eyes steadily on this implication of one of the most fundamental elements of our teaching.

At the same time Christians have ever taught that "the powers that be are ordained of God" for the special purpose of maintaining equal justice between man and man and of giving security of life to all. The larger the proportion of the ignorant and the poor in a State,

the greater is the need for efficiency in the administrative government. For under weak or corrupt governments it is the poor and ignorant who suffer.

Again even those who are most concerned for the development of the individual should reflect that in the absence of order and justice the great majority of men are deprived of the opportunity for that development, and often of liberty itself.

It is the duty of Christians continually to keep before their minds these two great ideal purposes of government, the encouragement of free developing life and the maintenance of equal justice; to labour to get them understood by all men; and to pray God to enable the Government of each country to realise them more and more.

The contribution of the Missionary body to the governance of India should be the same, in character, as the contribution which the Christian Church makes to any State, namely to awaken men to their responsibility towards their fellowmen and towards God, to fit them to make and to bear that responsibility, and to offer for their acceptance the closest bond of unity between men and classes, the unity in Christ.

Finally the Council would ask the Missionary body to commit the issues of the present time to God in the full confidence of faith and hope, knowing that He who has called us to be fellow-workers with Him is working in us and in others towards the fulfilment of His eternal purposes of good.

SCIENCE NOTES.

WHEN aluminium was discovered by Faraday in 1827 he had no idea of the importance of his discovery. For many years the element could not be prepared in the perfectly pure state, so that the early aluminium put on the market was very unsatisfactory and tricky from a manufacturing point of view. Many of the old school of engineers stoutly maintained, in fact, that aluminium was simply dirt electrolytically persuaded to become a metal but ever ready to revert to its original state, and in consequence they placed no faith in it whatever. The outstanding property of aluminium is its lightness. It is too soft to be used alone for engineering purposes and in the pure state it does not corrode. Its great defect is that in cooling in the foundry it contracts very considerably and special allowance has to be made for this. Mr. E. Carey Hill in a paper on "Aluminium in the Motor Industry," read before Coventry Engineering Society, dealt specially with the usefulness of the alloys of this element to the engineer. The alloying of

metals is one of the most complicated chemical processes. There are several alloys of aluminium and copper; those rich in aluminium or rich in copper, each having its special use. Aluminium, copper and zinc are sometimes alloyed together. Manganese and magnesium are also employed with aluminium. The alloy of aluminium and copper with manganese gives great hardness and is used for the strong parts of the framework of Zeppelins. "Duralumin," the well-known Vicker's alloy, also contains traces of manganese. Magnesium alloyed to aluminium gives a resulting product of great lightness, but magnesium at present is very difficult to obtain.

AMONG the most important products of the coal-tar dyes are the stains used to tint microscopic specimens of different kinds. Before the War, Germany held a practical monopoly of these but during the last three years necessity has compelled the chemists of the Allies to turn their attention to making these chemicals. This they have done with such success that German manufacturers will find it almost impossible, after peace is declared, to regain the premier position they formerly had in this field.

METHYLENE BLUE has two derivatives, methylene violet and methylene azure, which are extremely useful for staining purposes, and until quite recently both these stains, discovered by Giemsa, were made solely by the German firms to whom he confided his secret technique. Quite lately Messrs. Tribardeau and Dulreuil at one of the sessions of the French Academy of Science showed how by very simple means they had prepared these stains and so liberated French laboratories from being tributary for these products to the German chemical houses.

A ONE per cent. solution in distilled water of medicinal methylene, of French manufacture, is made and to this five to ten per cent. of liquid ammonia is added and the mixture heated to boiling, when an abundant precipitate is formed which is filtered and the filtrate dried in the filter paper in an oven at 40°C. The resulting powder is pure methylene violet. The precipitate adhering to the walls of the flask is left, ice cooled, for twenty-four hours and becomes blue black. When recovered in distilled water it is filtered and treated in the same way as the first filtrate giving methylene azure as the second powder. Proper manipulation results in almost equal quantities of ammoniacal azure powder and violet powder. From these powders three colouring solutions have been formed:—

(1) an aqueous solution of azure (2) an aqueous solution of azure and violet called *polychrome blue* (3) a glycerinated alcoholic solution

of azure and eosine, analogous to Giemsa's mixture, to which the name *azéo* has been given. The first is of great value for staining cells contained in the liquids of pathologic effusions. The second replaces phenic thionine and also Vienna blue and is particularly valuable for colouring specimens of sputum, pus, etc. The third and last replaces the well-known Giemsa stain.

PROFESSOR F. SODDY, F.R.S. is still continuing his researches on the horium lead problem, and his estimate of the age of the earth from the consideration of thorite lead gives 131,000,000 years, which is in good agreement with the geological estimate. If lead itself were unstable, it might become mercury by the loss of an α particle, uismuth by losing a β particle and thallium by losing both an α and a β particle. In future atomic weight determinations, already demanding the greatest accuracy, will have to be conducted on new lines and interpreted in a novel sense. Elements may be mixtures of isotopes, *i.e.*, elements differing by from two to four units in atomic weight and which are chemically inseparable and chemically identical. If this is so then atomic weight determinations lose their present significance as ultimate quantitative tests of elementary character. Further Prout's thesis, that the different elements may simply be multiples of one or two primordial elements gains a new significance. Professor Soddy suggests hydrogen and helium as possible ultimate constituents.

THE well-known story of the grains of wheat on the chess-board which is used to illustrate the cumulative effect of a geometrical progression appears in its complete form in Mr. E. V. Lucas's new volume of essays, *A Boswell of Baghdad*. The title of the volume is that of an essay on Ibn Khallikan's biographical dictionary of Arab Literature which was compiled in the thirteenth century and was translated into English many years ago. According to this writer, chess was invented by one Sissah for the amusement of King Shihram, and, when he was asked by the King to name his reward, he said :—" I then demand that a grain of wheat be placed in the first square of the chess-board, two in the second, and that the number of grains be progressively doubled till the last square is attained ; whatever this quantity may be, I ask you to bestow it on me." The King ridiculed Sissah's demand and was astonished to learn that it was not so modest as it seemed, for his officials informed him that there was not enough wheat in the world to satisfy the inventor. Then said the King to Sissah : " Your ingenuity in imagining such a request is yet more admirable than your talent in inventing the game of chess."

AN account of an interview with Dr. Hugh Robert Mill, of the British Rainfall Organisation, Camden Square, London, has been published, in which the question was raised of the alleged effect of gunfire in causing heavy rain. Dr. Mill's attitude was sceptical. He pointed out that a similar phenomenon occurred in the same districts on several occasions before the War and said that another argument against this theory is the fact that the energy liberated by the heaviest gunfire bears only a very small proportion to that which is required for the production of even a slight shower over a wide area. Dr. Mill was also asked if he could confirm the general impression that the English climate was changing, and replied with an unhesitating negative. His office has a collection of records of rainfall going back to 1677. The earlier ones are extracted from contemporary publications, such as the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and in most cases there is every reason to believe them to be as reliable, so far as they go, as those of later date. If weather conditions to-day are compared with those recorded in these reports of more than two centuries ago they are found to be very much the same.

THE swarms of flies which infested the camps and hospitals in Mesopotamia during the early days of the campaign not only caused great discomfort but were a serious menace to the health of our soldiers. Entomologists and sanitary officers have, however, succeeded in coping with the evil so that now there are comparatively few flies to be seen. Many ingenious devices have been used, one of the most effective being what is called the arsenite fly-trap. A piece of cloth with the ends sewn together is stretched over two rollers which are mounted at the ends of a vertical frame, and the upper roller is provided with a handle so that the cloth can be made to move round in an endless band. The lower roller is immersed in a tank, improvised out of a kerosine oil tin, which contains a mixture of sodium arsenite and sugar. The moistened cloth attracts the thirsty flies and they succumb to the effects of the poison.

IN view of the scarcity of coal or wood in many subtropical regions, such as the Punjab and Egypt, says the *Indian and Eastern Engineer*, it is interesting to note the report recently made by Sir F. Nicholson, describing experiments in the employment of solar ovens. These consist of stout teakwood boxes, blackened inside and fitted with a double glass top. They are suitably insulated, and with this simple apparatus a temperature of from 240° to 275° Fahr. is easily obtained during the middle of the day from 11 A.M. to 3 P.M., and 290°

with the aid of a single glass mirror. The oven, once constructed, costs nothing. For ordinary baking or cooking purposes it is an efficient and cheap way of utilising the sun's heat and it may be applied in many other ways.

THE best wood for making matches in India is said to be the Himalayan silver fir and spruce. The difficulty in the way of using this wood is that the trees are so inaccessible. They occur at high altitudes and many of them are of great size. It has been suggested that portable splint-making machines might be erected in the forests or their vicinity, and that mechanical means of transport, such as wire ropeways or light tramways might be used to convey the splints to the lower levels whence they might be taken to factories in the plains and made up into matches.

RECENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

THE *Contemporary Review* for October is a somewhat heavy number. It opens with an article on 'The Education Bill, 1917,' by Lord Sheffield. The Bill, Lord Sheffield says, is a very important measure, and it has so many good points, he also says, that it should be heartily supported. At the same time he thinks it well to criticise it for its omissions, its changes, and the heavy expenditure which it involves, which will not be fully covered by the increased grants for which it provides. Some of its provisions concerning the relations of the various authorities to each other he finds rather vague. It does not sufficiently safeguard the rights of the local authorities, which in matters appertaining to elementary education are much more in touch than the country authorities with the parents of the children to be educated. It is of a somewhat too bureaucratic nature and fails to realise that by decentralisation, stimulation of local interest, and expansion of local self-government, the expansion of the educational system is most likely to be effected, and its efficiency and popularity increased.

In spite of minor defects, Lord Sheffield thinks the Bill has conspicuous merits. It makes provision for a wider scheme of instruction in elementary schools than is at present permissible, and in regard to obligatory attendance it marks a great advance. Hence forward every child, without exception, must attend school continuously

up to the end of the term following his or her fourteenth birthday, and local authorities can, if they please, enforce attendance for a year longer. One of the most important provisions in the Bill is the enactment of compulsory attendance of pupils at free continuation schools, which will have to be held during the day time for practically all persons from fourteen to eighteen years of age for 320 hours in the year. The difficulties and expense entailed in carrying this provision into operation will be enormous. The Bill fails to embody several demands that have been made by the friends of progressive education, but as it tries to avoid political and denominational controversies it could not very well meet these.

Mr. B. S. Rowntree deals with the subject of 'Labour Unrest.' There are grievances incidental to a state of war, but there are permanent causes of labour unrest which would make industrial peace impossible even if there were no war. These he deals with under the heads of wages, status, and working conditions. Many efforts to deal with labour unrest have failed, Mr. Rowntree says, because they were directed solely to one aspect of the question. It is of little avail to raise wages if the condition of a factory is intolerable and the worker is a mere tool, nor is it of much use to surround a man with ideal working conditions if he is not paid a living wage. He proceeds, therefore, to deal with the conditions necessary to industrial peace under the three heads mentioned. In regard to wages he says that we cannot expect industrial peace on the basis of a wage which is the minimum on which mere physical efficiency can be maintained, and he suggests that an increase of about 25 per cent. on this minimum is necessary. As to the possibility of industry being able to bear this increase it can only do so if the productivity of the workers is increased. This may be done in four ways—(1) by improved methods, (2) by improved systems of payment, (3) by greater security against unemployment, and (4) by improved personal relations. By improved personal relations Mr. Rowntree means the replacement of shop managers and foremen who have obtained their positions simply on account of their technical knowledge or skill by men who have the gift of leadership in addition to knowledge or skill.

With regard to the status of the workman in modern industry, Mr. Rowntree says he must be regarded not as a paid automaton for carrying out unquestioningly any orders that may be given to him but as a co-operator who brings his labour to the common business of production just as the employer brings his capital and the manager his managerial capacity. He suggests, that the workers should, through or in co-operation with their trade organisation, appoint representatives to Works Councils which should decide, in conjunction

with the management, questions effecting working conditions. These Councils might also act as a Court of Appeal in connection with cases of dismissal. Mr. Rowntree emphasises the importance of some scheme of joint management in all efforts to promote industrial harmony. He believes that if Works Councils are established, the conditions of work will soon adjust themselves.

In conclusion Mr. Rowntree remarks that his proposals will probably appear extravagant to some employers and inadequate to some workers, but he thinks that if they were carried out in the spirit as well as in the letter we should have travelled far towards industrial peace.

Mr. Sidney Webb contributes an article entitled 'The World Famine into which we are Hurrying.' He says that when the War ends large parts of Europe and Asia will be near starvation and that, at any rate for some time after peace, the Government of every nation, whatever its political or economic theories, will be driven to maintain the controls it has had to exercise during the War; that it will refuse, whatever may be the relative price levels, to permit the export of any of the commodities within its dominions (including its colonial possessions) of which it has not a supply sufficient for the needs of its own people; and that it will not allow its merchant shipping to go off to earn high freights in conveying goods elsewhere, without first insuring a sufficient supply of the import that its own citizens require. On the other hand, Mr. Webb says, each country will be under the next urgent need of developing as much export trade as possible, in order both to find prompt employment for its disbanded soldiers and to be able to pay for the imports it imperatively requires, what the situation points to, is the imperative necessity of the complete abandonment for a time, of the principle of *laissez faire* and of the adoption of a policy of a deliberately concerted distribution of the exportable surpluses, as regards the important commodities in which there will be a world scarcity, by some international machinery, and for the allocation according to needs of the available merchant shipping that will be required and, so far, as necessary, of land transport. Within each country, too, a similar plan will have to be adopted. In regard both to the nations of the world and to the individuals of each nation the principle of priority will have to be adopted, that is, the first thing to be aimed at will have to be the satisfaction of the most urgent primary needs of the several nations and of the individuals of each nation.

Mr. A. H. E. Taylor contrasts Germany and Austria in respect of national unity and the possibility of the disruption of either of these States as a guarantee of peace. He is of opinion that the

disruption of Austria, being founded on the principle of nationality, would give stability to South-Eastern Europe. To disrupt Germany, on the other hand, would produce a state of unrest though there is particularism in Germany, it is a particularism directed equally against the minor States, and its force is far less than the impulse towards national unity, which with the German lust of dominion has been the cause of the present War. Over forty years of national union, Mr. Taylor says, have put the Germans into a solid whole, despite the local differences always to be found in large nations. The political evolution of the German Empire has not been according to English ideas, but German institutions, as they stand, have given efficiency, have aided material progress, and have advanced the international power and prestige of the Empire, and the German mind is very pragmatic. The one sure way of limiting the power for evil of Germany, Mr. Taylor says, is the destruction of Austria-Hungary and thereby of the European *bloc*.

There is an unsigned article on the 'Vatican and the Germanic Powers'. Referring to the intervention of the Pope in the cause of peace, the writer asks the reason for the uniformly unfavourable reception which has been accorded to it. The first impression of many outsiders, is that the Papal intervention has come too late, and that the Pope's persistent and cautious silence from the outset of the War is bound to deprive his present utterances of the necessary moral authority. Then the proposals of the Pope have been felt to be suspiciously partial to the German powers. In the opinion of the writer of the present article, however, the Papacy is now paying the penalty for the great betrayal of 1887, when the Vatican became the agent of Pan-Germanism, allied itself with the Pan-Germans in Austria, and pledged itself to the ideals of Treitschke.

Professor Lindsay Rogers writes on 'The War and Liquor Restriction in the United States'. Restriction of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors in the United States is not so simple a matter as it is in some countries. Prohibitory legislation is within the exclusive power of the States, but the fact that the federal constitution has delegated to Congress certain powers upon which the States cannot encroach, has made it practically impossible for the States to have completely effective regulations. Congress, for instance, has the exclusive right to regulate inter-state commerce, so that while a State can prohibit the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors it cannot prevent the importation of them. Professor Lindsay Rogers thinks the policy of liquor restriction which the United States has adopted for the period of the War shows conclusively that Congress is willing to disregard all traditions as to the

proper agencies to exert control and to stretch its legislative competence to breaking point if thereby victory in the great struggle can be hastened. He explains why restriction has been made to apply, for the present at all events, to distilled liquors only and not to fermented liquors.

Miss M. E. Durham discusses 'The Albanian Question'; Mr. V. Nosuk of the Czech Press Bureau replies to Mr. H. N. Brailsford's article on the Federal Reorganisation of Austria; and Louise E. Mathaei deals with 'Domestic Politics in Hungary.' Dr. Samuel McComb contributes a theological article entitled 'The Great Companionship'; Sir Charles Bruce gives a description of French Life in the Crimea; and Mrs. Sturge Gretton calls attention to some of Meredith's tributes to France and Italy. There are two or three articles which we need not specify, and the number concludes with the usual reviews of books.

FROM THE QUARTERLIES.

THE *Hibbert Journal* for October has an article on "The Peaceable Habits of Primitive Communities. An Anthropological Study of the Golden Age," by W. J. Perry.

Mr. Perry quotes the story of the Ages of Man from Hesiod, whom he rather flatteringly describes as "the clear-headed Greek thinker," the ages of gold, silver, bronze and iron; and says "Hesiod's exposition is remarkable, for it associates changes in the behaviour of men with successive stages in the development of human culture. As the latter advances, the former degenerates from the peaceful innocence and morality of the Golden Age to the cruel and immoral conduct of the Iron Age. . . . Hesiod therefore has proposed a definite problem, which should be capable of solution: was the age when men were ignorant of the use of metals, and had not learned to cultivate the ground, one of peace and moral behaviour on the part of mankind?" (To prevent a possible confusion the writer informs us that Hesiod probably used the terms 'golden' and 'silver' symbolically to denote the moral worth of the dwellers in those times and did not mean that they knew the use of these metals). The answer given by Mr. Perry to that question is an unqualified Yes.

First he turns our attention to the Stone Age in which man lingered for an indefinite time with no knowledge of metals or agriculture. During the first four of the eight periods into which the Stone Age is divided "there is not a single implement which can be regarded as a weapon," they are all flat scrapers for use in the preparation of food

and other household occupations. They probably made wooden spears for hunting animals for food, "but the absence of stone weapons for striking suggests that no fighting took place in those times. . . . Weapons appear in the Mousterian period in the form of stone lance-heads, but it is not possible to say whether they were for fighting or for hunting." But Mr. Perry leans to the belief that they were for hunting, and never seems to have considered that they may have been used for both. What reason have we for believing that the man of the Stone Age used weapons (wooden spears, slings, stone lance-heads) for hunting, and either never thought of turning them in anger against other men, or was so self-controlled and peaceable that he never allowed himself to fight? *

Another of this writer's arguments for the peacefulness of primitive man is that their art is concerned with peaceful pursuits. They painted on the walls of their caves pictures of the animals they hunted, no warlike scenes. But who can say what *tabus* may have forbidden the portrayal of fights? It is impossible to argue from the fact that they are not painted that they did not take place.† And what theory can explain the human skulls which have been found cloven and smashed by the blow of some heavy weapon?

Mr. Perry does not go further back to still more primitive communities, but on his lines can we not picture the beautiful unanimity and peacefulness of a family of anthropoid apes, or the gentle virtues fostered in a community of several such families? Must we not marvel at their unselfishness and honesty, none stealing another's nuts, fruit found by one scrupulously divided among all, no fights between individuals or communities, but all quarrels settled amicably,—a Golden Age indeed.

No; the title of this paper shows in a nutshell the absurdity of its theory; for if the study of anthropology tells us anything at all, it is that the nearer primitive man is to the animals the more is his conduct shaped by impulses, instincts and passions, some noble, but all alike ungoverned and untutored, much as we see them in little children.

Having given all the evidence that the Stone Age affords, the writer describes at some length the habits and customs of various

* For that matter, all animals, including man, are capable of fighting with the weapons which nature has furnished; hence the importance of—
Distinguishing those that have feathers, and bite—
From those that have whiskers, and scratch."

† As a matter of fact Sir Arthur Evans tells us that in early frescoes found in the Altamira caves, belonging to a pre-neolithic age, at least 10,000 years earlier than the oldest monuments of Egypt, the subjects are not only animals but women, the sacral dance, and archers arrayed in conflicting bands.

hunting peoples of modern times and the present day. He says "Hunting peoples are lower in culture than any others. As a rule, they live in communities of relatives, with no social classes, and holding property in common. They have no houses, but live in the open, or in rock shelters, or under wind screens of branches and leaves. Some go entirely nude. Several of them do not dispose of their dead in any way, but simply cover them with leaves and go away to some other place to live, returning sometimes after some years. No metals are worked, and agriculture is unknown." He then takes as instances the Veddas of Ceylon, the hunting peoples of the Malay Peninsula and East Indian Archipelago, the Negritos of the Philippines, the Andamanese, the Punan of Borneo, the Kubu of Sumatra, the natives of the Aru Islands near New Guinea; the hunting races of Siberia, the Eskimo and some of the Indians of Canada and North America; the peoples of Tierra del Fuego; the Aborigines of Australia and Tasmania (but these with reservation); and the Bushmen of Africa. And his summing up is "Not only are hunting peoples peaceful, but they also resemble the people of the Golden Age in living moral lives. . . . The example of the hunting peoples therefore shows that it is possible for communities of human beings to live in accordance with the moral code of the commandments."

Among the many races named, Mr. Perry says nothing about the majority of the North American Indian tribes who were emphatically hunting people, with practically no knowledge of agriculture, and yet fiercely warlike and of a diabolical cruelty.

This one example from modern times and Sir Arthur Evans' facts about Stone Age painting, are enough to show that Mr. Perry's theory is difficult to support; and, even if it were incontestable that primitive hunting peoples lived peacefully, do we wish to purchase that boon at the cost of all that civilisation has given us? Are we to envy these backward, undeveloped races, and desire "a return to the cultural condition of the hunting stage"? In spite of all the ills of modern life, we must still be thankful for the restless energy that has led us onward through the ages. It seems to us that Mr. Perry is among those whose revolt from the horror and agony of the War has led them into the idea that civilisation is all evil and corrupting, and in the midst of the present horror they turn to the belief that a time of entirely different conditions was necessarily a Golden Age. Terrible as war is, can we say that mere peacefulness, the peace of indolence and indifference and ignorance, is a better thing?

COLLEGE NOTES.

COLLEGE DAY will be celebrated this year on Wednesday the 26th of December. Dr. Miller's customary message to former students to be read at the public meeting in the evening, has been received. It indicates how his mind is brooding over the War and the multifarious issues involved in it for India among other countries: he points out how the foundations of Indian self-government have been laid in the educational system and require to be built on in this as well as in other spheres of national life under conditions which will ensure success and permanence. The chair at the public meeting will be taken by the Hon'ble the Muppil Nayar of Kavalapara. This is the first time, we believe, that the College Day Committee have drawn upon the landed aristocracy for presiding over their annual function. That they have not done this earlier is perhaps not their fault. For those who belong to the zamindari class among our former students are not many. Ours is mainly a people's college. Not that members of aristocratic families are not welcome to it nor are out of place in it. The later career of such of them as have been in the College points to their having benefited by participation in the training, intellectual and moral, which is given to our students without distinction of caste, creed or condition. One may on this occasion recall members of the landed aristocracy who have been educated in our College. The earliest perhaps was Mr. Bhaskara Setupati, the Zamindar of Ramnad, the father of the present Raja of Ramnad, member of the Madras Legislative Council. He studied in the F. A. class and for a few months in the B. A. classes in the middle eighties of last century—before he assumed charge of his estate from the Court of Wards under whose supervision he lived in Madras, in days when Newington was not yet. The next in point of time was a member of the ruling family of Mysore,—Sirdar M. Kantharaj Urs, the maternal uncle of the present Maharajah and a Councillor of Mysore. Mr. Kantharaj graduated from the College in 1894, with Sanskrit as his second language and History as his optional subject. In his treatment of a student like Kantharaj Urs, Dr. Miller, without emphasising social distinction, remembered the high responsibilities to which the student would in later life be called and hence lost no opportunity of sowing in his mind seeds of wisdom and goodness calculated to germinate and bear fruit in later life so as to benefit the thousands of people whose happiness depended upon his conduct and influence. Another

zamindar student was Mr. K. R. V. Krishna Rao of Pollavaram who has represented the landlords of the northern districts in the Madras Legislative Councils for several years past. The most recent of the zamindari youths who studied in the College were Mr. M. Subbarayan Zamindar of Kumaramangalam, Salem District, and Mr. Ramunni Muppil Nayar, Zamindar of Kavalapara, South Malabar, both of them Newington boys contemporaneous with the Zamindar of Telaprole. Mr. Subbarayan whose alliance with a Brahmin (Brahmo) family in Mangalore has helped to advance the cause of social reform is now in England. His classmate and chum, Mr. Muppil Nayar is a member of the Madras Legislative Council,—the youngest Councillor sharing side by side with his professor Mr. Pittendrigh the labours of the legislator official and non-official, elected and nominated of this Presidency. It is to a fresh wood, and pasture new then that the College Day Committee have gone for their Chairman at this year's celebration, a fact indicative of the expanding limits of the articulate body politic of the day. Those who have been content to live in the silence of private life are being daily drawn out into light and speech and activity.

Amidst the anxieties of war and the distractions of politics not many have realised that a quarter of a century has passed away since Alfred Tennyson died. The present writer recalls the memorial meeting held in the College Hall a few days after the poet's crossing of the bar. Mr. T. Ramakrishna Pillai presided and Dr. Miller spoke. The present President of the College Day Association, himself a poet of no mean order, was one of the few Indians who held correspondence with the Poet Laureate. Dr. Miller, had only recently lost his mother, Elizabeth Miller, after whom is named the Elizabeth Miller Gold Medal and Prize founded by Dr. Miller's younger brother, Rev. Alexander Miller and awarded to fourth-year students for efficiency in Scripture. Dr. Miller was born when Tennyson was writing *In Memoriam*. He might therefore be said to have grown in the atmosphere created by Tennyson among other leaders of the thought in the nineteenth century. The event therefore came upon him with a sense of personal loss, which the bereavement he had lately sustained only helped to make more poignant. It is a pity that in those days there was no regular chronicling of College events. The College Notes then published in the Magazine were written by Dr. Miller himself. He did not record College events regularly, as they were inextricably bound up with his own achievements. If in those days there had been a regular reporting of College news we should have had on record the speech he made at the Tennyson memorial meeting:—one of the most powerful and elevating addresses ever delivered by him in Madras,

inspired as it was by an overpowering sense of the neighbourhood of the spiritual world in which the dead live, move and have their being.

They do not die
Nor lose their mortal sympathy,
Nor change to us, although they change ;

Rapt from the fickle and the frail
With gathered power, yet the same,
Pierces the keen seraphic flame
From orb to orb, from veil to veil.

Eternal process moving on,
From state to state the spirit walks
And these are but the shattered stalks
Or ruin'd chrysalis of one.

Nor blame I death, because he bore
The use of virtue out of earth :
I know transplanted human worth
Will bloom to profit elsewhere.

Tennyson's is no longer the living voice that it was to the men of the nineteenth century. His is but one of the many voices which constitute the orchestra of English literature. But will he ever be forgotten or his influence become extinct ? This question is answered in an article published in the *Spectator* entitled "Tennyson Twenty-Five Years After." Present students will learn from it where exactly the star of Tennyson stands in the poetic firmament of the day :—

On October 6th, 1892, died Alfred Tennyson, who for half-a-century had been by universal assent chief of the English poets of his age. He had had contemporaries, it is true, whose appeal to limited classes had been stronger than his own. Arthur Hugh Clough, whose poetry rose from profounder depths of intellect than Tennyson's, had more fully voiced the spiritual unrest of the period ; Matthew Arnold, whose keenly critical eye viewed life steadily and viewed it whole as Tennyson's vision never did, had satisfied more completely the analytic minds of the time ; above all, Robert Browning, whose faith was incomparably more robust than Tennyson's, had more adequately expressed the resolute optimism, amid depressing circumstances, of Victorian religion. But no one of these poets, still less any of their minor colleagues, had seriously contested Tennyson's supremacy. Clough was at once too classical and too shocking, Arnold too cold and depressing, Browning too recondite and obscure ; all were too severely restricted in the sphere of their operations. Tennyson was indisputably the representative singer of the Victorian era. The central half of the nineteenth century was as clearly the Age of Tennyson as was the corresponding portion of the eighteenth century the Age of Johnson, or that of the seventeenth the Age of Milton.

It is worth while asking, now that the twenty-fifth anniversary of his death has come round, first, what were the qualities which gave Tennyson his uncontested pre-eminence during his lifetime ; secondly, why his works fell into considerable neglect and disrepute after his decease ; thirdly, whether—as was the case with Byron, whose fate was very similar to his own—there is likely to be a Tennysonian revival in the future.

The answer to the first question is not hard to find. Tennyson owed his ascendancy in part to the exquisite music of his verse, in part to the representative character of his thought, in part to the sensibility of his emotion. There have been few more perfect masters of English prosody, few whose diction is more unfailingly felicitous, few whose standard of technical excellence is so high. One searches his work in vain for a false quantity or a defective assonance, and the only imperfect rhyme that occurs to the memory of the present writer is the "hundred" in the "Charge of the Light Brigade" which is unequally yoked with "blundered," "thundered," "sundered," and "wondered." As a writer of blank verse none, save Milton only, can compare with him. Many of his phrases impress themselves ineffaceably upon the mind, and constantly recur to the consciousness like the strains of haunting melody—such phrases as the splendid onomatopoeic lines:—

"The moan of doves in immemorial elms,
And murmuring of innumerable bees."

But splendour of phraseology alone would not have given Tennyson his primacy. If command of language and mastery of the art of prosody had been the sole requisites of poetic overlordship, it is doubtful whether Tennyson would have more than held his own with the unconventional Swinburne. It was the content of his poems, as well as their form, that appealed to the cultivated public. Tennyson more than any other writer of his day interpreted the Victorian age to itself. It was an age of rapid change and palpable transition. Political revolutions, social upheavals, moral rebellions, intellectual insurrections, religious revolts, were transforming the old and stable world into a chaos whence a new order could not, by many anxious watchers, be seen to emerge. Tennyson was keenly sensitive to the movements of the time. He took an absorbed interest in current politics; he sympathized with social reform; he kept in close touch with the new science, and, in particular, seized with quick comprehension and eager welcome the novel and (at first appearance) disquieting doctrine of evolution; he was profoundly religious, and he recognized the necessity, both for himself and for his generation, of reconciling if possible the new knowledge with the old faith. He first convinced himself and then he showed his fellows—in poems such as "In Memoriam," "The Ancient Sage," "Silent Voices," and "Crossing the Bar"—how the perplexities of the moment could be resolved, and how the essentials of the ancient creeds could be restated in terms of the most modern science. He made it clear to many doubtful and troubled minds that, in spite of the triumphs of naturalism, it was still possible, and indeed necessary, to hold fast to faith in human freedom, in Divine immanence, and in personal immortality. He based his conviction of individual liberty, of the presence of God, and of the reality of the life eternal, not on external evidences which criticism can question or scepticism assail, but on intuitions and revelations peculiar to the patient and expectant soul:—

"If e'er when faith had fall'n asleep,
I heard a voice 'believe no more'
And heard an ever-breaking shore
That tumbled in the Godless deep;
A warmth within the breast would melt
The freezing reason's colder part,
And like a man in wrath the heart
Stood up and answer'd 'I have felt.'"

It was because he *felt* so acutely the perplexities of the age, and because he wrestled with them faithfully and resolved them hopefully, that he made so strong an appeal to the conservative culture of his generation. Not all his poems, however, were didactic. Many, and prominent among them those —e.g., the “*Idylls of the King*” and “*Enoch Arden*”—written during the thirty years (1850-1880) when his powers were at their maturity and his fame at its height, were purely descriptive and narrative. These owed little of their popularity to their content of thought. Their appeal was exclusively literary and sentimental: but they deserved their fame as splendid monuments of the capacities of English verse:—

“*Enoch’s white horse, and Enoch’s ocean-spoil
In ocean-smelling osier, and his face,
Rough-redden’d with a thousand winter gales,
Not only to the market cross were known,
But in the leafy lanes behind the down,
Far as the portal-warding lion-whelp,
And peacock-yewtree of the lonely Hall,
Whose Friday fare was Enoch’s ministering.*”

Where else, as Bagehot long ago asked, can be found a more magniloquent statement of the trivial fact that a fisherman caught and sold fish?

“*Alfred*,” said Edward FitzGerald as he read verses of this kind, “is full of poetry but has nothing to put it in.” The truth is that during these central years Tennyson was engaged in undecided battle with his spiritual foes, and not till in later life he emerged victorious and serene could he return to the deep themes whose treatment forms his great and distinctive contribution to the literature of his time. It is not in virtue of “*Enoch Arden*,” or even of the “*Idylls of the King*” (wherein rude warriors of the sixth century wear the arms and accoutrements of the fourteenth, and give utterance to the philanthropic sentiments of the nineteenth), that he will live, if live he does, but in virtue of his earlier and his later poems of faith and hope and love.

But this suggests the second question: Will he live; or will the comparative neglect and indifference with which he has been regarded during the past quarter of a century continue to be his lot during the present and subsequent generations? There can be no doubt that at the time of his death he had lost touch with the world. He was old and weary; the courage of “*Ulysses*” and the confident optimism of “*Locksley Hall*” had given place to the apprehension of “*Locksley Hall Sixty Years After*” and the gloom of “*Despair*.” In an age become wholly democratic he remained invincibly aristocratic. Among a people rapidly drifting towards Socialism he clung to the principles of mid-Victorian Individualism. From the new cosmopolitanism he held aloof, firm in his patriotism and his insularity. Even the philosophic and religious conflict in which he had played so prominent and noble a part was moving away from the fields with which he was familiar, and was being carried into regions unrealized by his imagination. The battle against materialism and agnosticism in which he had valiantly fought had been won; the new struggle, for which his weapons were not fitted, was being joined on the unfamiliar grounds of pseudo-spiritualism, superstition, charlatanism, and religious imposture. Tennyson, in short, was so emphatically the poet of the Victorian era that the passing of that era with its transitional doubts and its ephemeral perplexities rendered much of his didactic poetry obsolete. Men had ceased to feel the weight of the particular burdens from which he had sought to

deliver them. As to his epic and descriptive verse, changed literary fashion had already begun to turn popular taste away from the flawless metrical forms of which Tennyson was the supreme exponent to the shapeless and cacophonous impressionism which claims to be the authentic Georgian poetry.

Nevertheless, though the vogue of Tennyson has waned, and though it is improbable that he will ever be restored to that place of eminence which he held in his lifetime, yet it is certain that his cult will be revived and that his essential greatness will receive enduring recognition. He will survive, first, as a permanent memorial of the age whose dominant intellectual and moral characteristics he so perfectly depicted. No historian of nineteenth-century thought will be able to ignore him, for, as Jowett once said to him, his poetry has in it "an element of philosophy more to be considered than any regular philosophy in England." He will survive, secondly, as the writer of some of the most exquisite lyrics in the language. Such verse as the four stanzas of "Tears, idle tears" will be found in all treasuries of song as long as knowledge of the English language continues upon the earth. He will survive, finally and pre-eminently, for his religious quality. For though it is true that he dealt with doubts that were transient, and with perplexities that were peculiar to the circumstances of his own day, yet he stood forth before all others as the champion and exponent of the resolute and unchanging "will to believe." He felt the necessity, old as humanity, of faith in a deity with whom man can hold communion. He felt the need, old as death, of hope of a spirit-world where nothing loving or beloved is lost. Because he gave expression to man's passionate determination not to let God go, and not to surrender the blest anticipation of reunion with those who have passed beyond the veil, he will live as long as there are men who have souls to aspire or hearts to grieve.

F. J. C. HEARNshaw.

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*REMEMBER AND FORGET.**

By E. M. MACPHAIL, M.A., B.D.

Remember the former things of old.—Isaiah xlv: 9.

Remember ye not the former things.—Isaiah xliii: 18.

TRUTH of all kinds, and religious truth not least, requires sometimes to be imparted by means of teaching that seems to be almost self-contradictory. Our Lord Himself often made use of paradoxes in his teaching. At one time he said, "He that is not with me is against me," and at another, "He that is not against us is for us." And the history of the development of Christian doctrine affords many examples of insistence upon truths which appear inconsistent with one another. Such apparent contradiction is due to the fact that men often seem to be unable to grasp a truth when presented to them in a complete form, but require to have first one side of it exhibited to them and then another, in order that they may learn it in all its fulness. For the same reason it is necessary at times to insist with such great emphasis on aspects of truth which seem in danger of being forgotten as to present what is necessarily a one-sided view of truth. This is the key to most of the seemingly contradictory teachings we find in Scripture. The Apostle Paul, for example, insisted on the importance of faith while the Apostle James laid as great stress on works. To shallow observers it has seemed that there is a violent opposition between the two apostles, but to one who looks more carefully and without prejudice it becomes manifest that the two presentations of truth are not really

*A sermon preached in St. Andrew's Church, Madras, at the Scottish National Service on the 2nd December, 1917.

inconsistent, but that they supplement one another, and together make up one truth.

The divine method of teaching is adapted to human needs and human weaknesses. Men's wants and characters vary from time to time and from place to place. The particular aspect of truth required to-day may not be that which is most necessary to-morrow. The divine message, therefore, while of universal application in its essence, was adapted to meet the special needs of those to whom it was addressed. Hence the message that was suitable at one time might need to be varied with a change in the circumstances or in the feelings of those to whom it was sent. In the two verses before us to-night we have an instance of what I have just spoken of. They were both addressed to the Hebrew exiles in Babylon, but at one time the exiles are told to remember the former things, while at another time they are told to forget them. Exiled, but looking forward eagerly to the deliverance about to be achieved for them by God working in the history of Persia, they naturally are called to cheer their hearts and to find comfort in looking back upon their past history with all the wonderful deliverances God had so often wrought for them. At the same time they are told not to look too exclusively at the past but to notice the things taking place under their very eyes, and to see the things that God was doing for them then. They were to remember the past, but they were not to live in it. They were to learn the lessons it was fitted to teach them, but they were to keep their eyes opened to the present and to be ready to act when the moment for action arrived.

These verses seem to me to contain a message which we may well take to ourselves in the circumstances in which we are met to-night. We are met for our annual national service in connection with the celebration of St. Andrew's Day, the day dedicated to St. Andrew the patron saint of Scotland. That day has become for Scots abroad a day of national celebration—a day in which in a special way our thoughts go out to our beloved country and we give expression to the love we feel for our native land and to our pride in its past history. It seems to me, as I have said, that at such a season we may find some message for ourselves in the words which the prophet spoke to his fellow exiles in the land of Mesopotamia in that bygone age.

And first, let us ask why it is well for us to remember the former things of old. Does not, it may be asked, a national celebration inevitably lead to national self-glorification? It may indeed do so, and self-glorification if indulged in too frequently becomes not only wearisome and irritating to others but injurious to those who indulge in it by fostering in them the spirit of the Pharisee who prayed, "Lord I thank thee that I am not as other men". But love of country is an ennobling virtue when it is not spoilt by the self-centredness which fails to recognise that each people has its own work to do and its own place to take in the development of the world's history, and love needs to find expression. We do well, therefore, as the years come round to hold this our national celebration, and as loyal sons and daughters of Scotland to remember the former things of old.

I. There are two ways in particular in which recalling the former things is useful to us. First it should quicken our feeling of gratitude to God. It is one of the advantages of a religious celebration of our national festival that we are led to look at our history as part of the working out of God's plan for the human race. It is true that in view of the present awful condition of the world some men are asking impatiently—Does God work in history? Does he not, either because He is powerless or because he is indifferent, leave unhappy man to work out his own miserable destiny? But in spite of the challenge to our faith which the war has brought, most of us I am sure believe in the final triumph of our arms because we believe that there is a moral Ruler of the universe, and we believe that in spite of all difficulties that obscure our vision we can see the hand of God in history.

When with this thought in mind we look at the history of our country do we not find as we recall the former things that we have many reasons for gratitude to God? Let us look briefly at some of them.

At first sight much of our history seems to deserve the epithets "stern and wild" at least as much as Caledonia itself. When one thinks of the fair prospects of the thirteenth century which were marred by the untimely death of Alexander III it seems as if we had little cause to be grateful. It is a significant fact that about the earliest piece of our national poetry is a brief

lament for the death of that monarch and a prayer to God to succour Scotland in her need. But in spite of the set-back to our civilization which the constant wars with England during three centuries caused, was it not this national struggle for existence which developed our nationality by uniting the diverse races of Scotland, and developed too that passion for freedom of which Barbour sang in his poem on the Bruce, and which has remained a characteristic of our people? Some have thought that it was a misfortune for Great Britain that England and Scotland were not welded into one by the blows of "the Hammer of the Scots," Edward I, but I believe that it was better both for England and Scotland that the two countries developed each along its own lines till at a later date a happy union could be formed in peace.

Next when we come to the period of religious strife in the 16th and 17th centuries we have reason again for gratitude. Much as we may dislike many of the things done by the Reformers and Covenanters we cannot, I think, fail to recognise that they, though perhaps they were sometimes ignorant of the fact, were working for the civil and religious liberties of their descendants. Their actions were often marred by the violence and intolerance characteristic of their age, but their aims were lofty and inspired by real religious life; and the strength and courage with which they upheld their convictions have had their reward. Some regret the form which the Church of Scotland ultimately assumed, but we can all, whether Presbyterians or not, recognize the fact that it has been in a very special sense the Church of the people, and that by its organisation, as well as by its teaching, it has been a potent influence in moulding the intellectual as well as the moral and spiritual sides of the Scottish character.

Next we should feel grateful for the union with England and for the entrance into a larger life which that union brought. It alone made it possible for Scotland and her sons to take a share, and a not unimportant one, in the building up of that great Empire over which our King bears rule.

To take this share in empire-building our countrymen were largely equipped by the national educational system of our country. We do well to recall with gratitude to God the enlightened large-hearted views taken by our forefathers centuries ago as to the duty of the Church, if not of the State, to seek to bring edu-

cation within the reach of all classes of the people, and thus both to open a career to talent and to raise the intelligence of the people as a whole. Ignorance it was felt was the foe, not the friend, of religion, and in the material sphere how much of the economic development of the country, of the growth of its industry and of its banking system, was due to the fact that our people had received a sound if simple education.

Further, we do well to be grateful to God for his gift of many men endowed with qualities which fitted them to serve God and their fellowmen in Church and State. Our land is small, our people are but few, yet has it not produced many who in different ways have left their mark not only on the history of their own land but on that of the world?

Lastly we may humbly thank God for the large amount of genuine religious life which the history of our country reveals. The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, and one element of strength in our national life and character has been the persistence in it of a deep religious strain. Sometimes, it may be, this has been directed into somewhat narrow channels, but its existence has been seen in many nobler ways. I shall mention one only. Our country has during the past century shown in an increasing degree that it was anxious to recall and follow the example of the devoted missionaries of the early Celtic Church and has sought in obedience to its Master's commands to take a fuller share in the great work of the evangelisation of the world.

For all God's gifts to our country, for all that he has enabled it and its people to do and to be, let us to-night in all humility but with grateful hearts give thanks to God.

The second reason why we do well to remember the former things is that the study of the past enables us to understand the present and in some measure to forecast the future. In his address to the graduates at the recent Convocation of the University of Madras, M. Martineau emphasised the importance of the study of history for this reason. There are indeed limitations to the power of history to be an infallible guide, but it is true that there are various ways in which it can help us. The recollection of the past may enable us to understand the present by showing us how we have become what we are, and it is good for nations as for individuals to know that.

Further, recalling the former things helps us to see our mistakes and failures as well as our successes. No nation can feel unmixed pride in all the deeds recorded in its past history. At least it ought not to do so; and it is well for that nation which is not so wrapt up in a blind pseudo-patriotism as to call good evil and evil good, but is able to distinguish the things that differ and to approve only those that are excellent. The past is past and it may not be possible to alter it, but we can use our knowledge of past failures and mistakes to guide us in future action.

Further, by comparing our present with the past we may see the national tendencies of the present. It is a difficult question how far national characteristics can be altered radically by changed conditions, but there is no doubt that they can be profoundly modified by education and various external influences. Every living thing is affected by its environment and a nation is, or ought to be, a living thing. It is well for us therefore to compare the present with the past and see whether the changes which have taken place have been in an upward direction. Are the good qualities we love to attribute to our people as manifest as they once were? Are our national faults becoming less pronounced or more pronounced? Are we Scots in an increasing degree helping to build the City of God on earth, or are we losing our ideals and coming more under the power of evil? Self-examination is good for a nation as it is for a man, and a recalling of the former things and a comparison of our present with our past may help us to resolute action to regain lost ground or to make still further advances.

II. But if recalling the former things is thus good why should we be asked also to forget the former things? The answer is plain. While it is good to remember the former things there is a danger that we may be satisfied with a mere complacent review of the past or that we may be so much influenced by the recollection of what as a nation we have been or done in the past that we shall be prevented from acting vigorously or rightly now. This is not an imaginary danger. The Prophet called his fellow countrymen to be on the outlook for new things; for fresh developments of the plan of Jehovah. They were not to be satisfied with thinking of the deliverances that

had been wrought for them in the past, but were to be alert and ready to act in the new circumstances in which they were placed. The Apostle Paul recognised the same danger when in his Epistle to the Philippians he spoke of forgetting the things that are behind that he might press toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus. He was like a runner who would indeed be foolish if he stopped to congratulate himself on the distance he had covered instead of pressing on to reach the goal and win the race.

The past is of great importance to us for in it lie the seeds of the harvest, whether of good or evil, that we are reaping now. History, as we have seen, is not only interesting but instructive by telling us how things have come to be. But it is the present and the future with which we are now chiefly concerned, and the past is specially of value to us as helping us to know how to act in the present and the future. If it becomes a snare to us, if by dwelling on it and living in it, we are hindered from right action now, let us forget it and act as if we had no past, but as if the present were in our hands for our absolute disposal.

There are different ways in which the recollection of the past may hamper men. First it may have the effect the Apostle deprecates of making us too well satisfied with the position we have reached. Comparing our present with our past we may think we are as good as we need be and do not see that there is much, if any, necessity for further improvement. In most men, by whatever political name they may call themselves, there is a strong conservative feeling, and very often individuals and nations alike may be hampered by the knowledge of what has been achieved. There can be little doubt that in the latter part of the nineteenth century, Great Britain suffered in many ways from having been the pioneer of the Industrial Revolution. Remembering the successes they have achieved men cling to old methods, old ideas, even to old phrases, when if they were more clear-sighted they would see that the times are changing and that they must change with them.

We thus see that there is a danger of allowing a comparison of the past with the present to take the place of an impartial review of the present with its new needs and its new demands on us. No less great is the danger of substituting our past for

our present and of living on our past experiences. This has been a fatal snare for many a man who has at one time done good work but who has allowed his past success to be a substitute for further research and still more original work, and so it is too in the case of societies. It is a great thing for a Church to have suffered for the sake of Christ and to have supplied martyrs for the truth but what avails it if the Church now puts its grand history in the place of active work for Christ? It may be but building the tombs of the prophets while possessing the spirit of those who slew them. And equally true it is of a nation. It is a great thing for a people to have a glorious national history, but woe to that people which lives on its past traditions. It is by its action making a repetition of its glorious past an impossibility for the future. There are many things in the history of our country during these recent fateful years which might be cited to show that this is no unreal danger, but to-night let us forget these former things and rather thank God that to so great an extent our people, old and young, rich and poor alike, have responded to the call of God and of their country, and by their sacrifices and willing service have shown themselves worthy of the glorious traditions of our past.

In conclusion let us remember that the nation is made up of individuals, and that upon each one of us rests part of the responsibility for what our nation is and is to be. We are proud of our nationality and of our country, for we are citizens of no mean city; but has our country reason to be proud of us? Are we helping individually to preserve the worthy things of the past, and are we taking our proper share in the pressing duties of the present? As we recall our own past we shall find in it many things which we could wish had been different but we shall find also much to make us grateful to God. Shall we not above all be grateful to Him for the supreme gift of His Son our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ and for the hope of forgiveness and of new strength which He has brought to man? And if when recalling the former things we feel discouraged by the memory of things we would fain forget, let us recall also His gracious words, "I even I am He that blotteth out thy transgressions for mine own sake, and will not remember thy sins."

THE PATH TO INDIA'S FUTURE—II.*

GENTLEMEN,

I am somewhat surprised, as well as thankful, to find myself able to send some sort of salutation to your annual meeting on our College Day. If it be inadequate, it will at least be sincere. You must regard this, however, as my last message of the kind. It is in the highest degree improbable that another communication like this will again reach you from me. Even should I survive till another of your annual gatherings comes round, it cannot be anticipated that I shall then be able to do what I have been doing for a series of years. Already strength of every kind has decayed so greatly with me that I can hardly so much as attempt to do anything worth one's while to do.

It is painful that my final farewell to you should be made when we are all under the shadow of the greatest material—and in many respects the greatest moral—calamity that has ever beclouded the prospects of mankind. Yet, amidst the dangers and distresses of the hour, it is well for all who can take large views to bear steadily in mind that even this terrible cloud has its silver lining. If I had strength to say what I should like to say—and if you had time to listen—I could point to a variety of ways in which there is reason to hope that when the cloud has passed a new and long-enduring burst of gladsome sunshine will irradiate the world. At least, that hope will be largely fulfilled if the terrific struggle maintained so long should have the end for which all communities who desire peace and good-will to reign among the nations—and India not least among them—are bound to strive. It is manifest, at any rate, that if India pursues the path which, on the whole, she has been treading, your country will not be either the last or the least to share in this burst of sunshine. It is manifest too, that the new life and health projected by that sunshine will largely be of the kind on which the

* Dr. Miller's message to the Members of the College Day Association, read by Mr. Ferrand E. Corley at the College Day gathering on the 26th December, 1917.

hearts of many of you—especially of the comparatively youthful in your number—are particularly set.

Perhaps some of you may think that there was a want, if not of sincerity, at least of accuracy, in what I said to you last year about the genuine desire of Britain for India to become a fully self-directing member of the world-wide British commonwealth. I think that enough has been happening of late to remove such thoughts from the minds of the most suspicious. In particular, I would point to the projected visit of the Secretary of State. The purpose of that visit is to study the whole question so that those in the highest authority may become thoroughly informed about the steps that can be wisely taken towards the attainment of the object in view as safely and as speedily as may be. I have no doubt that representatives of every shade of opinion will be consulted and that their suggestions and considerations will be duly weighed and that the outcome will be plans slowly perhaps, but carefully matured, such as will command the assent of all earnest and wise lovers of your land. But whatever the result of a visit like this and its consequent consultations may be, the mere fact of its being made is sufficient proof of the genuine nature of Britain's wish that the ideal at which India aims should in course of time be completely realised.

It must indeed be admitted that the suspicions no doubt cherished by some about the accuracy of what I said a year ago are not altogether groundless. It is true, it is too true, that those hitherto responsible for the government of India have been remiss in taking steps that might well have been taken towards preparing India for that self-direction which is the professed aim, and, I believe, the real aim, of those to whom its destinies have providentially been entrusted for some by-gone generations. It is the stirring of new thought among the nations of the West that is kindling the hitherto rather languid desire into distinct and strong resolve—a resolve which I am certain will not be relaxed until it issues in practical and valuable results. It is also true that there has been not only remissness but opposition to progress in the required direction. There has been and still is a school of thought which holds that such progress as both you and I desire is not only unnecessary but likely to be hurtful. This is what might be expected on the

part of men who naturally cling to power which they have long enjoyed and which in most cases they believe that they have used wisely for the real welfare of the entire community.

There are few who have had more reason than I to complain of the remissness and opposition which have long stood in the way of changes which are as inevitable as I believe them to be fraught with good for days to come. Some of you are not ignorant of what I stood for during more than forty years in that sphere of education with which my Indian activities were predominantly concerned. You know how consistently I attempted to resist the tendency to put private effort in education under the heel of narrow officialism. That attempt was never so successful as it ought to have been. Illiberal officialism has always been strongly entrenched. Nevertheless, encouraging glimpses of success have not been wanting. The Education Commission of five-and-thirty years ago placed obstacles in the way of bureaucrats who till then had too successfully resisted the application of the principles laid down in the great Despatch of 1854—principles which were expressly meant to give opportunity to the leaders of thought and action in India to exert initiative and develop the power of self-direction along one important line. If those principles had taken full effect they would long ere now have been applied to other forms of co-operative activity. Thus India would have been comparatively well prepared to-day for the still wider changes which the times demand. In spite of remissness and opposition, the long-continued protest in defence of the principles of 1854, as applied to the conditions of affairs when the Education Commission sat, has not been unavailing. It is something that those principles still hold the field in point of theory, if too little enforced in practice. It is more that in some regions, particularly in the region which is the centre of your affection and of mine, those principles have already borne unmistakeable and tolerably extensive fruit. Thus a small but fairly solid foundation has been laid on which the edifice of Indian self-government may step by step be built. It is by the application of these principles to other spheres of activity than education that the indispensable foundation of that great edifice can be sufficiently widened and made secure.

I suppose that in those other spheres of activity, such as that of municipal administration, results have been much the same as in the sphere of education. There also remissness and opposition have been at work; but there also a certain amount of progress has been made. That progress gives hope for the future, provided only that it is perseveringly followed up. In this connection it is well to bear in mind that remissness and opposition have found a place not on the British side alone. Of such defects on the Indian side it would be easy to give many examples and illustrations. Perhaps no one of these is more conspicuous than that some who clamour for immediate revolution aim at wrenching out the keystone of the arch of the educational scheme in which representatives of British rule first distinctly set themselves to encourage self-reliance and self-government in India. Some of you need hardly be reminded of how one of the main purposes of the Grant-in-Aid system, with its central principle of entire religious neutrality on the part of the state, was, as the Despatch expressly says, that it possessed the advantage "of fostering a spirit of reliance upon local exertions and combination for local purposes, which is of itself of no mean importance to the well-being of a nation." It is also well to bear in mind that in the moral and spiritual, as in the natural world, a certain amount of opposition must be overcome if the object aimed at is to be permanently gained. To all appearance this is a fundamental law of the world in which God has placed us. If rails were ideally smooth, no train could make its way along them: the friction they present is an indispensable condition for the forward movement of the engine. If there were no resisting force in the air, the aeroplane could never fly. If it had at any time to pass through a far-extending vacuum it would fall helplessly to the ground. Similarly in matters political and social a certain amount of antagonism, not too great for persevering effort to overcome, is not a thing to be complained of but rather a thing to be desired. The one great lesson that such considerations teach is that, according to the inmost nature of all things round us, progress—that is to be stable and enduring must proceed step by step by surmounting each particular difficulty as it arises. It is the lesson which I tried to emphasise to you a year ago—to the effect that if the

India of the future is to be the self-directing nation which we desire it to become, that goal can be obtained only by the evolution of new arrangements out of those now in possession of the field, or in other words by following the path not of revolution but of steady and continuous reform.

Last year I cited certain well-known occurrences in your own environment to show how great and lasting are the evil consequences of following the path of sudden revolution. This year Russia has given to you and to the whole world a terribly tragic proof that such consequences are inevitable even when there is great excuse for catastrophic change. It may be said, and said with truth, that in that great country the method of continuous reform was practically impossible. The chains of despotism had been fastened so long and so firmly on the land that the gradual removal of them was hopeless. Long experience had shown that the central authority was both strong enough and determined enough to prevent even an initial step in that direction. Those who longed for freedom thought—and perhaps correctly thought—that no useful work could be done until the power of that central authority was broken. Even so, even when no path but that of revolution seemed open to right-thinking men, what has been the result of sudden breaking with the past? The world now sees too well and the friends of freedom are learning too painfully, that even in circumstances like these complete and sudden change must at all events for a time lead to disaster, shame and chaos. We may hope that this chaos will not last for ever. But evil effects from it must endure for long—though it will doubtless come to an end some day.

I hope you will reflect on how different are conditions in India. There the central authority has never failed to keep its face in the direction of freedom. It has always desired that that goal might be arrived at in the end. That desire may often have been languid and the attempt to give effect to it less earnest and active than it might have been. This desire has been so accentuated now, that steady increasing activity is certain to result. The deeds of a perfidious and brutal foe have clearly shown what are the inevitable results of central authority being ambitious and uncontrolled. They have made it clear to everyone that well-ordered freedom is the only stable foundation for

the prosperity of communities and nations. The lessons taught by the terrible series of events through which the whole world is passing make it certain that those responsible for the well being of our motherland will sympathise with and further every step that can be wisely taken towards the object on which your hearts are set. What each of these successive steps must be needs quiet reflection and consultation on the part of everyone who aims not at personal profit but at the lasting good of India. The one thing never to be lost sight of is that according to the inherent nature of the whole scheme of creation, this lasting good cannot be secured otherwise than step by step.

It gives me pleasure to have learnt of late that the principle I have been endeavouring to enforce has been voiced by one whose words will command attention in every quarter and be more influential than words of mine, even within the narrow circle in which respect may be paid to them. I understand that a posthumous testament by the late Mr. Ghokale has seen the light, in which that much lamented leader of thought sketched out the political reforms he deemed desirable in India. I have scarcely any knowledge of the details of the scheme thus sketched out, nor should I discuss them in this communication even if I were fully acquainted with them. I believe, however, that it is an essential feature of Mr. Ghokale's project that all future change must be gradual and tentative. I think there is thus evidence enough to convince every honest and intelligent enquirer of the validity of the general principle to which both a year ago and now I have asked you to give unhesitating adhesion. It is only by following the path of continuous reform and turning aside from that of catastrophic revolution that India can ever join the long procession of the self-directing free communities already within the British commonwealth and the many more that will hereafter be added to their number.

I mean to close this last expression of the affectionate interest cherished by me in your Association and its members by telling you a little story. When you have heard that story it is likely enough that you will call it childish. Let it be so: in that case I may plead the excuse of being old enough now to claim the privilege of second childhood. It matters nothing whether my imaginary story belongs to time past, time present

or time future: for the nonce, let it be told in the past tense. Now listen to my tale.

Once upon a time there were two students who were members of Caithness Hall. They seem to have belonged to the third college class: at any rate, they were class-fellows and friends. One of them was an inmate of Room No. 7 and the other of Room No. 4. To the former we shall give the name of Mr. 7X and to the other that of Mr. 4Y. Both were fond of discussion. Their views were alike on many points, but on some considerably different. Arguments between them were frequent and long and at times very animated and frequently hot.

Now at this time there was to be a great procession in Madras, in which our two friends took great and equal interest. That procession was to be organised at Royapuram and thereafter to march through the city by way of Linga Chetti Street, the Island and Mount Road until it arrived at Saidapet. The plan was that the procession should be joined by representatives of each district that it passed through on its way. Our two young friends were the chosen representatives of the neighbourhood of Caithness Hall and were duly equipped with banners and other insignia of the office which they were not only pleased but proud to hold. They waited somewhat impatiently for the passing of the procession.

Now, after a fashion not unprecedented in Madras, the arrangements were lacking in punctuality. The starting of the procession was considerably delayed. After a while of waiting Messrs. 7X and 4Y went together to the highest point of the Hall in order to watch for the earliest sign that the eagerly-expected pageant was at hand. They took their banners and their badges with them lest someone might annex them. Delay continued, and our friends became more and more impatient. Ere long they began to wile away the time in talking about the exact way in which they should enter the ranks of the procession, about those who ought and those who ought not to be allowed to join it, about the merits of the men who were directing it, about the effect which it ought to have or was likely to have, and about other matters, some relevant and some irrelevant. The delay began to seem interminable, but at last, overcome by the heat of the afternoon and partly too by the heat caused by friction between

their views, they both fell half asleep—or perhaps three-quarters. When full consciousness suddenly came back they found to their dismay that the head of the procession was on the point of crossing Errabala Chetti Street. What were they to do? Mr. 7X started at once for the top of the highest of the several staircases leading to the street. These he descended step by step, not at break-neck speed, but as rapidly as was compatible with the safety not only of himself but of his banner and his badge. Accounts differ as to what exactly happened after Mr. 7X passed out of the door of Caithness Hall. According to one version of the tale, the hindmost rank of the procession, consisting of those who had last joined it according to the programme, was just passing the entrance of the Hall when he appeared, so that he fell at once into his proper place. According to other accounts, he had to run some way (the accounts differ as to the exact distance) before he made up with the procession. The one point in which all versions are at one is that before the procession was passing the Munro Statue, Mr. 7X was marching steadily in his appointed place. That place was now well forward in the procession on account of the many ranks behind him which had fallen in as it had passed along. He continued thus to march steadily on until the whole pageant reached its appointed ending at Saidapet.

Meanwhile, what had been happening to our other friend, Mr. 4Y? When he started from his comatose condition he recognised at once where the head of the procession was. At the same moment, he observed his friend making for the staircase. In excitement he shouted out: "What a fool that fellow is: I know a quicker way of getting into my place than that." So saying, he leaped over the parapet and undoubtedly reached the street below well towards the head of the procession. In this case also, the accounts of what happened next are at variance. One version of the tale declares that Mr. 4Y broke his neck, was killed upon the spot and never moved again. Another version holds—and the evidence of this version seems rather preponderate—that Mr. 4Y broke both his legs in his descent; that he was carried to the General Hospital; and after being treated there for concussion of the brain, he at last regained consciousness, but remained a cripple for the remainder of his

days. However, all the versions say that he took no part in the procession which he had exultantly hoped to join, and that if he joined any similar procession at a later date, he did so only by hiring coolies to drag him in a rickshaw.

Well, gentlemen, I trust you will do all you can to keep your country from following the example of Mr. 4Y, who scorned the law of gravitation, and from becoming thereby a sharer in his fate.

WILLIAM MILLER.

BURGO PARK, BRIDGE OF ALLAN,
SCOTLAND, October, 1917.

THE WAR IN 1917.

BY A. C. CLAYTON.

As the year 1917 draws to a close, and the Great War continues its course, it may be well to try to recollect the main happenings of the year, and to form some ordered judgement on them.

First let us look our misfortunes in the face and then consider briefly—and cheerfully, as we may well do—those events and the trend of events that are justification for a sure hope in the final and not very distant triumph of the cause of the Allies.

The collapse of Russia.—When the War began it was well known that all was not well with Russia. Russia was our Ally, and a strong Ally, working wonders with her innumerable armies. It was no time to talk of the tyranny and cruelty that had made the autocracy of the Tsar a terror to the most thoughtful of his subjects. There was some reason to hope that a new day had dawned, and that the Tsar and his peoples, under the strain of a common anxiety and in a common peril, had come to a better understanding. The bravery of the Russian soldier, ill-fed, often without a rifle or without ammunition, was beyond praise. Then came sinister rumours of treachery in high places preventing arms and food reaching the Russian soldier, betraying Rumania, intent on handing over Russia to be ruled by Germany. At the same time, though we did not know it, there was the determination in the minds of a few to end all this. It was ended in March

1917. Tsardom ceased to be. The peril of treachery towards the Allies seemed to have passed away. The new spokesmen were honestly opposed to Germany. Within a few weeks, however, it became clear that the men who had brought about the Revolution and the men who became spokesmen in the Revolution were leaders without followers. They had ideals, but no instinct or capacity for government. In June, the Cossack General Korniloff achieved a sudden success against the Austrians in Galicia, but it proved to be of no real significance. The Russian soldiery had broken away from all discipline and at the beginning of August the Austrians took Czernowitz and early in September the Germans took Riga, while the extremist party, called the Bolshevics, who followed the pro-German Lenin, and the more moderate party who followed Kerensky, and the military party who see their hope in Korniloff, and all sorts of intermediate factions, all alike in their indiscipline and ignorance, were squabbling, rioting and fighting in Moscow and Petrograd. Kerensky seemed for a time likely to gain some sort of real control. He certainly won the admiration of the world outside Russia by his devotion to his ideals, and his clear mental grasp of the peril to Russia of any truce or peace with Germany, and his honourable sense of Russia's duty to her Allies. But in November the Leninites organised a revolt against Kerensky's government, and at the end of November he was a fugitive. Korniloff gathered a fighting force from the Cossack troops who idolised him and apparently made an attempt to support Kerensky. Up to the time that these notes are written, December 16, only scanty news has reached the outside world of what happened next. Some of Korniloff's own Cossacks seem to have turned against Kerensky. The latest news is that he is a fugitive, that Korniloff has failed to establish any sort of rule, and that the Leninites and the rest of the extremists who have destroyed Kerensky's government have been unable to set up any substitute. The Russian army is without food or ammunition. The cities of Russia are without supplies. Apparently the only remedy for the situation is the setting up of a strong dictatorship to reduce the anarchist to impotence. But the dictator has not yet arrived.

Now that is the position in Russia. It would be bad enough if the harm done was limited to the disasters in Russia itself. But it does not end there. 'General Winter' with snow and

storm and frost prevents the German armies from marching on Kieff and the German navy from taking Petrograd by sea. The Russians might well have settled down into winter quarters, without much fear of further German aggression for some months. During those months the Allies would have found them the supplies needful for a strong offensive against the Austro-German armies in 1918, and during those months the Russians, though doing little actual fighting, would have compelled the Germans and Austrians to keep considerable forces on the Eastern front. Instead of this the Bolshevics have attempted to make a shameful peace with Germany, by which the Germans would remain masters of Russian Poland, the Riga peninsula, and the Russian islands in the Baltic. In December an armistice was agreed to which enabled the Germans to transfer hundreds of thousands of their troops from the Eastern front to Italy and France and launch heavy counter offensives against the British, French and Italians.

The disaster in Italy.—The second great misfortune that befell the Allied cause in 1917, and the only other great setback occurred in Italy on the Isonzo front in October and November. From May to the end of September the Italians had done wonders, and by their swift attacks on one point after another in the Carso and its neighbourhood they were by the beginning of October within seven or eight miles of Trieste, the most important of the few ports of Austria. For some weeks past the Germans and Austrians had been doing little on the Russian front. But the Italian commanders seem to have attached no importance to this, and to have believed that if German or Austrian troops were being transferred from the Eastern front it was to reinforce the German armies who were being severely knocked about by both the British and the French all along the Western front from Ypres to Verdun. Suddenly the Italian armies on the Carso front found themselves attacked by overwhelming numbers. At one most important point an Italian general is said to have deliberately sold the army under his command to the enemy. For some days, perhaps for a fortnight, there was a disorderly retreat before the enemy. No man seems to have known whom to trust, and for a time at any rate no man seems to have known whom to obey. Towards the middle of November order was restored and the courage of

the Italian army, aided by strong British and French reinforcements, checked the advance of the Germans and Austrians. But Gorizia and all the military gains of Italy in the War had been lost, about 2,500 Italian guns had been captured by the enemy, Venice was threatened with destruction by the destroyers of Louvain, and lust and pillage were devastating thousands of Italian homes. The gain to the enemy from a military point of view is, as some German newspapers have already admitted, very small. But the blow to Italy is very heavy. It has however taught Italy the need for closer co-operation with the French, British and American forces along the Western front, and this will lead to much greater efficiency in future Italian strategy. It has also revealed to Italy the reality of the peril of treachery. Italians have known that there were traitors even in high commands. They know how Prince Bulow scattered money in Italy. Now they will see to it that traitors have no chance to betray Italian troops or the fair cities of Italy to Austro-German tyranny. But they will pay heavy price for their carelessness in the past.

The Allies' Successes.—Looking back over 1917, in spite of the failure of Russia and the partial defeat of Italy, the Allies have much cause to believe that the enemy has begun to accept defeat as inevitable.

Peace Proposals.—One sign of this has been the persistent attempt of the Germanic Powers throughout the year to begin bargaining for peace. The Allies' terms have all along been well known. The Germanic Powers must withdraw from the territories that they have invaded. They must make just reparation for the damage they have done. They must give securities that they will in future refrain from international brigandage. It may be that the Germanic Powers did not believe that the Allies meant all this. It may be that the Germanic Powers believed that the growing ineffectiveness of Russia had made the Allies less determined. Whatever the reason, the Germanic Powers have again and again sought to open peace negotiations. If this means anything at all, it means that the Germanic Powers have realised that they have lost and are now trying to buy peace. But so far, they have not yet realised that the only possible peace really does imply restitution, reparation and securities. However the fact that they have begun to consider terms is

a good omen. It is not the conscious victor who seeks to bargain for a cessation of hostilities.

The Navy.—But of infinitely more importance is the continued victory of the British navy. There has been no great battle between the German Fleet and the British Fleet, though some thought that there would be before the American Fleet joined the British Fleet. Through the whole year the German Fleet has been shut out from all but the Baltic Sea, and in the Baltic it has not scored any decisive victory over the Russian navy yet. Every day of the year the thousands of merchant ships of the Allies have gone up and down the seas in safety. Tens of thousands of American troops have been transported from America to Britain and France without the loss of a man. 'The day' when the German navy shall sweep the seas in mastery has not yet dawned.

Submarinism.—But during 1917, Britain faced peril by sea. Germany believed that by sending out hundreds of submarines and torpedoing every ship approaching Britain, Britain could be starved. She tried to do it. She never came near success, but for a time it seemed that this 'unrestricted submarining' would cause very considerable loss. But as the months went on, British and American skill countered the submarine menace, and even in Germany they know that they have failed. And, after all the 'unrestricted submarinism' of the Germans helped the Allies much more than it hurt, for it was 'unrestricted submarinism' more than anything else which finally brought the United States of America into the War on the side of the Allies.

Greece and Rumania.—Now that Italy has been so hardly struck there is special reason for thankfulness that last June the deceits and trickeries of Greece were finally stopped, King 'Tino' sent into exile, and a strong government loyal to the cause of the Allies finally established in Athens. It was time. With Greece on one side of the Adriatic and Italy, even if Venice is lost, on the other, the damage that the Austrian Fleet in Pola and Trieste can do is a minimum. Had Greece not been on our side, the Greek coast with all its hundreds of islets and bays, would have been an ideal base for hostile submarines, and the traffic in the Mediterranean might easily have been much interfered with.

Rumania.—With Belgium, Poland, North France, Italy, and Serbia, Rumania has endured invasion. Like them too invasion has not crushed her courage. She has been betrayed by Russia, left without munitions and supports. On the field of battle, Russian troops have forsaken their posts alongside their Rumanian comrades, and left them to be shot down. And yet it was due to the stubborn resistance which the Rumanians have offered that the German General Mackensen has not been able to hammer his way to Odessa and the rich corn regions around it. The Allies have reason to be proud of the fighting spirit of the Rumanians. Russia, when she once more finds herself, ought to be the most grateful.

Palestine.—When the War began the German-officered Turkish army of Palestine, with its great base at Beersheba was able to send raids that reached and nearly damaged the Suez Canal and the traffic between the West and the East. The menace was driven back. Then the British defence became an offensive. We attacked. At the end of March we were near Gaza. By the middle of November we had driven the Turks from their base at Beersheba and taken Ashdod and Jaffa and were within fifteen miles of Jerusalem. On December 11th, Jerusalem was taken. The significance of this is three-fold. First, the Power that holds sovereignty in Palestine has the prestige of being guardian of Jerusalem, venerated by Moslems and Christians alike. And it is peculiarly fitting that the King-Emperor, who rules more Muhammadans than any other monarch should be overlord of Jerusalem.

Then the Power that rules Palestine is master of the Hedjaz railway, the railway connecting Constantinople with El Medina and Mecca through Damascus. Thirdly, it may be noted that if the Power that rules in Asia and Africa should also rule in Mesopotamia the 'corridors' to Africa and to India are closed to German aggression. Good work was done in Palestine in 1917.

Mesopotamia.—In Mesopotamia the ill-considered and worse provided attempt to reach Baghdad, had ended in surrender to the Turks at Kut-al-Amara on April 29th, 1916. During 1917, General Maude—whose death in November ended a fine career—recaptured Kut, and entered Baghdad itself in March. It was expected that the Turks would make a determined attempt

to retake Baghdad, and towards the end of September, Turkish forces approached Baghdad only to be thoroughly beaten at Ramadie on September 28th and 29th. The Turks suffered a further reverse north of Baghdad towards the close of the year. The Berlin to Baghdad railway through Constantinople is to be British along its Baghdad section.

It is said that the Turks have appealed to Germany for aid both in Palestine and Mesopotamia and have been told that they must take care of themselves. If this is true, it confirms the reports of the exhaustion of German resources, for the 'corridor' to Egypt and Arabia and the 'corridor' to Baghdad are of vital importance to the German scheme of securing world-power and would not be abandoned if the Germanic Powers were not very hard pressed nearer home.

East Africa.—The conquest of what was German East Africa is complete, and ends the colonial empire of Germany. The railway has been opened for goods traffic between the port of Dar-es-salaam and Tabora, about the same distance as from Madras to Tuticorin. When it is remembered that German East Africa is equal in area to Germany and Austria put together it will be understood how much Germany has lost.

The Western Front.—When the British conquered the German forces in German South-West Africa in July 1915, they found that some of the Germans captured believed firmly that Germany had taken Paris and London, and demolished the Allies' forces, and that the British force was the mere remnants of the armies of the Allies that had escaped from Western Europe. It really took a long while to convince some of them that there was still an Allied army on the Western Front, or any Western front at all. During 1917 even Germans in Germany realised that the Western front is where they will receive decisive and final defeat. All through the year they suffered one blow after another there. The 'Great Push' began in July 1916. Historians call it 'The Battle of the Somme'. Position after position fell into the hands of the French or the British. A fresh 'push' began on the Ancre in November. Then in February 1917, the pressure was so insupportable that the Germans definitely retired from their front on the Ancre. This was followed by further retirement in March. Bapaume, Peronne and scores of villages were recovered for France. Still

there was no rest for the Germans. On April 12th, the British gained full possession of Vimy Ridge, taking 13,000 prisoners in three days. Messines was taken on June 7th, and thus the Allies gained a most important advantage in position over the Germans. A fresh battle, or campaign, began on September 20th, around Ypres, when intensely strong German positions at Poelcapelle, Broodseidde and Paschaendael were forced from them. And while the Germans were congratulating themselves that they had taken the Italians by surprise, a new British assault in the last days of November, known as the 'Battle of the Tanks', because so many tanks took part in it, between St. Quentin and the River Scarpe, towards Cambrai, gave us many villages, more than 9,000 prisoners and many guns, and breached the 'Hindenberg' line of defences which the Germans had thought to be impregnable. All through the year the French, particularly on the Chemin-des-Dames, and at Verdun, also won advantage after advantage from their foes. But for the defection of Russia, Lord Kitchener's prediction of the defeat of the Germanic Powers in the third year of the War might have been fulfilled.

The United States of America.—But the event of supreme importance in the history of 1917 was the entrance of the United States of America into the War, as an Ally of Britain, France and Russia. The Germans had deliberately, and with unaccountable folly, outraged all American ideas of fair-play and broken all their promises to America by deciding to destroy every ship approaching Britain. America had at last realised that the ruthless power that meant to dominate all Europe, planned also to force its will on America; and that the struggle in Europe was not whether Germany should master Belgium or France recover Alsace-Lorraine, but whether Germany should force a terrible, ruthless, treacherous military tyranny on the whole world. From the foundation of the America Republic, for more or less a century and a half the United States of America have held aloof from the political life of the Old World. But modern means of communication by sea and in the air have linked the New World with the Old. The German menace threatened America as much as it threatened Britain or France, though perhaps not so soon. The struggle was for the very health of the world and America saw that she could not stand outside the battle. The accession of American troops and

supplies, just as Russia began to fail, was of vast material assistance to the Allies. But of even more importance in the long run is the fact that America discovered that the Allies were fighting for the cause of right, and that therefore America herself must take part in the battle along with them and against the foe who had defied all humanity and truth.

The end . . . when.—The end is not yet. The ruin of Russia has delayed the punishment of the aggressors. Treachery and confusion in Italy have given them yet further respite. But the briefest survey of the year, the year, that has brought us perhaps more surprises than any previous year of the war, shows that the end of the struggle, which shall be a triumph for national righteousness, is certain. Much sacrifice will still be needed. From all of us economy and thrift will be demanded so that the resources of the Empire may be husbanded. The conveniences and the necessities of civilisation will become more costly than they are to-day. We shall have to pay more for our books and our clothes, and for articles of food not produced in India. And we shall endure such slight privations willingly. We may be called on to do more. Men will go from among our friends, perhaps some of us will go ourselves, to fight for the King-Emperor. May they, may we, go with a glad heart. Many hearts will be made sad before the end comes. Not sad for themselves, but for loved ones taken from them. But even that dread price will be paid. And then surely shall peace come once more, a peace never to be wrecked by the caprice or ambition or malice or injustice of politicians or despots because founded on the stable resolve of the free peoples of the world.

A NEW YEAR'S POEM.

LINES WRITTEN ON READING A VOLUME OF POEMS ENTITLED
'ODDS AND ENDS.'

Spirit of Poesy ! what would the world
Have been without thy ancient temple, where
By wisdom lighted, shine a thousand fires,
Attuned to forms preserved from age to age,
And with the holy breath of heaven perfumed ;
For, sad to tell, unlettered crowds, impelled
By love of native land or mystic lore,
Enter thy shrine, and strive to cast upon
The clear, well-ordered visions of the past,
The darkening veil of soulless sophistry
'Of poets', who, the verities of life,
Feel are the leaves unwritten of a book.
Thy votaries in days of old beheld,
Upon the crests of rising waves, a rhythm,
And in the cuckoo's measured notes a rhyme.
The chisel from the prosaic stone reveals
The figure lurking in the poets' dreams.
The poet from his prosaic theme of " Odds
And Ends " soars high and finds his raptures there.

New Year's Day, }
Thottakkadu House, }
Madras.

T. RAMAKRISHNA.

NOTES OF THE MONTH.

THE most striking utterance of the month has been Mr. Lloyd George's great speech on the War aims of the Allies. It was not that he said anything that was new, except in the passage dealing with Russia, but he summed up in a clear, decisive, yet conciliatory way all that was floating more indefinitely in men's minds. Mr. Balfour in the House of Commons nearly two months ago gave expression to the same or very similar ideas. The Premier's speech has been received with wonderful unanimity both in Britain, and in allied countries. In Britain even the *Daily News* gives its blessing, and Mr. Henderson speaking on behalf of Labour was equally appreciative, seeing in it in large measure a corroboration of the Labour Manifesto. Most important of all, President Wilson warmly approved and emphatically endorsed the speech on behalf of himself and the American Government. Naturally the German press is critical, and one newspaper, more bold than the rest, declares that the German answer will be given by submarines and the German troops on the West.

HARDLY less important is President Wilson's own great utterance which followed Mr. Lloyd George's a few days later. In essentials it followed closely the war aims as laid down by the latter, though in one or two points there were significant differences. In particular the President emphasised the freedom of the seas. It does not, however, seem clear in what sense he uses the expression, and criticism may be withheld until the meaning is made plain.

The Madras Mail puts the points in the two speeches in tabular form as follows:—

MR. LLOYD GEORGE.

- (1) Complete restoration—political, territorial and economic—of the independence of Belgium and such reparation as can be made for the devastation of its towns and provinces.
- (2) The restoration of Serbia and Montenegro and of the occupied parts of France, Italy and Roumania.
- (3) The restoration of Alsace-Lorraine.

PRESIDENT WILSON.

- (1) Open diplomacy; no secret treaties or private international understandings.
- (2) Freedom of the seas, alike in peace and war.
- (3) Removal of economic barriers.
- (4) Limitation of armaments by mutual guarantees.
- (5) Colonial settlement in accordance with the interests of the populations concerned.
- (6) Evacuation of Russian territory.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE.

- (4) Independence of Poland (conditional on the reconstitution of Russia).
- (5) Self-government for those of the Austro-Hungarian nationalities which desire it.
- (6) Reunion of *Italia Irredenta*.
- (7) Satisfaction of the legitimate aspirations of Roumania.
- (8) Maintenance of the Turkish Empire in its "homelands," with internationalisation and neutralisation of the Straits.
- (9) Recognition of "separate national conditions" for Arabia, Armenia and Mesopotamia.
- (10) "Self-determination," or choice of administration, for the inhabitants of the German colonies.
- (11) Reparation for injuries and violations of international law, including outrages at sea.
- (12) The establishment of an international organisation as an alternative to war as a means of settling international disputes.

PRESIDENT WILSON.

- (7) Restoration of Belgium.
- (8) Restoration of Northern France and retrocession of Alsace-Lorraine.
- (9) Readjustment of Italian frontiers along lines of nationality.
- (10) Autonomous development for the peoples of Austria-Hungary.
- (11) Restoration of Roumania, Serbia and Montenegro and settlement of the Balkan States along historically established lines.
- (12) Turkish sovereignty assured in the Turkish portions of the Ottoman Empire, autonomy for the rest. Internationalisation of the Dardanelles.
- (13) Independence of Poland.
- (14) A league of nations.

THERE has been no great change on any of the fronts during the past month. The chief advance has been in Palestine where our troops advanced several miles north of Jerusalem, with the result that the Turks are now demanding their troops from the German command in order to reinforce their armies in Mesopotamia and Palestine. Italy with French and British assistance has held her own. It is not denied that Italy is in a difficult position. It is now clear that her losses were terrific. But she has still a very large army at the front, and if she now strains every nerve, she may yet inflict a heavier defeat on the enemy than was probable before. On the Western front the chief activity has been in aerial bombing, and our airmen are giving the enemy no rest. It is improbable that anything very large will be undertaken during the next two months, when winter conditions make a big offensive almost impossible.

YEAR by year in spite of her absorption in politics, or it may be partly because of her political aspirations, the conscience of India becomes more and more impressed with the condition of the Depressed

Classes. This was the chief note in the recent National Social Conference, and it finds expression in numerous meetings throughout the length and breadth of the land. We take the following from the *Indian Social Reformer*, as at once a review of Dr. Ray's address, and a commentary on it from the standpoint of the social reformer.

The thirty-first Indian National Social Conference was fortunate in securing for its president the renowned scientist, Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ray. His address was short, pithy and practical. He began by asking the pertinent question how it was that, while large schemes of political reconstruction are being propounded, loud protests of indignation are raised by classes and communities, which it is impossible to ignore. His answer was the same which we have given in these columns times without number. "It is," he said, "our failure to recognise that the question which presses for solution at the present moment is as much a political as a sociological one. By the nature of things, it must be so. For, however, much we may try to divide and isolate the various parts of the national problem, they cling to one another as fast as ever, and mock our attempts at self-deception. We cannot, with impunity, give undue preference to one over others. The law of *karma* or causation is inexorable, and our past neglect in the work of social reform, is bearing its evil fruit at the present hour. It has begun to clog the wheels of political progress." It is astonishing that men like Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Mr. W. C. Bannerjee and others who justified the exclusion of social reform from the programme of the National Congress, did not foresee this inevitable result. The last Congress took a bold step in social reform when in response to the appeal from Bombay, it passed a strong resolution condemning the treatment to which the Depressed Classes are subjected in several parts of the country. But it is depressing to learn that the National Social Conference authorities were required for the first time in the history of the Congress Movement to pay for the use of the *pandal*, and that even so, the proceedings of the Conference had to be rushed through in a few hours.

Dr. Ray showed from historical and Shastric evidence that the caste system as it exists at the present day is utterly without justification. Even from the point of expediency, he urged, it is dangerous to let matters continue as at present. "Is it fair, is it just," he asked, "is it in the best interest of our country that a handful of privileged men should continue to monopolise all the advantages accruing to them through the accident of birth, and drive the submerged teeming millions to hostile camps and compel them to live in a state of armed neutrality? A house divided against itself cannot stand. The backward classes are flesh of our flesh and bone of our bone, and

it is the bounden duty of our men of light and leading to extend to them the right hand of fellowship and lift them up from the quagmire of degradation and despondency. We cannot afford any longer to have in our social frame-work a microscopic minority of Spartans lording it over the *helots*. The loss to the country from the intellectual stagnation of the overwhelming majority of her people is simply incalculable. We are *loud* in claiming political equality with our British fellow-subjects, but when it comes to yielding an inch of ground to our own countrymen we fight shy of it, and cry help! murder!" Dr. Ray called upon the people of the high castes, especially in Southern India, to imitate the patriotic example of the Japanese Samurai clans who voluntarily relinquished their caste privileges and thus laid the foundations of a compact and homogeneous nation. He pointed out that it was not true that the depressed classes have always acquiesced in their lowly lot. So long ago as the 12th Century, A.D. we find the bitter cry of the outcastes. Even six or seven centuries ago, there existed bitter hatred against Brahminical self-assertions. Within the last three centuries, there have arisen in India saints and prophets like Guru Nanak, Kabir and Chaitanya to preach the doctrine of the Brotherhood of Man, and, Dr. Ray said, had it not been for their teachings, a far larger proportion of the people of Northern India would have embraced Islam.

From the position of the Depressed Classes, Dr. Ray turned to the position of women. "If ignorance is the curse of God, as the immortal poet has it," he remarked, "then it is ten-fold so when it is applied to women." He quoted Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore's picture of Indian home-life, and observed: "We have been talking a good deal about Home Rule the last few days but we forget that there is another Home Rule under the autocratic sway of the grand-mother, who moulds the young wife according to her own ideals and pattern and thus takes good care to check any budding ideas of equality and comradeship with her enlightened husband. Thus our educated young man has to lead a two-fold existence in two distinct water-tight compartments. In the drawing room, our cultured young man talks of Home Rule on Colonial basis. But as soon as he enters the Zenana—the veritable Doll's House—he has to descend to the common places of an un-enlightened domestic environment." Even women of the higher castes labour, in some respects, under all the disabilities and disadvantages of the "Depressed Classes." Dr. Ray continued: "No doubt we feed them, we clothe them, we generally treat them well. But is that all? Are we not bound to educate them and bring them to the level of an educated man's culture and intelligence? For considerations alike of justice and expediency it is

necessary to bring the light of education to them. A people, half of whom are immersed in darkness, can never expect to grow. Nation-building cannot proceed in this half-hearted fashion. Growth to be real must be harmonious. Those who think we are able to make any great headway in politics without a simultaneous advance in social and industrial matters, labour under a great mistake." Dr. Ray recommended the raising of "the age of consent" to 16, and the passing of a Civil Marriage Act on the lines of Mr. Basu's Bill. He concluded with a fervent appeal to his fellow-countrymen, "to forget the pride and vanity of place and birth, and begin ministering to the limbs the neglect of which now drags us down to a life of humiliation, and makes the name of our Motherland a bye-word of contempt and reproach in the civilised world. India must wake up, shake off her degradation, put life and heart into every class of her people, elevate her women and Depressed Classes and remove the galling restrictions of caste and all social inequalities."

LITERARY NOTICES AND NOTES.

Our Duty to India and Indian Illiterates, by J. Knowles.

MR. KNOWLES is faithfully trying to help India by reforming its many alphabets and bringing its languages to the use of a common alphabet.

The difficulties arising from '50 recognised indigenous alphabets,' with 'probably twice as many varieties of scripts used in writing them' certainly demand most careful attention from all interested in the education of these diversified peoples.

Theoretically the thing to do is to reduce that horde of scripts to one based on sound philological principles. Is it practicable?

Mr. Knowles has himself been working at this problem for many years, and there have been a few efforts made to test the value of the theory. But they have been few and far between; and some at least have proved such failures as to discourage further effort. What is the trouble?

Mr. Knowles says many true things about the illiteracy of the people; and, though he might have found it less deplorable if he had drawn his arguments from later documents than the census Report of 1901, yet it is bad enough to justify his emphasis. But when he seems to find in a common alphabet the greatest panacea for this illiteracy it is hard to follow him.

The individuality of each alphabet does make it difficult to lessen the labour of learning one alphabet by the mastery of another, but

that very individuality makes it equally difficult to substitute a common alphabet foreign to any individuality. This individuality in the Tamil alphabet is not met by the Romanic letters suggested on the thirty-fourth page of Mr. Knowles, tract. For, Mr. Knowles' quotations from Indian authorities to the contrary notwithstanding, it can be shown that at least six Tamil sounds are not contained in the English language. Nor do the Romanic digraphs give the sound of those letters. These are, *t*, which is not *rt* in 'art,' as there is no *r* sound in the Tamil *t*; *d*, which is not *rd* in 'hard' for the same reason; *n*, which is not *rn* in 'earn,' there being no *r* in the Tamil *n*; *sh* which is not *sh* in 'ship'; *th*, which is not *th* in 'think'; *r*, which is so unlike any English sound that one authority writes it *zh*, another *l*, another *j*, while Caldwell indicates it by *r* in heavy type, and in Madras it is pronounced with a *y* sound in the combination.

On the other hand the Tamil alphabet is not such a cumbersome one as to need contraction, and it is adapted to the sounds of the language as spoken by the 20 millions of Tamil people.

It has twelve vowels, divided into short and long, and eighteen consonants; the twelve vowels being combined with the consonants by eighteen signs, of which only one is diacritical, *viz* : the dot above; the others being strokes or curves to form digraphs. The long vowels are formed by the addition of these marks, so that they require only six letters and four marks. The consonants require twenty letters and fourteen marks for the pure Tamil portion of the alphabet, and five more letters for sounds borrowed from the Grantha alphabet. All told Tamil needs only thirty-one letters and eighteen marks to express its whole alphabet of vowels, consonants and compound consonants.

Perhaps the Dravidian languages might be reduced to a common alphabet, because of the similarity that exists between them in words and sounds and even in formation of letters. The illiteracy of the people is more likely to be reduced through instruction in symbols that express familiar sounds, than through symbols which it would take a philologist to teach, and which would not exactly represent their speech.

Is it not a field for the literate and those who know the Roman letters to cultivate in bringing together cognate languages?

J. S. CHANDLER.

LITERARY NOTES.

WE may conveniently group together three books, of varying merit, which deal with countries involved in the war. *The Rise of Nationality in the Balkans* (Constable, 10s. 6d. nett) is the work of Dr. R.W. Seton-Watson, a scholar thoroughly at home in his chosen field. It brings the story of the Balkans down to July, 1913. *A History of Poland from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, by Major F. E. Whitton (Constable, 8s. 6d. nett), is of a more popular character, and will not take the same place in the library of scholars. *Hungary*, by Arthur B. Yolland (Jack—The Nations' Histories, 3s. 6d. nett), has the special interest of being a friendly and sympathetic account of one of the nations with which we are at War. It is one of the great tragedies of the War that England and Hungary should stand arrayed as enemies. No Englishman would wish to deny or belittle the services Hungary has rendered to freedom and civilisation in the past. But, as the *Times* reviewer pertinently remarks, 'the realization [of Hungary's part in the past] makes all the more tragic the irony of fate which, in the present war, has made the Magyars the allies of Prussian and Turkish barbarism against those democratic principles which it was formerly their pride to champion.'

A USEFUL book on Italian history has recently been published by the Oxford University Press. Italy is a land of perennial fascination and first-rate historical importance. But we have not all the leisure to read monumental works like *Italy and her Invaders*, though we may desire something more than the ordinary handbook. For such readers, *Italy, Mediaeval and Modern* (6s. 6d. nett), the joint work of four authors, should 'meet a felt want.'

ANOTHER book on Italy, in quite a different vein, is Sir T. G. Jackson's *A Holiday in Umbria* (John Murray, 10s. 6d. nett), which may recall to travellers, and to some extent create for those who have not travelled, the charm of Italy as a holiday land.

AN important step for the promotion of Oriental Studies is the recent *rapprochement* between the two oldest European societies for their advancement—the Société Asiatique and the Royal Asiatic Society, which are now within five years of their respective centenaries. By close co-operation, these two great societies hope to form a nucleus for the more vigorous and systematic prosecution of Oriental learning.

A NOTABLE biography is the *Life of Sir Clements Markham*, by Admiral Sir A. H. Markham, K. C. B. (John Murray, 15s. nett). Starting life in the Navy, and sharing in the great quest for the remnants of the ill-fated Franklin Expedition, Sir Clements achieved distinction afterwards in other fields—as a pillar of geographical exploration, and as an expert in South American history and archaeology. One fruit of his travels in South America, which touches us nearly, was the introduction of the *Cinchona* into South India. His quest for the plants and seeds required was a sort of beneficent buccaneering expedition.

A FRESH example of something in the nature of historical 'white-washing' is to be found in *A Misjudged Monarch* (Heinemann, 15s. nett), in which Sir H. M. Imbert-Terry endeavours to prove that history has done less than justice to Charles II. On points of detail, he may make good his case: the king's love of ease, in the traditional view, hardly squares with the records of his actual energy and business capacity. But we doubt if the book will shake the general conviction that Charles II was a bad king in the main.

It is always interesting when poets and writers of approved ability undertake the work of criticism. Those who have a relish for incisive critical work, such as to make the reader pause and reconsider hackneyed or conventional judgements, should read *Hearts of Controversy* (Burns and Oates, 5s. nett), a volume of critical essays by Mrs. Meynell.

A BOOK that will deservedly attract much attention is *My Four Years in Germany*, by Mr. James W. Gerard (Hodder and Stoughton, 7s. 6d. nett). His great services to the English prisoners in Germany will always give him a claim on our gratitude, and we believe this ruthless exposure of the real character of the rulers of Germany is a public service that calls for the gratitude of the world.

SCIENCE NOTES.

AN electrolytic process for removing rust has been lately patented in the United States. Nitric, sulphuric and hydrochloric acids can be used for this purpose but they attack and destroy the metal underlying the rust. The new patent is to take the object treated and make it the cathode in an electrolyte containing phosphoric acid, which causes the current and at the same time acts as a solvent for the rust without destroying the steel or iron below. In fact the phosphoric acid seems to be beneficial in preventing further rusting. The electrolyte is a 10 per cent. solution of phosphoric acid in water or 10 per cent. of the acid added to a 10 per cent. solution of sodium phosphate. The best temperature at which the operation should be conducted is between 50° and 75° C.

* GEORGE GISSING in his "Private Papers of Henry Ryecroft" wrote as follows on the influence of science "I hate and fear 'science' because of my conviction that, for long to come, if not for ever, it will be the remorseless enemy of mankind. I see it destroying all simplicity and gentleness of life, all the beauty of the world; I see it restoring barbarism under the mask of civilisation; I see it darkening men's minds and hardening their hearts; I see it bringing a time of vast conflicts, which will pale into insignificance 'the thousand wars of old' and, as likely as not, will overwhelm all the laborious advances of mankind in blood-drenched chaos." This passage was recently resuscitated by a correspondent in the *Daily Mail* and *Nature* in commenting on it rightly remarks that it is merely pandering to popular prejudice to make science responsible for German barbarity or for the use of its discoveries in destructive warfare.

CHLORINE was used as a bleaching agent more than a century before the Huns employed it as a poison gas; chloroform is a daily blessing to humanity, though it can be used for criminal purposes; potassium cyanide is a deadly poison but it can be used to extract precious metals from their ores: and so with other scientific knowledge, it can be made a blessing or a curse. "The terrible sacrifice of human life which we are now witnessing is a consequence of the fact that the teaching of moral responsibility has not kept pace with the progress of science. The pity of it is," says *Nature* "that the public press does nothing to dispel illusions of this kind by urging that what is wanted

is not less scientific knowledge, but a higher sense of human responsibility in the use of the forces discovered."

THE internal secretions have proved to be much more important and more numerous than anyone would have predicted some few decades ago. For long the nervous system was considered the sole means of communication between all parts of the human body and was therefore regarded as the essential instrument of co-ordination. But a second possibility has lately become very prominent, the transmission of chemically active products through the medium of the circulation. The part played by these chemical messengers can conveniently be stated under three headings :—

(1) *Internal secretions and growth.* Cretinism, *i.e.*, arrested development of body and also of mind follows if the thyroid gland in the neck fails to play its part in the child's body. If the pituitary body on the under surface of the brain be diseased, there is often gigantic overgrowth, or else malformation of the bones. The thymus gland also controls growth, while the gonads in their activities are of the highest importance.

(2) *Internal secretions and maintenance.* Loss of the thyroid means depression in health and signs of cretinism. Loss of the pituitary, at least in the lower animals, means death. The pancreas and the adrenal bodies play such an all important part in the daily role of the body that they cannot be spared for any length of time. Removal of the pancreas means that all the tissues lose the power to oxidise and so to profit by sugar which is their chief fuel. This loss is the central fact in diabetes. The power to utilise fat is also lost and so nutrition becomes hopeless. The removal of the adrenals is followed swiftly by death. It is noteworthy that while the lack of the thyroid can be compensated for by means of its extract, nothing takes the place of the living cells of the adrenals, the secretion of which seems to affect more than one system.

(3) *Internal secretions at particular times.* When the body is labouring under great stress and excitement, the secretion of the adrenals is vastly increased. This particular chief product of the adrenal cells (adrenin), when increased thus in the blood, confers upon the individual the utmost command of his physical resources. Probably the thyroid is similarly stimulated under similar conditions. Thus one organ may influence another through nerve-impulses or six secretions carried in the blood and these two types of action admit of some combination because both adrenals and thyroid can be stimulated only through nervous action. The ancient Greeks consider-

ed that health depended on the maintenance of the proper balance of the "four humours." To-day we believe not in four but in many active substances which must be rightly balanced before perfect health can be assured.

RECENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

THE *Contemporary Review* for November opens with an illuminating article by Mr. Percy Alden, entitled 'Four months in America.' The objects of the article are to throw light on the causes of America's late entry into the war, to indicate what help the Allies may hope to receive from America, and to call attention to what attitude the American people is likely to take up with regard to the peace settlement when it comes.

* As bearing upon the first of these objects, Mr. Alden points out that until this war it could hardly be said that America as a whole had any unity or attitude of feeling. For that there were two main causes. There were first the social and economic differences that naturally arose in States separated from each other by thousands of miles. Secondly, reinforcing this obstacle to national unity there was the increasingly heterogeneous nature of the immigrant population, which came from all parts of the world. The war has made the process of nation-building possible, and within the past year, Mr. Alden says, the process of integration has been clearly visible, and we may expect, he says, an increase of interest in the aims and objects of the war. We all realised that President Wilson had a very difficult task before him when he undertook to explain to the American people the real meaning of the struggle between the Allies and the Central Powers, and to show that in duty to the rest of humanity America could not continue to keep out of the conflict. We knew, too, that what added enormously to the difficulty of the task was the presence of 12,000,000 Germans in the States, but we did not see all the significance of this fact. Of these 12,000,000 Germans, Mr. Alden says, probably 10,000,000 were either born in the States or have been naturalised, and have become respected and loyal citizens. Americans not of German extraction found it very difficult to believe that people of the same race as these fellow-citizens should be so brutal and ruthless as the Germans of Europe have shown themselves to be. They have at last, Mr. Alden says, come to the conclusion that Ger-

many is working for an absolutely different and antagonistic ideal of civilization from their own, and for this reason the President's appeal to the people to unite in the overthrow of autocracies and to make the world safe for democracy has aroused more enthusiasm than even the well authenticated stories of outrages, whether in France or in Belgium. America now feels that the war is a great conflict for human rights and human liberty, and to this conflict, Mr. Alden says, she has whole-heartedly committed herself.

As to the help which the Allies may expect from America, he is of opinion that, in view of her enormous latent power which is being rapidly developed, it is hardly possible to exaggerate it. While hoping that the war will be short, America is proceeding on the assumption that it will be long, and, not content with assisting the Allies with money and supplies, she is taking part in the fight with the submarines, is tackling the question of aviation, and has decided to train a million soldiers in the first year and another million in the second. Congress has granted to the President powers such as no king ever possessed, and the President's personality, Mr. Alden says, is one great factor in the success of the nation. The President has able lieutenants in Mr. Lansing, Mr. McAdoo, and Mr. Hoover, whose work in connection with Belgian relief has inspired confidence in the people.

As to the attitude of the American people towards the objects to be achieved, Mr. Alden says they desire above all things a settlement which will prevent the recurrence of another war. To this end the most far-seeing among them desire an alliance with the 'Entente' Powers against war, aggression, and militarism, from whatever quarter it may appear. Such an alliance, it is thought, would ensure the success of a "League of Nations." At present there is considerable estrangement between the peoples of America and Britain, and in Mr. Alden's opinion the chief cause of this is the question of Ireland. While German propaganda has done much to bring about estrangement, he says Ireland has played a larger part. Another hindrance to good relations, he says, is the legacy of British superciliousness which remains from the War of Independence. Americans do not altogether trust British professions of disinterestedness. But their fears on this score, Mr. Alden says, are growing less:

Mr. Aneurin Williams, in view of the appointment of a Conference to deal with the question of a second chamber, its constitution and functions, sets forth this own views on the subject. In regard to the constitution of a second chamber he suggests.

- (1) That the House of Commons should choose the members (or senators):

- (2) That it should choose them not all at once but, say, one-tenth each year, each senator to serve for ten years ;
- (3) That it should choose them in such a way that every important section of the House of Commons, according to its numbers, could elect one representative or more ;
- (4) That in one year the new senators should be chosen from the members of the House of Commons themselves, and in the alternate years from the outside.

A second Chamber, Mr. Williams says, is required, not to thwart the will of the country and rival the authority of the House of Commons, not to protect property and privilege, and impede democracy, but simply to make sure that all proposed legislation is fully considered and that it really embodies the views of the people. The great defect of the House of Commons as a representative of the nation is that it only represents the national opinion and desire as it was at the moment of its election, and that often it represents them very imperfectly even at that moment. Yet it is true that the House of Commons is the one true embodiment of the popular will and energy as they are at the time of election, and that there is no place in the constitution for another embodiment of them. The problem is to devise means by which what might be called the permanent mind of the country may be ascertained ; and Mr. Aneurin Williams thinks that a very good approximation to this would be given by a second Chamber elected in accordance with his suggestions. The size of this Chamber, he suggests, should be about 160 members. He thinks the time has gone by when the election of the members could be entrusted to the House of Lords, or when the power of nomination might be in the hands of the Crown, and he does not think a second Chamber could be elected by direct popular vote, as it would then be simply a rival to the House of Commons. As regards the power to be vested in the second Chamber, Mr. Williams thinks it ought to have the power to say to the House of Commons in an extreme case, " You must either lose your measure or refer it to the people."

Lord Parmoor pleads for the re-insertion of 'Proportional Representation' in the Franchise Bill. He says that unless it is reinserted in the Report stage the Bill will leave the House of Commons without any readjustment of the representative principle to meet the requirements of a widely extended democratic franchise, and instead of the House of Commons becoming a reflex of the national life and aspirations, it will run great risk of still further losing its independence and of becoming still more subservient to the demands of party management and organisation. As an illustration of the danger that exists of the disfranchisement of large bodies of voters, Lord

Parmoor says it was a matter of chance whether in the General Election of 1910, the Scottish Unionists, numbering over a quarter of a million, obtained any representation at all.

Sir Graham Bower in an article entitled 'Capture or Control: a study in the Development of Sea Law,' contends that a change in the Laws of War relating to questions of the sea is a categorical imperative of the teaching of the present war. Even if the conscience of the civilised world, shocked at the useless and wicked sacrifice of life and property, did not call for reform, the seamen of the Allied and neutral nations would demand that an end should be put to a condition of affairs that allows a full licence to folly and cruelty. There must therefore be a reform of the law and a sanction behind the law that will compel its observance. But if international sanction is to be obtained, Sir Graham Bower says, the new rules of the sea must fulfil three conditions:—

"1. The freedom of the seas, in so far as it asserts and protects the legitimate commerce of neutrals, must be respected.

2. The rights of belligerents to intercept or prevent supplies from reaching the enemy must be exercised in the manner that is least vexatious to neutrals and least injurious to the permanent interests, both economic and humane, of the whole world, whether belligerent or neutral. Neutral interests are often belligerent interests as well; but in any case the most ardent belligerent hopes to be a neutral some day.

3. The rules must not be one-sided, nor must they be framed in the interests of one Power or one group of Powers, but must take account of the resources and geographical condition of the smallest or weakest of the maritime Powers, as they do of the greatest or strongest Powers. In other words, there must be "give and take."

Sir Graham Bower explains at some length how the proposed changes would affect existing practice. The only remark we have to make on what he says is that, while a reform in the Laws of War may help to make the practice of most nations more humane, the thing to be desired is a practice so humane that Laws of War shall be unnecessary; no reformation of the Laws of War would have any effect on German practice.

There is an unsigned article entitled 'Japan as it is.' It has been said that there are two Japans—the Japan of the *fêted* visitor and the Japan of the resident merchant. To describe the Japan of the *fêted* visitor, the writer of the article says, no epithets are too good; to describe the Japan of the resident merchant few are too bad. Of course neither description is true, and the writer's purpose is to indicate how each has come to be generally accepted as true and how the

actual truth about Japan may be found out. There are not two Japans, he says, there is only one. As regards the Japanese attitude to the institutions, customs, and culture of the West, he says that Japan has learned from them all that she wanted to know, and that the confident prediction of a few years ago that Old Japan would speedily vanish is not now in the way of being fulfilled.

In 'Christus Futurus' Mr. D. N. Bannerjee pleads for a much more adequate opportunity being given to women in the Church of the future. The Marchesa Bice Pareto Magliano contributes some 'Firsthand Recollections of Mazzini'; the Right Hon. J. M. Robertson has an article on 'Ricardo'; and Mr. August Zaleski gives a brief sketch of the life of Thaddens Kosciuszko. The other articles are 'Labour in France,' by Mr. J. H. Harley; 'The Ulster Nationalist,' by Mr. J. W. Good; 'The Muscular Novel,' by Dr. Ernest A. Baker; 'Antwerp and the Scheldt,' by Mr. C. Smeesters; 'The Unmarried Mother and her Child,' by Annie E. Barnes; and, in the Literary Supplement, 'Wise Women,' by Mr. J. E. G. deMontmorency. The number concludes with the usual reviews of books.

NINETEENTH CENTURY.

THE *Nineteenth Century* for October is mostly taken up with questions relating to the Central Empires, Germany in particular. *The beginning of the German "Peace offensive" a warning*, by George, A. B. Dewar: *Furor Teutonical a Reminder*, by Sir Malcolm McIlwraith; *The Future of the German Colonies*, by the Right Rev. Bishop Frodsham; and *the Passing of a Legend*, by Francis Gribble from the subjects under discussion. Of these the second and fourth are the most important.

The aim and purpose of the writer in dealing with the whole subject of German atrocities in the present war is 'lest we forget.' He desires to keep these matters before the public eye so long as the war lasts and until some kind of reparation is made because it is a "well-known tendency of Englishmen to forgive and forget and let bygones be bygones so soon as the storm and stress of the great crisis have passed away".

However true this statement may be as regards the past, it is unlikely that the present generation will lightly forget or forgive the Huns for their abominable conduct of the present struggle. 'Whoever cannot prevail upon himself' said a well-known German divine, Pastor D. Baumgarten, 'to approve from the bottom of his heart the sinking of the *Lusitania*, whoever cannot conquer his sense of the immense cruelty to unnumbered perfectly innocent victims . . . and

give himself up to honest delight at this victorious exploit of German defensive power—him we judge to be no true German.' Such an astounding utterance is typical of the widespread national insanity. But what can be expected from a nation known to be the agnostic and materialistic nation of Europe, with her capital the most licentious and immoral?

All armies in the past have been brutal, our own in moments of excitement not exempted, but the German soldier all along has been pre-eminently and deliberately brutal as Mr. Brand Whilloek recently said in his Report to his Government 'they (German soldiers) have (in Flanders) lighted a fire of hatred that will never go out; they have brought home to every heart in the land, in a way that will impress itself indelible on the memory of three generations, a realisation of what German methods mean, not as with the early atrocities in the heat of passion and the first lust of war but by one of those deeds that make one despair of the future of the human race.'

But a day of reckoning is sure to come and as Carlyle has already said "Heaven's justice, with written laws or without, being the most indispensable and the irretrievable thing in this universe. No doing without it; and it is sure to come. . . ."

The passing of a Legend concerns the character of the late Austrian Emperor, in whose obituary notices two opposing propositions were repeatedly stated that his friends did not really like him, while his enemies had no bitter animosity against him. According to our own ambassador at Vienna he was "the most high-minded and beneficent of sovereigns" while a prominent Czech politician referred to him as "that incarnated old Demon at Vienna." Both views are partly true.

The Austrian Emperor's life was regarded as the most valuable in Europe and its prolongation was to be prayed for as a guarantee of both foreign and of domestic peace. Anything might happen after he was gone. That was the legend and it is now hopelessly discredited by the fact that these troubled things which might happen after his death actually began to happen before he went, as a direct result of the policy of his Government.

Francis Joseph believed he had a divine mission, to protect the inheritance and sustain the dignity of the House of Habsberg and to this end he sacrificed not only individuals but nations. He had three controlling precepts:—

Habsberg über alles

Divide et impera

The end justifies the means.

His vision of life was the vision of the Head of the House of Habsberg surrounded by other people, none of whom, no matter how

nearly related, mattered very much. In order to control the various races over whom he ruled he pitted each against the other. It is interesting to note that in the present conflict the various peoples, within the Dual Monarchy hate each other much more intensely than they do the common enemy. This war is in Austria a civil as well as a foreign war. The present Emperor Charles means to federate the different races under his rule but "to break Austria" seems to be the only method available which will satisfy the majority of the subjects of Austro-Hungary as well as contribute to the benefit of Great Britain and her Allies.

The Men with the New Faces, by Corporal Ward Muir, R. A. M. C. tells of the remarkable success achieved by the sculptor Francis Derwent Wood, A.R.A., in providing facial masks for the hideously wounded—human gogoyles. These unfortunate beings were turned out of hospital healed of their terrible wounds but so disfigured as to find life a burden, because repugnant in appearance to everyone. Now the men wear painted masks carefully made to replace missing nose, eye, mouth or ear and so successful are these that the patients friends at a couple of yards distance can find him different from what he was before the war, only in that he now wears glasses and occasionally squints. The spectacles are not to enable the man to see but to hold the mask in place by means of the spectacles hooks attached behind the ears.

OTHER articles in the number include *Ireland as a Dominion*, by Prof. A. V. Dicey; *A very Invisible God*, by Frederick Harrison; *The Newest Fetish*, by W. S. Lilly; and *The Man on the Firesteps*, by Captain Stephen Gwynn, M.P.; which describes the French *poilus* and their trench life as depicted by M. Henri Barbuse in his "Le Fen."

FROM THE QUARTERLIES.

IN *The Edinburgh Review* for October are two articles on poetry: *Some Soldier Poets*, by Edmund Gosse; and *The Vital Element in Poetry*, by J. St. Loe Strachey. It will be interesting to consider the second one first, partly because it is not easy to agree with all its views. Its aim is to discover what is the vital element, the absolutely essential quality, without which no poetry, however correct, can live, or make any real appeal to us. The writer states it thus: "I propose to give in the first place examples of poetry where the subject is apparently unfitted for poetic treatment, or where the manner is tiresome or even actually bad, but where the situation is triumphantly

saved by the presence of the undefinable element which gives life. Next, illustration must be given of poetry that apparently obeys all the reasonable rules of the critics as to what is good and what is bad, but remains worthless as poetry because the vital element has been left out—or, in some cases, has been polished out of existence. ”

The first example is from Pope, of “verse applied to an apparently impossible subject, and yet remaining poetry because it possesses the vital element . . . Writing in a period of war, closed by Peace, and of necessary Reconstruction, he fires with the true poetic passion the dreary catalogue of the practical politician :

‘ Bid Harbours open, public Ways extend,
 Bid Temples, worthier of the God, ascend ;
 Bid the broad Arch the dang’rous Flood contain,
 The Mole projected break the roaring Main ;
 Back to his bounds their subject Sea command,
 And roll obedient Rivers thro’ the Land ;
 These Honours, Peace to happy Britons brings,
 These are Imperial Works, and worthy Kings ’.

But surely there is no poetic passion here, all is prosaic, cold, bombastic ; there is no poetry in it. Pope never has the true poetic fire ; his nearest approach to poetry is in *The Rape of the Lock*, and that is ruined by being too long and by having been over-polished ; he knows no passion but in satirical invective which approaches savagery. In so far as Pope can be said to live, it is because he had a supreme gift for phrase-making. Is he ever read now except as a school text ? He is often quoted, but mostly at second-hand. How many of those who use his happy phrase “ Welcome the coming, speed the parting guest ” or ruefully murmur “ Damn with faint praise ” could say who wrote either ?

Mr. St. Loe Strachey gives us other examples from Pope, followed by some from Lindsay Gordon, Bishop Heber, Crabbe, Macaulay and Thomas Moore. But, apart from the fact that it is impossible to agree with him that all these examples of faulty verse are saved by the vital element, this justification of mediocrity seems such a waste of time. And when the Editor of the *Spectator* assures us that “ some of the most vital poetry in existence is to be found in the snatches of popular song which have escaped oblivion ” and condescends to quote as an instance the clever little couplet

‘ When Adam delved and Eve span,
 Who was then the gentleman ? ’

every lover of poetry must protest. What is poetry ? Is it not the medium through which is expressed the power of seeing the ideal in the actual ; of taking some ordinary event or scene and infusing

it with the universal quality that will appeal to human hearts for all time? All the greatest poetry makes this universal appeal. The truth in it comes to us sometimes as an entirely new revelation, sometimes as something familiar and yet unrealised. It lights up and explains some dim corner of our mind, so that we exclaim, Why did I never think of that for myself? Or, Why, that is just my experience, only I could not have told it. As music gives voice to emotion and passion and aspiration which it would be impossible to express in words, so poetry is an outlet for what could not be told in ordinary language. Without this quality no verse can be called poetry. Take, for example, Austin Dobson's verses: they are very pleasing, dainty, vivid; but there is a world of difference between 'vivid' and 'vital,' and for all their vivacity they lack the deep vital appeal which is the note of true poetry.

When we turn to the other article, *Some Soldier Poets*, we are at once in a different atmosphere.

The two years preceding the outbreak of the War saw a revival of public interest in poetry, and the work of the many new young poets was collected in a volume entitled *Georgian Poetry*.

Mr. Gosse tells us that the tone of this poetry, "was pensive, instinct with natural piety, given somewhat in excess to description of landscape, tender in feeling. . . There was absolutely not a trace in any one of the young poets of that arrogance and vociferous defiance which marked German verse during the same years. . . There is a sort of German *Georgian Poets* in existence; in time to come a comparison of its pages with those of Mr. Marsh may throw a side-light on the question, Who prepared the war?" The War took these young poets completely by surprise; but war-poems began to appear at once and were welcomed by the public and treated with great indulgence by the critics. Yet most of them are of no permanent value. "Much of it is windy and superficial, striving in wild vague terms to express great agitations which are obscurely felt by the poet. . . There was a good deal of ineffective violence. . . and there is a tendency to a smug approval of British prejudice, and a horrible confidence in England's power of 'muddling through' which look rather ghastly in the light of the autumn of 1917." But soon the poets became soldiers, and a new and healthier spirit was at once apparent in their verses. They had actually seen and felt the things they described to us. "We found ourselves listening to young men who had something new, and what was better, something noble to say to us. . . . On many of these poets a death of the highest nobility has set the seal of eternal life. They were simple and passionate, radiant and calm, they fought for their country, and they have entered into glory." Be-

cause of this, their poetry comes home to us with such poignant effect that it is difficult to know how far we may trust our critical faculty with regard to its merits. How much of it possesses that universal quality which will make it endure, and how much of it is 'particular,' and will pass when its special appeal has passed with the experiences of the War? It would be absurd to say that most of it is good; out of the hundreds of new war-poets there are only a few who reach high levels of power and originality and for whose work we can dare to claim immortality.

First among these is, of course, Rupert Brooke, though very little of his poetry belongs to the war, nothing, in fact, but the five wonderful sonnets which are perhaps his best work. For beauty it is hard to choose between them, but the one that possibly stands foremost in nobility and force must be quoted here.

'Blow out, you bugles, over the rich Dead !
 There's none of these so lonely and poor of old,
 But, dying, has made us rarer gifts than gold.
 These laid the world away ; poured out the red
 Sweet wine of youth ; gave up the years to be
 Of work and joy, and that unhop'd serene,
 That men call age ; and those who would have been,
 Their sons, they gave, their immortality.
 Blow, bugles, blow ! they brought us, for our dearth,
 Holiness, lacked so long, and Love and Pain.
 Honour has come back, as a king, to earth,
 And paid his subjects with a royal wage ;
 And Nobleness walks in our ways again ;
 And we have come into our heritage.

Julian Grenfell is another notable soldier poet and one whose gift was suddenly discovered by the war. His was a very brilliant and gallant life, a rare combination of scholar and typical English sportsman. On receiving news of the death of Rupert Brooke, and a month before his own death, Julian Grenfell wrote the verses called 'Into Battle,' which contain the unforgettable stanzas :

'The fighting man shall from the sun
 Take warmth, and life from the glowing earth ;
 Speed with the lightfoot winds to run,
 And with the trees to newer birth. . . .

The woodland trees that stand together,
 They stand to him each one a friend ;
 They gently speak in the windy weather ;
 They guide to valley and ridge's end.

The kestrel hovering day by day,
 And the little owls that call by night,
 Bid him be swift and keen as they,
 As keen of ear, as swift of sight.

The blackbird sings to him " Brother, brother,
 If this be the last song you shall sing,
 Sing well, for you may not sing another,
 Brother, sing".

* * * * *

The thundering line of battle stands,
 And in the air Death moans and sings;
 But Day shall clasp him with strong hands,
 And Night shall fold him in soft wings.

Another of the few durable contributions to the literature of the present war is Major Baring's *In Memoriam: A. H.*, a funeral ode to Auberon Herbert, Lord Lucas, who lost his life in the air service. Major Baring is remarkable as being almost alone among the soldier poets in breaking away from the lyrical form, and the only one who has dared to attempt this particularly difficult form of verse; how successfully a short extract will show.

' God, who made you valiant, strong and swift,
 And maimed you with a bullet long ago,
 And cleft your riotous ardour with a rift,
 And checked your youth's tumultuous overflow,
 Gave back your youth to you,
 And packed in moments rare and few
 Achievements manifold
 And happiness untold,
 And bade you spring to death as to a bride,
 In manhood's ripeness, power and pride,
 And on your sandals the strong wings of youth.'

E. Wyndham Tennant was only nineteen when he was killed on the Somme in September 1916, but he had already given evidence of talent of a very high order and had the soul of a true poet and a wonderful mastery of words. He is the most striking example of what appeals so pathetically to us in some of the war poetry, the homesick longing, in the midst of ugliness and dirt and pain, for England, for the silence and the refreshing cool depths of English woods and meadows. Here is a verse from his *Home Thoughts in Laventie*, where, in a wrecked village, he had found a little garden that reminded him of home.

' I saw green banks of daffodil,
 Slim poplars in the breeze,
 Great tan-brown hares in gusty March
 A-courting on the leas.
 And meadows, with their glittering streams—and silver-scurrying dace—
 Home, what a perfect place.'

Most of the war-poets, like nearly all our soldiers, in spite of hardship and horrors and boredom, keep an unconquerable cheerful-

ness and gaiety, a light-hearted boyish humour, which we stay-at-homes rejoice in and marvel at. One notable example of this is Captain Robert Graves. Mr. Gosse says, "the great quality of Captain Graves' work at present is its elated vivacity, which neither fire, nor pain, nor grief can long subdue."

Here is a gallant little poem on an episode of the Battle of La Bassée which, better than any analysis, makes plain what this quality is.

THE DEAD FOX HUNTER.

'We found the little captain at the head;
 His men lay well aligned.
 We touched his hand, stone cold, and he was dead,
 And they, all dead behind,
 Had never reached their goal, but they died well,
 They charged in line, and in the same line fell.
 The well-known rosy colours of his face
 Were almost lost in grey.
 We saw that, dying and in hopeless case,
 For others' sake that day
 He'd smothered all rebellious groans: in death
 His fingers were tight clenched between his teeth.
 For those who live uprightly and die true
 Heaven has no bars or locks,
 And serves all taste. . . . Or what's for him to do
 Up there, but hunt the fox?
 Angelic choirs? No, Justice must provide
 For one who rode straight and at hunting died.
 So if Heaven had no Hunt before he came,
 Why, it must find one now:
 If any shirk and doubt they know the game,
 There's one to teach them how:
 And the whole host of Seraphim complete
 Must joy in scarlet to his opening meet.'

But one of the soldier poets never laughs. While Captain Graves' verse is refreshingly objective, that of Lieut. Robert Nichols is almost entirely subjective, and much of it is all but unbearably tragic, so intense and passionate is it. Lieut. Nichols is very young; he went out from Oxford early in the War and was wounded in 1915. Between a small volume, *Invocation*, which he published in 1915, and his *Ardours and Endurances*, published in 1917, the experiences of the War have wrought an immense change in the poet; he has grown from a boy full of promise to a war-worn man in whom spiritual anguish has led to very high achievement in poetry. It is not possible to quote much here, but two passionate stanzas will be enough to make all readers want to read more of *Ardours and Endurances*.

' In a far field, away from England lies
 A Boy I friended with a care like love ;
 All day the wide earth aches, the cold wind cries,
 The melancholy clouds drive on above.

There, separate from him by a little span,
 Two eagle cousins, generous, reckless, free,
 Two Grenfells, lie, and my Boy is made man,
 One with these elder knights of chivalry.'

This paper will have missed its mark altogether if it does not awaken a desire to read the war poets and judge them at first hand. There are many of them whose work deserves mention, though there are not many who touch the high levels of those named here. Of these six, three have already laid down their lives for us, but their poems will surely live on and inspire our hearts and fire our courage and strengthen our faith in the hard years to come.

COLLEGE NOTES.

THE Christian College Day was celebrated on Wednesday, the 26th December. The attendance at the morning conference was very poor—the same old faces were seen as used to assemble every year for half a generation and more, testifying to the staunchness of the few in the midst of the carelessness of the many. The President, Rao Sahib T. Ramakrishna Pillai, commenced the proceedings with a reference to departed friends. One of the oldest living graduates of the College, he referred in feeling terms to the death of two retired Professors at whose feet he had sat—Rev. William Stevenson and Rev. George Milne Rae. He said he met them during his visit to Scotland in 1911 and found them retaining vivid recollections of the College and those connected with it. Among former students who had passed away in the course of the year, he mentioned Mr. J. L. Rosario, Mr. G. Govindarajulu Chetty, Mr. P. A. Krishnama Charlu and Mr. P. K. Aiyaswamy Pillai. Mr. Rosario graduated from the College in 1869, and on passing B.L. in 1870 was enrolled as a vakil of the Madras High Court. For several years past he had been the doyen of the Madras Bar, at which he acted for some time as Advocate-General. He was much respected for his pointed and honest advocacy and his high sense of professional honour. Mr. Govindarajulu Chetty, whose death we noticed a few months ago, spent his whole life in connection with the College. Mr. P. A. Krishnama Charlu graduated from the College

in 1897, and was soon after appointed probationary superintendent in the Postal Department in which his father, Rao Bahadur P. Ananda Charlu had rendered long and faithful service. After serving as Superintendent of Post Offices in different parts of the Presidency, Mr. Krishnama Charlu became Personal Assistant to the Postmaster-General of Madras. In 1916, on being appointed Deputy Director-General of Post Offices in India, he went to Calcutta where in August last he died suddenly in the midst of his sleeping children. He was a living illustration of the English Public School motto "Manners maketh the man." There was a certain neatness and polish about him—about his person, his dress, his surroundings, his handwriting, his speech and his method of work—which made him agreeable to every person, high or low, Indian or European, who came in contact with him. He was a liberal in his ways and views, paying the irreducible minimum of homage to orthodoxy. Mr. P. K. Aiyaswamy Pillai graduated from the College in 1904, and after passing B.L. in 1910, commenced practice as a pleader in his native district of Tinnevely. He was a public-spirited man, gentle and sweet in his manners and an earnest worker withal in all movements with which he identified himself. Within the short period of his public life he succeeded in organising educational efforts on behalf of the Vellala community of Tinnevely and Madura. He died of cholera on 6th December last,—a case of a young man cut off at the beginning of a useful career.

Resolutions were passed conveying respectful condolences to the families of the deceased. The Secretary was also instructed to send a telegram of congratulation to Dr. Miller on his 80th birthday. The question of making the College Day celebration more popular was discussed. Suggestions were offered that an invitation should be sent to every former student, that District Committees should be appointed, etc. It was agreed that the fact should be made widely known among former students, that the loss of the original College Day Fund in the Arbuthnot crash necessitated a fresh payment of Rs. 5 by those who had enlisted in the Association before that financial catastrophe, and that the rolls of the Association contain the names only of those who have paid since 1905. The President was also entrusted with the task of enrolling new members during the year. The conference was followed by breakfast served in Rangiah Chetty Hostel.

There was a larger gathering in the evening when after tea and refreshments in the College Hall the company adjourned for the public meeting in the Anderson Hall. On the motion of the last year's Chairman, Rao Sahib R. Venkatarathnam Naidu—now Dewan Bahadur—the Hon'ble Mr. Muppil Nair of Kavalapara was voted to the chair. The College Day Ode was sung and the toast of the King-Emperor

was proposed by the Chairman and duly honoured. In proposing the toast of the College the Chairman said :

My first duty is to thank you for the honour you have done me in asking me to preside on this occasion. When I think of the various distinguished persons who have presided over this function in previous years I cannot help wishing that you had asked one better qualified than myself. I am sure, there are among the former students of the College (who have not yet presided at College Day celebrations) men older and more experienced, who would have been able to speak from this chair with greater fulness of knowledge and with riper judgment than I shall be able to do. I confess I was not a little surprised, when the Secretary Mr. Muhamad Usman and my teacher Mr. Kandaswamy Chettiar offered me this position and wanted me very much to accept it. I had no alternative but to say to them 'all right.' I am sure, you will generously excuse me, if I fail to come up to the mark.

Met, as most of us are to-day, after a course of twelve months to celebrate this function and thus to renew our attachments to the *Alma mater*, I may be pardoned if my thoughts turn to my College days. There are two places in Madras to which, my thoughts always turn with affection whenever I think of the days of my training under the Court of Wards. One is Newington and the other is the College to which you and I belong. Under the then circumstances it was a happy idea of Mr. Morrison, our tutor and guardian at Newington, as soon as we passed the Matriculation examination, to have helped both Mr. Subbarayan, the Zemindar of Kumaramangalam, and myself to come to Christian College. To my association here both with my fellow students, and with my teachers, I owe really very much which has, I assure you, always stood me in good stead in after days. Here under the parental care and wise guidance of a body of men come from the West, flowers of European culture, and genuinely interested in the welfare and progress—moral, intellectual, and economic of the people of this country and under the able teaching of their assistants, I spent two years and more, of that happy period of time when I received my college education. I had however, special opportunities of coming in contact with the professors of the Christian College, some of whom I knew even before the relationship as between teacher and taught worked its way into me. They were always welcome visitors among us at Newington where we lived, especially, my First Class professor, Rev. Dr. Russell, an intimate friend of Mr. Morrison. Dr. Russell was a typical Briton, stern and sympathetic, with no mere appearances about him ; one, who would tell you to your face what he thought about you if you did anything wrong and tell it as one interested in the development of your character. He was not the man to say things merely to please you ; he would brook no nonsense, but help you to think for yourself. Dr. Russell was however only one among several types of men of high character and noble culture who have found their life's vocation within the walls of our College. Mere decency stops me from saying anything of my other professors, seeing, as I do, most of them here in front of me. I had not the privilege of sitting at the feet of Dr. Miller, though I remember he was then in Madras. He had ceased to attend the College and was to leave for Scotland in a few months. I could feel in the atmosphere of the place and in the influence of the Professors upon the students, what manner of man he was—"One who could raise a temple of loving service such as the Christian College is."

I have already hinted what I feel about the training in the Christian College. I have also heard it said that a Christian College man can always be distinguished; that there is something about him which marks him off from the rest of the world. May we not enquire what this something is? It has also been observed that when two or three Christian College boys, past or present, meet, they never fail to evince their keen interest in the College and its professors; and, this shows how very fond they are of the institution in which they have been trained. There is no doubt that every Christian College boy feels a personal attachment to his College. He takes a pride in its history which is so worthily embodied in the College calendar, in its professors, in the successes it achieves in the University and in sports and in its former students who distinguish themselves in life. And he feels a corresponding regret when anything untoward happens to it or in it. I have noticed that students trained elsewhere do not feel the same amount of interest in the College in which they have received their education. If one Christian College man meets another, though they may belong to different generations, a secret sympathy spring up between them, as if they belonged to a masonic brotherhood; and they feel themselves children of a common mother. Why is this so? The training they receive is not merely intellectual, it is also social and moral. The student, who comes here for passing examinations, no doubt, succeeds in his object, because, the tuition given here is as good as any that can be obtained anywhere in this Presidency. But that is only a part of the benefit which the College bestows on its alumni. The corporate life which binds all the students together,—that is the main thing and the student who fails to participate in it—he must be a very self-contained fellow who does not join others in this common life—misses the most important and most enjoyable part of the Christian College education. In the societies, in the hostels, in the playground even, in the class-room, where also there is a certain amount of fun and boyish mischief going, while the Professor goes on lecturing so deeply absorbed in his subject that he does not mind or notice the tricks that students play upon one another—in all these places, a sense of union is brought about, which becomes a lasting feeling in the individual.

Another characteristic of a typical Christian College student is, I venture to submit, independence. Not that sort of independence which makes a man think that he is as good as anybody else in the world. He may be, but why should he carry about with him, in all the transactions of life, this sense of his own worth? Not that sort of independence which prompts a man to defy authority, instead of submitting cheerfully to it; not that sort of independence which leads to discontent and disloyalty. A true Christian College man knows his limitations; he is obedient to constituted authority; he reverences his teachers; he is grateful to those who seek to do good to him; his attitude towards others is one of sympathy and helpfulness, he is not selfish, but cares for the welfare of others. What I mean by independence is expressed in the motto of the Christian College Magazine.

“They are slaves who dare not be
In the right with two or three.”

It won't do for us merely to adopt other people's views. We must exercise man's greatest prerogative of independent judgment. By all means, let us discuss matters with others; it is our duty to do so before arriving at a judgment; otherwise, it would mean that we think that all wisdom is with us. As the motto of our College Debating Society says “Truth is like a torch, the

more 'tis shoo'k thé more it shines." But, when we agree, let us do so sincerely and enthusiastically; and, when we differ let us do so respectfully, but firmly; only let us remember that the task of arriving at a judgment is our own and no irrelevant considerations should sway us in this respect. And having reached a certain view it is our duty to cling to in practice, as well as in theory. We may have to incur unpopularity, we may have to face opposition, but we should not mind it; we should act on Shakespeare's advice.

" This above all : to thine own self be true,
And it must follow as the night the day,
Thou canst not then be false to any man "

I say this because in some quarters there is too much love of popularity. May I refer to another characteristic of a typical Christian College student? He takes an ethical view of things. Some people may say and do things whether they believe them right or wrong, but your Christian College man has something implanted in him which compels the question whether, apart from the consequences, he is doing right and whether his conduct is honourable. I do not mean to suggest that other men do not feel in the same way; that would be to claim a monopoly of virtue for ourselves. But I mean to suggest that there is something in the education imparted here which creates a Launcelot Gobbo's habit of thought.

"Budge" says the fiend "budge not" says my conscience. Conscience, say I, you counsel well: fiend say I, you counsel well, to be ruled by my conscience, I should stay with the Jew my master; and to run away from the Jew. I should be ruled by the fiend. In my conscience, my conscience is a kind of hard conscience to offer to me counsel to stay with the Jew."

I have described what I believe to be a typical Christian College man. Not all conform to the type. Individual idiosyncracies exist and must exist. Some fall below the type, others transcend it.

Since I left College, a great many changes have taken place. The old Matriculation and F.A. examinations have gone, new professors have come, a new hostel the Rungiah Chetty hostel has been established, a new association called the College Brotherhood has been formed. I understand that at the beginning of every academic year, new students are given a welcome by professors and students at a social gathering held in College Park and students are asked to engage in some kind of social service. There is a Night School in which they may go and teach poor children. There is an arrangement in the College Hall for students living in the neighbourhood of the College to come and study for two hours in the evening under electric fans and lights. In these respects, as in so many other ways, our College has given a lead to other Colleges. All this is as it should be. I understand that the facilities, provided by the College for quiet study in the evening hours, are much appreciated by the students who are thus enabled to cultivate habits of concentrated application to study, which are so much needed in these days of public distraction. One danger, to which present day students are exposed, is due to the multitude of influences which play upon them from outside the College. Instead of looking at the world from the College window, our students are invited to look at the College from the window of one particular association or organisation. There are so many meetings, so many movements, so many newspapers, so many persons versed in *camouflage*, so many leagues which invite the attention and, shall I say, the support of students that it requires great strength of mind and will

on their part to resist the temptation, to dissipate their energies, and to conserve their strength, physical and mental, so that the knowledge they acquire in the College may sink into their minds and fructify in thoughts and resolves of their own. Students of the present day are tempted to look for friends, guides and philosophers, not among those who toil for their welfare from day to day, but among those who make flattering appeals to their emotions and imaginations. The authority of their teachers is thus being slowly undermined and the result is that their advice loses its effect on their minds: young men are being called upon to engage in controversies which tax the thoughts, and strain the self-control of grown-up men. Abstract questions of social and political reforms are rightly enough discussed in College societies; but practical politics is so full of personalities and requires a knowledge of men and affairs, which only direct experience can give, and initiation into them, without the necessary experience being available, tends to warp judgment and weaken the will. The result in many cases has been the neglect of studies, and lack of balance and of thoughtfulness in the growing mind. Parents have had too often to grieve over the slow rate, if not also the wrong direction of their sons' development. If they do not now co-operate with the College authorities in arresting the exploitation of students for propagandist purposes, they will have to mourn over the failure in life of many a promising young man. Is it too much to hope that the former students of this College at least will lead the way in checking this evil? We cannot be too thankful to those who are endeavouring in this direction; and it is the least we can do to support them in that endeavour. Our students are a sensible lot, and if they could only be helped to see long enough before them, they would resent and resist all attempts to make tools of them.

Gentlemen, we owe a duty to the College in which we have been educated. That duty is best discharged, not only by revering those who have been our preceptors in the past, but also by cherishing the ideals which they have instilled in our minds, the ideals of self-reverence, self-knowledge and self-control. "These three alone lead life to sovereign power."

Yet not for power (power of herself
Would come uncall'd for) but live by law,
Acting the law we live by without fear;
And because right is right, to follow right
Were wisdom in the scorn of consequence.

In these words the Hon'ble Mr. Muppil Nair proposed the toast of the College and coupled it with the name of Mr. J. B. Raju, the first Indian Professor of the College. We hope to publish Mr. Raju's reply in full next month.

The toast of Dr. Miller's health was proposed by Rau Bahadur K. Venkata Reddy Naidu, High Court Vakil, Ellore, and in reply Dr. Miller's Message, published elsewhere, by Mr. Corley. The toast of The Present Students was proposed by Rao Sahib, R. Ramachandra Rao and responded to by Mr. Subbaraya Sastry of the Senior B.A. class.

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MAN'S QUEST.

BY HAROLD AUSTIN, M.A.

WHAT is the difference between man and the brute creation? Formerly, perhaps, it would have been said that there was manifestly a very great difference, but with the advance of biological and zoological science the features that man and animals have in common have been brought into prominence. And now it can be clearly seen that physically man is really a part of the animal creation. His body is very much like the bodies of other living creatures; he has the same organs as they have, and those organs function in the same way as those of other animals. As far as his ordinary life is concerned he is a creature of the earth, earthy.

His body is fashioned for living in a material world. His life depends upon material air for breath and upon the products of nature for food, and his members are adapted for dealing with the various substances which are of use to him. In other words his body is a material thing adapted for life in a material world, and so our question will shape itself in this way:—What in addition to these things has man which makes him different from other animals and sets him on a pedestal among them? For manifestly, despite his physical similarities, there is a wide chasm of difference between him and them.

Having stated what our question amounts to, we will now attempt to answer it, and for that purpose we will ask another question. Does the difference reside in the fact that man is a reasoning being? At once it may be suggested that some animals other than man reason in some fashion, and probably this is true in

the case of some of the higher animals. But when we talk about animals reasoning we suppose that their reasoning is only of a rudimentary nature and that they have not the power of ratiocination which is one of the marked features of man's life. It will be said that man has a mental life, but that could hardly be postulated of any other animal. An animal may reason in a fashion in certain circumstances, but it has no mental life, for it has no self-consciousness and does not contemplate itself or its actions. But that is what man is always doing and has done from very early times. Contemplating himself, man contemplates the world around him at the same time, and considers how he may meet the material dangers that may threaten him and the necessity of obtaining food and the various articles which may be used to satisfy that necessity. He also plans how he may use a variety of substances for a great variety of purposes. In all this there is conscious thought and reasoning. It is not a question of the instinctive averting of or escape from danger or of a search for food governed by instinct, but it is man in all his power, reasoning in himself about his needs and purposes. Moreover man has always been given to asking questions about himself and about the world:—Why and how has he come into the world? What is the purpose of his existence? What indeed was the world made for? What thought and plan lies behind this stupendous thing which we call the universe?

When we consider the activities of man, his thoughts and his methods, we see at once that here at any rate there is one great difference between him and the animal creation. But we may go further than that. When man has protected himself from dangers that threaten him, supplied himself with the necessary food for his body, exercised his mind on many inventions for the comfort and well-being of the race and attempted in some sort of fashion to answer the puzzling questions about himself and the world, has he done all he wishes, is his satisfaction at all points complete? And to this we intuitively answer that he has not; it is not complete. We are conscious that there is still something unsatisfied in our being, a need and a longing that no satisfaction of our bodily desires and needs or our mental exercises will bring to fulfilment. And to the satisfaction of this need, the fact that man, as we have seen, is in the

habit of contemplating the world and himself and asking vital questions about them, points us toward the answer. For by intuition we know that man does not reason about himself or the world for the sake of mental exercise only, or so that he may find a satisfactory solution of the problem of his own existence and that of the universe, though that of course is important, seeing that man's mind is so constituted as to look for an answer to this that shall be a complete, intellectual satisfaction. But at long last we reason about the world, and about ourselves in particular, because we have a need and an aspiration which go beyond the world; we feel that there is something greater than mere mechanism or physics; we expect, no doubt, that when we have discovered this greater something, we shall find it to be consonant with the material aspect of the world; nevertheless we are convinced that it is greater and better than the world.

To make our thought clear we shall say that in the heart of man there is implanted a longing after the Good, the Beautiful and the True. We will not at the moment deal with the question why this should be; the reason for it will become clear subsequently. Man desires the True. It may be said here that in his study of the physical world he has found what is true. That no doubt is approximately correct, so far as we can say that our present knowledge, which always waits upon fresh discoveries, is true. But when we desire the Truth we look for something more than mere facts. Truth is not facts. The Truth we want has a moral meaning to us. We desire what is true in conduct and actions. We see that a truth which deals only with physical facts is at the most a transitory truth, because we have found that the material world, for all its solidity, is an unstable, passing thing. It therefore does not satisfy. What we look for is truth of a spiritual order, truth by which our lives and conduct may be shaped.

This brings us to the second thing man desires, Goodness. It is clear from what we have just said that the Truth we wish for has an element of the Good in it. In fact it is not Truth if it be not Good. It is not material good; it is not comfort; it is not intellectual good, for the lowliest and most ignorant may experience it. It has to do with character. But what is character? What is the intangible thing which goes by this

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name? Is it not that which each man has, which has more effect on his surroundings and his fellowmen than any scientific or mental achievement he may reach? The good we desire is the power of helping others, of doing, saying, thinking nothing that may be harmful to our neighbour. Its moving principle is love. It comprises honesty, truthfulness, consideration for others, purity of heart, meekness, patience and other virtues.

It is clear then that the Good we seek is of the moral order. It is this we wish for ourselves and for others, and when we see it in another we speak of beauty of character.

For the third thing we long for, namely Beauty, does not mean simply beauty of form or appearance. Such beauty symbolizes the beauty we desire. The artistic beauty of the statue of a saint may express what the artist believed to be the beauty of his character, or the soaring loveliness of a Gothic cathedral may be the picture in stone of the aspiration heaven-ward of the souls of men. But physical beauty is not sufficient. As in Truth, so in Beauty, we want the element of morality; we need a beauty of the spirit, the beauty of the moral life. Moreover this kind of beauty does not depend necessarily upon physical beauty at all—the ugliest of persons may appear beautiful if on that person's face there shines out the moral beauty of character. The word "lovely" strictly means, I suppose, something which draws out our love. But its most common use indicates something or someone who is beautiful in appearance. Does not this point us to what we are endeavouring to make clear, namely, that the highest beauty we desire is not physical or natural beauty, but moral beauty? This beauty will draw out our love, while often purely natural beauty leaves us cold.

Now the meaning of all that we have been saying is that man is a spiritual being. We have seen very briefly that man as at present constituted has an animal nature, and also that he has a mind, an intellect. Again it is clear from what has been said that he is a spirit. Nothing else will explain the longings and yearnings of his heart after the Good, the Beautiful and the True, as we have defined them. We have seen that these things have to do with the character and nothing but a spirit can truly have character. We proceed now to consider whether the

possessions of these things in the abstract satisfy the deep yearnings of mankind. Supposing there was a man who is possessed of these three things to the fullest capacity; that is, suppose a man who has a perfect character: would that man be satisfied? Or to put it in another way, we have seen that these desires imply that man is a spirit. It is because he is a spirit that he wishes for these things, and being a spirit he desires these things because he feels that they are the things that really matter. But yet he might think that they were impossible of attainment. When we view the world to-day we might superficially suppose this to be so. But man does not think so. And the reason is that he believes that somewhere these qualities exist in perfection. But is this perfection merely a perfection of thought? It cannot be so, for, then it would be but a figment of man's intellect, an ideal of his own imagining, to attain which he would have to depend entirely upon his own efforts. It would appear that his own unaided efforts are not sufficient for the task. Thus we are faced by a question with a double edge, or rather by two questions. Firstly, why has man these aspirations? Secondly, why does he feel assured that the ideals he seeks are attainable?

The answer that will satisfy both these questions is that there is a spirit of Truth, Beauty and Goodness which has created and rules over this world: that this spirit has created man in His own likeness, which means that in man's heart are implanted both the aspiration and longing after Truth, Beauty and Goodness and the conviction that these are attainable. In other words God is both the creator and the satisfier of the longings of man's heart. He is Himself the personal embodiment of Truth, Goodness and Beauty, and the personal spirits of men find rest and satisfaction in communion with Him.

But again, are we led to this conclusion by our own unaided thought? It is difficult to think so. To reach so far must mean that God has revealed Himself to mankind, and in the opinion of the present writer that revelation is to be found in the historic Person, Jesus Christ, whom His followers have always worshipped as Lord and God.

As we study His life and character we see these qualities which we have been considering, displayed in all their fulness; we perceive that His character is the example which all men

have to follow if they are to attain to the ideal of life to which the inner promptings of their hearts inspire them. Moreover, we see that in those who follow Him, on the whole, despite of many failures, these qualities of Truth, Goodness and Beauty are being progressively displayed as they pass from victory to victory; and we may ask the reason. The reason is that Jesus Christ must be what He Himself claimed to be and what His disciples in every age have said that He was, the Son of God Incarnate, from Whom proceed not only the aspirations after all that is most really true, good and beautiful, but also the power by which these may be obtained.

*THE THREE QUARTOS OF "FRIAR BACON AND
FRIAR BUNGAY."*

BY RAJAIAH D. PAUL, B. A. (HONS.).

"THE Honorable Historie of frier Bacon and frier Bongay," "made by Robert Greene, Maister of Arts," was first published in 1594, in quarto form.

It was reprinted twice, also in quarto form, in the years 1630 and 1655. But till recently the existence of another reprint in 1599 was accepted without question, because of a note by Malone in one of the two copies he had, of the earliest editions of the play, which had unfortunately lost its title-page. But subsequent investigation has elicited the fact that this copy of an alleged reprint of 1599 is but another copy of the reprint of 1630.

So the dates of the three quartos of "Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay" are respectively 1594, 1630, and 1655. The dates, however, do not matter, from the point of view of our present purpose. We have copies of three different editions of the play—each offering a text differing from the others in numerous places. And we are just now concerned only with attempting to formulate a rough kind of theory as to the relation between the three texts though the evidences afforded by them are, as it will be seen presently, somewhat contradictory.

In such an attempt, we have first of all to eliminate from our consideration the places where all the quartos have a wrong text, which had to be corrected by some modern critic. Dyce is the

one to whom we are most indebted for the correction of such errors in all the Quartos. But such errors were common in all the old editions of plays; as is seen even from a very elementary study of Shakespeare's text. The seventeenth century editors of plays do not seem to have cared to examine the whole of the text critically and to see that every line and word made sense. Even when they found some obscure and evidently corrupted text they passed over it if an emendation did not suggest itself to them at first sight.

It is not difficult to explain why such mistakes should have occurred in all the three quartos. In line 39, for example, the Quartos read,

How *lively* in her country weedes she lookt?

The emendation proposed by Dyce is 'lovely'. This is no doubt the correct reading, for, not only does it make much better sense, but also, as Mr. Churton Collins points out, 'lovely' is a favourite word of Greene's, occurring in this play no less than twenty-seven times. But we can see why none of the later quartos found necessity for a change. Taken by itself, the line makes passable sense, though it does not suit the context. And the editors of the later quartos, who did not care to see if the meaning suited the context, but found that the word made some sense, and suited the metre and grammar, left it alone.

Again, in line 187 the quartos have,

To tell by *Hadromaticke*, ebbes and tides;

There is no such word as 'hadromatic' in the English Language, and yet the editors of Quartos 2 and 3 did not try to change it. Did they think that the word was one of those mysterious words, like 'Plromancie', and "Aeromancie," which were used in the secret art of magic, of which, they thought, Greene knew more than they did? Anyway, as the word again suited the metre and grammar, they did not care to meddle with it. The correct reading, which we owe to Dr. Ward, is 'Hydromancy'.

In lines 887; 888 the quartos have,

Like *Bartlet's* ship, from Oxford do skip,

With colleges and schools, full laden with fooles.

Dyce corrects "Bartlet" to 'Barclay's', for, evidently, the allusion is to Alexander Barclay's "*The Shyp of Folys of the Worlde*." But the editors of the Quartos were in blissful ignorance of any such allusion and hence blind to the mistake. The mis-

taken use of 'Bartlet's' for 'Barclay's' can also be easily explained. The manuscript having had "Barcler's ship", it is due to the original compositor, most probably. The two words also sound very similar when indistinctly or hastily pronounced. The mistake may have been also due to one of the scribes who made copies of the play.

In line 2,092, we have an example of another source of the sort of error that is perpetuated. The line reads in all the quartos

Circled with Gihon and *first* Euphrates,

There is absolutely no reason why the Euphrates should be called '*first* Euphrates.' In "*Orlando Furioso*," Greene speaks of '*swift* Euphrates' in the line

From whence floweth Gihon and swift Euphrates.

So, almost certainly, Greene wrote '*swift*' here. But it is easy to see how the mistake arose—if we remember that the compositor would have had to deal with long s's, which are very similar to f's; and that 'wi' can, in handwriting, be easily mistaken for 'ir.' And as the line is not grossly absurd—and anything short of gross absurdity was never considered worthy of attention by these seventeenth century editors—the other quartos have also con-
nived at the error.

Similar explanations can be given also in the other places where all the Quartos agree in being wrong. The mistakes can all be explained to be due either to the first compositor, or one of the scribes who made copies of the play. 'Cape' for 'rape' in line 647, 'Scoon' for 'Saxon' in line 806, giving the last line of Burden's speech to Clement in line 812, are all compositor's errors; while the mistake in line 1885,

"Love, oh Love, and with fond love farewell," for "Farewell, oh Love, etc." is clearly due to one of the transcribers of the play.

But as was said before, all such places have to be eliminated, in the consideration of the relation between the different Quartos, as these do not throw any light on that question.

The period of three years or so, which elapsed between the first acting of the play (circa 1590-1591) and its first publication (1594) is sufficiently long to have allowed corruptions to creep into the text. It will be interesting, but out of place here, to try to find out how such corruptions get into the text of plays. The most fruitful source of corruption were the scribes who made copies of the play for various purposes, such as distributing to the actors

for their learning their parts, for handing over to the stationer's company or the censors, and so forth. And plays which were successful in the acting were often got hold of by adventurous printers, who got copies made out from the author's manuscript, by the use of filthy lucre. Such transcription of manuscripts was very common then, though illegal, as detection was difficult, and prosecution not worth while. Again, the compositors were responsible for another series of mistakes. The composing of a play was not necessarily done in the printing office—which generally was the house—of the publisher. Only such portions—if any—of it as were executed by himself and his apprentices were done there; but those which were committed to journey-men compositors, who were mostly householders, were done in their houses and paid for as piecework. And if it was convenient, the master printer or publisher would visit these houses and correct proofs; if not, he left them to themselves. Under such circumstances it would be vain to expect any typographical accuracy or excellence.

To these different sources are attributable the various inaccuracies of Quarto 1. The mistakes indicate a total disregard of grammar and metre on the part of the editor.

And these mistakes the Second Quarto sets about to rectify. And on the whole, Quarto 2 gives us a better text than Quarto 1. Most of the emendations made by Quarto 2 are quite sensible, and correct the mistakes of Quarto 1 in metre and grammar. It makes very few unnecessary emendations and far less wrong ones.

Most of the emendations made by Quarto 2 are for the sake of correcting metre and grammar. The following are the chief of such grammatical changes:—

Line 1,417. Q₁. Whose Batling pastures *fatneth* all my flockes.

Q₂. *fatten*.

Line 949. Q₁. Did I unfold the *passion* of my love and lock them.

Q₂. passions.

Line 1,009. Q₁. Love's *conquests* ends.

Q₂. conquest.

Line 1,210. Q₁. What art thou that *questions* thus.

Q₂. question'st.

Line 1,318. Q₁. These scholars *knows* more skill in axioms.

Q₂. know.

Line 1,391. Q_1 . The *graves* ends and begins a married state.
 Q_2 . grave.

Line 1,709. Q_1 . Lacy and Ned *hath* told me miracles.
 Q_2 . have.

Line 1,762. Q_1 . Two scholars that *desires* to speak with you.
 Q_2 . desire.

Line 1,768. Q_1 . As our *fathers lives* as friends.
 Q_2 . fathers live.

It is curious that Q_1 should have committed such mistakes. But we can credit the editor of Q_1 with more sense than to suppose that he really approved of these grammatical mistakes. All of them are such as can be easily explained as due to printer's devils. The compositor reads a line, and then sets it up. But, as he sets up the first two or three words, he forgets a little and remembers but inaccurately the rest of the words. For example, take line 1,709. The compositor reads the line and then begins to set it up. He sets up "Lacy and," and then "Ned"; by this time he has forgotten a little of what he has already set up and what he has left. The most prominent impression in his mind now is "Ned." So when he comes to set up the next word, which he remembers but imperfectly, he sets up the singular number of the verb—"hath"—for 'have.'

The grammatical changes made by Q_2 , given above are such as would naturally be made in a revised edition of a play; and so do not call for special commendation of the Quarto 2 Editor's critical abilities. Most of them are corrections of the difference in number between nouns and their predicates. In line 1,210 it is the person of the verb that is corrected. The fact that such mistakes had been allowed to remain in Q_1 would make one suspect that that edition did not have the services of a proof reader at all. That is to say, the publisher was too busy to attend to correction of proofs, at that time. This supposition *may* receive support from the fact that, having entered at the Stationer's Register four other plays, along with this play, on the 14th May, 1594, and others a little later, Edward White had probably, at this time on his hands the publishing of other plays also besides "Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay."

The editor of Quarto 2 seems to have been a great stickler for metre too. The following are the more important changes in metre made in Quarto 2.

Line 1,017. Q₁. Hangs in the *uncertain* balance of proud time?

Q₂. Th' un.

Line 1,537. Q₁. Thou *knowest* that I have dived into hell.

Q₂. know'st.

Line 1,964. Q₁. How restless are the ghosts of hellish *spirits*.

Q₂. sprites.

This last change is however unnecessary because 'spirit,' (Elizabethan spelling 'spirite') was, very commonly, if not always, pronounced 'sprite' in Elizabethan times. For example, in *Hamlet* I, i, 161,

"And they say no *spirit* dares stir abroad"
or *Hamlet* II, ii, 576.

"I know my course. The *spirit* that I have seen"
Tempest I, ii, 272.

"And, for thou wast a *spirit* too delicate."
Midsummer Night's Dream II, i, 1,

"How now *spirit* whither wander you?"

The other changes also do not seem to be quite necessary, because metre is more or less a thing affecting the speaking rather than the sight. So the words, even though printed like this, may have been pronounced metrically correct. Abbot says that "sometimes the spelling does not indicate the intended pronunciation." In line 1,017 is an example of a syllable ending in a vowel being, as very frequently, elided before vowels in reading, though not in writing, the 'e' in 'the' being the chief of such e.g. *Titus Andronicus* V, i, 40,

"O worthy Goth this is the *incarnate* devil."

In line 1,537 is an example of a word in which a light vowel is preceded by a heavy vowel, being, as frequently, contracted.
e.g. 2 *Henry VI*, I, ii, 97.

"Thou *knowest* that I have dived into hell"—the 'est' in superlatives was often printed—'st'. And a parallel case to the present occurs in *Tempest* I, ii, 333 "Thou *stroakedst* | me and | *madest* much | of none" | where the folio reads '*stroakst*'."

Though these emendations to correct the metre seem to be unnecessary, yet the editor of the second quarto seems to have thought that his edition should be perfectly metrical even to the eye.

But besides these emendations with regard to grammar and

metre, the editor of Quarto 2 has made some really brilliant emendations, which have come to be accepted as the correct texts. The following are a few examples.

Line 305 Q₁. Nor know I where or *whether* I was tane | Q₂ *whither*. (This is most likely to be a misprint in Q₁; but Q₂ must be given the full credit of restoring the correct text.)

Line 1,249 Q₁. That he may learn by *travail*, 'gainst the spring | Q₂ *travel*.

Q₂'s emendation seems to be the correct reading, and makes better sense; though the reading of Q₁ is also accepted by some.

Line 1,297 Q₁. Must I cover *thee* table | Q₂ *the*.

Line 1,723 Q₁. You love *her*. | Q₂ You love *her*?

This emendation makes very much better sense.

In all these places Q₂ has made really sensible, and in one or two cases excellent, emendations which are most likely to be the original textual readings.

But to counteract these, in some places, Q₂ has made some unnecessary emendations, and, in a few cases, even quite wrong ones.

Line 675 Q₁. Honour bids *thee* control him in his lust | Q₂ (and Q₃) *me*. This is a quite unnecessary emendation, if not stupid. Lacy is here addressing himself, in the second person, and advising himself as to his conduct. And 'thee' is the better reading decidedly; as also the one generally accepted.

Another such unnecessary emendation occurs in line 1,148.

Q₁. All *subject* under Luma's continent. Q₂ (and Q₃) *subjects*.

As usual in such cases the Q₁ text has been restored by later critics as the better reading.

Line 1,526 Q₁. And prays that his *misfortune* may be hers. Q₂ (Q₃) *misfortunes*.

The following are completely wrong emendations made by Second Quarto.

Line 497 Q₁. Whilst then we *fit* to Oxford with our troops. Q₂ *sit*. Q₂ is as senseless as Q₁. The accepted reading is 'set.' The difference between Q₁ and Q —i.e. use of 's' for 'f'—leads one to suspect that the mistake of Q₂ is not due to conscious emendation, but that it did not notice the unsatisfactory text of Q₁ here; but when being composited, a printer's error got in, unfortunately, giving it the appearance of a conscious emendation which is senseless.

Line 1,330 Q₁. I shew'd *the* cates | Q₂ *thee*.

This emendation though not stupid makes very little improvement upon Q₁. If the change be a conscious emendation, it is easy to see how it struck the editor of Q₂ as necessary. The man did not remember, as he read the line, that 'the cates' referred to the cates served up before the Emperor by Miles; for the last direct reference to this by the word 'cates,' is eight lines before. So he thought that it was some collective reference to 'cates' in general.

Line 1,991 Q₁ How conformable you are to the *statute* Q₂ *state*.

This is also most probably a printer's mistake. The compositor while compositing the word, thought when he had placed the second 't' that he had come to the third 't', and so put in an 'e' and completed the word by mistake. This seems very probable.

So, the mistaken emendations of Q₂ can be explained one way or another; and there is very little to accuse the Q₂ of. It is a carefully revised edition of Q₁. And during the revision, the editor took great care of the grammar and metre of lines, and to make suggestions towards improvement of the sense, where it seemed to him to be necessary. He has not indulged in ingenious and fanciful emendations. And on the whole Quarto 2 is more trustworthy than Quarto 1 and, as will be seen later, than Quarto 3 also.

The determination of the relation of the Third Quarto to its predecessors is a more difficult task, as Q₃ is most fidgety in its emendations. It has made some half-a-dozen brilliant conjectures, which have been adopted as the correct texts. But to counteract these it has half-a-dozen perfectly silly emendations besides many other unnecessary ones.

But one thing is quite clear about the text of the Third Quarto—that it is based on that of the Second Quarto. This is proved conclusively by the following facts.

1. Quarto 3 follows Quarto 2 even in the unnecessary and wrong emendations it makes on Quarto 1; as in most of the seven instances given above.

2. Quarto 3 follows Quarto 2 even in its printing mistakes.
e.g. Line 1,347. Wines richer than th' Egyptian courtisan.

Q₁. the Gypitian Q₂ and Q₃ | Gyprian

3. Line 1,745 "To sit as melancholie in his cell" was

repeated by mistake in Quarto 1. This was corrected by Q2; and Q3 also has it correct.

4. The most conclusive evidence of all is the fact that Q3 has also omitted lines which Q2 omitted by mistake. *e.g.* Line 795, "and I have chatted with the merrie friar" and line 1,040, "To part such friends as glorie in their lowes?"

So it is quite evident that Q3 was printed from a copy of Q2; in which the editor made some corrections, as will be seen later, but he did not have either a copy of Q1 to refer to, or one of the manuscript transcriptions of the play.

The following are some of the unnecessary emendations made by Q3.

Line 670. Edward, *thy sovereign's son*, has chosen thee.

Q3.....*the soueraine son*.

Line 793. Flies with *his bonny lass* for fear | Q3 *the*.

Line 928. Did I not sit *in* Oxford by the friar | Q3 *at*.

The following emendations are fidgety, to say the least.

Line 631.....*is it true*..... |

Q3 *it is true*.

That this fair courteous country swain.

Line 635. Peggy, 'tis *true* | Q3 'tis *time*.

Line 791 I *laugh* to see the jolly friar | Q3 *love*.

Line 1,820. This glass prospective *worketh* many woes | Q3 *works*.

Misunderstanding of the spirit and sense of passages has led to the following emendations:—

Line 1,613. It *speaks* but two words at a time | Q3 *spoke*.

Here Miles states what he thinks is a universal truth in the case of the Brazen head inferred from his experience of it—that it speaks only two words at a time. He does not mean to relate the fact that it did so, for the last three times, but only his inference. Such drawing of a general inference from insufficient data is a characteristic of shallow-brained people like Miles.

Line 1,680. Men must have wives and women *will* be wed | Q3 *must*. The *will* of Q₁ and Q₂, emphasising the perversity of women, is much more in accordance with the context than the '*must*' of Q3.

Line 1,704 for *beauty's* excellence | Q3 *beautious*

Line 1,743. Follow, my *lords*; you shall not want for sport | Q3 *lord*. Q3 is quite wrong in proposing this emendation, King

Henry says first to the Emperor "To horse, my Lord" and then addressing the others "Follow, my lords", etc.

Line 1,781. Serlsby, thou has kept thine *hour* like a man | Q_3 *honour*. Lambert here commends the punctuality of Serlsby, in having come to the dual at the appointed time. 'Honour' will also suit the sense, but not so well; and the emendation of Q_3 is really due to a desire to make the line metrically perfect. But the author evidently intended it to be pronounced,

"Serlsby, *thou'st* kept thine *hower* like a man."

So these are all conscious emendations on the part of the editor of Q_3 ; which are failures because he has not understood the spirit and sense of the passages concerned.

The following are absolutely nonsensical emendations made by the third Quarto.

Line 454. A present to the Castile Elinor | Q_3 *costly*. The same mistake is repeated in line 1,070.

"And brings for Edward Castile Elinor."

Line 657. Fear not, the friar will not be behind

To show his cunning *to* entangle love | Q_3 *or*

Line 682. A penny for *your* thought | Q_3 *my*.

Line 992. If Phœbus *tired* (Dyce) (*tied* Q_1) in Latona's webs
| Q_3 *try*.

Line 1,158. And *of* far-reaching power | Q_3 *a₁*.'

Line 1,492. In that I *frosake* thee | Q_3 *forsook*.

Line 1,867. For this I scourge myself with sharp *repents* | Q_3 *repeats*.

Line 1,923. And *make* divorce | Q_3 *made*—a change incompatible with "Did not my Lord resign his interest," in the previous line.

The apparently stupid change in line 1,330 where, for "the cates" of Q_1 , in "for I shew'd *the cates*," Q_3 has "thee cats," is evidently a printing mistake—due to the misplacing of an 'e'—for 'cates' of is rightly printed in the other lines preceding and succeeding, and so this is not a conscious emendation.

But to counteract the above-mentioned 'fidgety' and 'nonsensical' emendations, Q_3 has made some really brilliant ones, which have been accepted as the correct readings. In lines 1,027-8, Q_3 has inserted some words, not found in Q_1 and 2, which are not only perfect metrically, but which also make very good sense, and have the additional merit of being a very natural pun, which suits the context admirably.

Margaret—"Rid me, and keep a friend worth many loves."

Lacy—"Nay, Edward, keep a love worth many friends."

The italicised words are just what the author might have written. And because we cannot allow the editor of Q3 to have collated manuscripts—for we have shown that his edition was based upon a copy of the Second Quarto edition—the only thing left for us is to allow these words to be a brilliant conjecture on his part, which he hit upon in a moment of inspiration.

The following are other examples where the Q3's emendations have been accepted as the correct readings.

Line 1,349 Q₁, 2. "Shal be carrowst in English Henries
feasts Q 3 feast (Dyce, Ward).

Line 1,776. Q₁. How or in what state your friendly *father*
lives.

Q₂ fathers lives; Q₃ fathers live (Dyce, Ward).

Line 1,698. Qq 1 and 2. When eggpies *growes* on apple-trees,
Q₃ (Dyce, Ward) grow.

Line 1,596. Qq 1, 2. *You spent* your seven years study.
Q 3 (Dyce, Ward) You have spent

Line 189. Qq 1, 2. To plaine *our* questions as Apollo did
Q₃ (Dyce, Ward) *out*

But what has been said is too contradictory. Such ingenuity and critical faculty are rarely found with the stupidity exhibited in the other emendations mentioned above. But it is very remarkable that most of the emendations classed above as "unnecessary" and "fidgety" can be explained as mistakes due to careless printing. That the third Quarto has been very carelessly printed there can be no doubt. It abounds in misprints.

'placked' for 'plackerd' (10); 'protall' for 'portall' (235); 'disguisen' for 'disguised' (in the stage direction at the beginning of Act I, Sc. iii); 'cohe' for 'cope' (351); 'Ozford' for 'Oxford' (473); 'Lincornshier' for 'Lincolnshire' (634); 'sequill of there love' for 'sequell of their loves' (724); 'aporplexie hath passed his longs' for 'appoplexie hath possest his lungs' (773); 'camicke' for 'comicke' (810); 'protasse' for 'portasse' (931); 'sould' for 'should' (996); 'fatoll' for 'fatall' (1,005); 'larned' for 'learned' (1,164); 'a' omitted in "so short a time" (1,284); 'yont' for 'your' (1,299); 'axomies' for 'axiomes' of Q₂ (1,308); 'poisies' for 'poesies' (1,396); 'wright' for 'write' (1,485); 'when' for

'with' caught up from the word just above in the previous line (1,545); 'rage' for 'range' (1,647); 'friends' for 'fiends' (1,834); 'danty' for 'dainty' (1,882); 'poasten' for 'poasted' (1,957); 'blind' for 'build' (2,070);—these are but a few of the numerous printing mistakes in Q3.

Most of the "unnecessary" and "fidgety" emendations pointed above seem to be such printing mistakes. For example 'the soveraine son' for 'thy sovereign's son'; "'tis time" for "'tis true," are the same sort of mistake as the printing mistakes instanced above.

'The' for 'his' (793), 'at' for 'in' (928), 'love' for 'laugh' (791), etc. are clearly compositor's mistakes—instances of his unconscious substitution of an apparently suitable word, when he has forgotten the real word in the text when he reads a full line, and begins to set it up in type, from memory.

If this is so, we are left with an easier problem to solve. We have a number of really good emendations made by the editor of the third quarto, and also a few which are due to a misunderstanding of the spirit and sense of the passages concerned. This is however easy to explain. The emendations, which have been dubbed 'nonsensical,' are due to the over-exercise of the real critical ability which the editor of the Third Quarto possessed. That he did indeed possess such ability is proved by the examples of brilliant emendations made by him, given above. So we have to conclude that the Editor of Quarto 3, while possessed of a fine critical ability, over-reached himself, by trying to do too much by way of emending; and meddling with things where it was quite unnecessary for him to do so.

WAR NOTES.

BY A. C. CLAYTON.

ONE of the most common of German lies about the way the War began in 1914 is the statement that England forced Russia and France to join with her in an attack on Germany because England was jealous of the growing power of Germany and especially of Germany's commercial success and was determined to crush Germany. Germans appear to believe all that their Government tells them officially, so it is no wonder that this lie is believed by Germans. Outside Germany it is only men ignorant of the history of the past few years who can believe this. It was a surprise to me to hear the other day that a highly educated Indian professor had declared that he thought that there was something in the charge against Britain. It may be worth while to review the facts, for there may be others who hold the same opinion.

Preparation for War.—If two men have a fight, and if it is proved at the trial that one of the two had been buying knives and pistols, and had been following the other man about for days, and had more than once tried to attack him, the Court would have little difficulty in deciding which of the two was the aggressor. And that was much the case between Germany and Britain. Since Prussia conquered France in 1870 and as the German Empire became the leading Power in Western continental Europe, Germany has been steadily preparing vast armies and in later years a great navy. So long as the astute German statesman Bismarck remained in power, these preparations were not obtruded on the attention of the world and he was against Germany's seeking to gain supremacy in Europe by war.

After Bismarck.—But after the Kaiser, then a young man, had driven Bismarck into retirement in 1890, German statesmen became less cautious. The ideal called Pan-Germanism became popular throughout Germany, and that meant that Germany had determined to try to force her rule on all the world, to take Britain's colonial empire and make it part of a German colonial empire, and to ruin France utterly. Now it is impossi-

ble to give proofs in detail of all this in a short article. I must be content to point out one or two significant facts.

Fourteen years ago, in 1904, the Kaiser tried to arrange a treaty with the Tsar of Russia by which Russia would help Germany and Austria to force France to side with them in destroying Britain. And all the while the Kaiser professed to be a lover of peace and a special friend of Britain. In 1886 the German army numbered 427,000 men. In 1913 it was over 800,000 men, and this though there was no increase in the army of France (not to mention Britain) that was any menace to Germany.

Indeed it was Germany who menaced France and Britain, the former by the immense increase in her army, the latter by the creation of a great German fleet. Of this a clear instance was given in 1911 when Germany deliberately sent a war-ship to Agadir, a port on the coast of Morocco, interfering in the affairs of Morocco, though Morocco was under French protection by an agreement between France and Britain. It was only because Germany found that France and Britain were agreed in resenting such interference that she withdrew.

In 1912 a new German navy bill, involving an increase in expenditure on the navy of a million pounds each year was an answer to the British proposal that both nations should reduce their naval armaments. In 1913 a suggestion was publicly made by Mr. Winston Churchill, the First Lord of the British Admiralty, that Germany and Britain should stop constructing new war-ships. The German Imperial Chancellor replied by increasing his estimates for naval construction by half a million pounds.

Another fact that pointed to Germany's intention to make war soon was the quantity of arms and ammunition of all kinds that she sent out to her colonies, especially to East and West Africa, far beyond the needs of the German colonists living in them.

Now put these things together, and consider them. Assuredly they do not point to Britain's being the aggressor. Indeed, up to August 1914 the German Press and the German people held Britain and the British Empire in contempt, and did not believe that Britain had the will or the ability or the men to stand in the way of the success of German plans.

What had Britain to gain by War?—On the other hand it may be well to ask thoughtfully what had Britain to gain by war with Germany? Britain has colonies and dependencies enough. Her trade is sufficient, more than sufficient.

It is true that, before the War, German competition in trade in many places had injured some forms of British trade to some extent. But the great volume of British trade was unaffected and the sea-carrying trade, the mercantile marine, had as much work as it could do, despite the lines of steamers subsidised by the German Government. There was room for all, and Britain allowed German trade and German traders and German ships to carry on commerce throughout the Empire. British trade lost a little by this free trade policy here and there. But only a German could ever suppose that it would be worth Britain's while to enter on a war that must cost thousands of millions of money and hundreds of thousands of lives for the sake of meeting German competition in trade. A tariff against German goods would have been sufficient.

The one danger.—The rapid increase of the German navy was the one real cause for alarm that Germany gave to Britain. And most of us, indeed practically all the world, did not believe that Germany meant to use her fleets for any but purposes of defence. We were all misled completely. And Germans everywhere laughed at our simplicity in being so misled. But as we were misled and were so simple, how is it that they also accuse us of the duplicity of making France and Russia combine with us to attack Germany in order that we might get a chance to wipe out the German fleet?

Unreadiness.—And there is a question that may be put which in itself contains the complete reply to Germany's assertion that Britain plotted to destroy Germany by this roundabout attack. It is this: If Britain did intend to make war on Germany, why was it that in 1914 Britain was entirely unprepared for war? Britain knew that Germany had nearly a million soldiers in her army on a peace footing, and that the number could be trebled in a few weeks on war footing. She knew something of the German artillery, of Zeppelins, of under-water boats, and of the efficiency of the German navy. And she had herself in England about 162,000 men well equipped, and about

80,000 British troops and 162,000 Indian troops in India. Altogether Britain could get together some 800,000 on a war footing but had not the equipment or the munitions for them. France and Russia were as unprepared, Russia being in the worst case of all. Now surely even the German mind will admit that if these three Powers had had an evil design on Germany they would have had the common sense to be in some measure prepared for war before they 'forced' war on peaceful Germany.

No, it was not Britain who forced war on Germany from commercial or political jealousy. Britain was asleep in 1914 and only awoke to knowledge of the peril that had come on Europe when German troops were actually forcing their way through Belgium to attack France. It was not France who caused the War. France was as unprepared as Britain and nearly lost Paris because of her unpreparedness. It was Germany who attacked France and attacked Russia, because she knew that they were both unready, and because she believed that Britain was too effete and cowardly to interfere. It was this unprovoked attack by Germany on France in time of profound European peace that showed to all Europe at once, and to the nations of the New World in a few weeks time, that Germany was a deadly enemy of the liberties of all free peoples, and that for the sake of elementary freedom the militarism of Germany that had inspired this outrage must be crushed. It was for liberty and security and for no lesser or meaner motives that Britain joined her Allies and faced the might of Germany along with them.

NOTES OF THE MONTH.

THE most striking fact during the past month is the utter collapse of Russia, and the conclusion of peace between the southern part of Russia and the Central Powers. The immediate effect has been the transference of large armies from the Eastern to the Western front, and the consequent urgency on the part of the Allies for increase of man-power. It is assumed that the condition of things in Germany will compel her to aim at a decisive blow in the near future and it is possible, and indeed probable, that before the end of March one of the fiercest struggles in the whole war may have taken place. The necessity for the transfer of British and French troops to the Italian front has greatly added to the difficulties of the Allies in Belgium and France. It is recognised, however, that, if the weakened forces of the Allies can hold the enemy at bay for a sufficiently long time, America will have a large and vigorous army ready to take her share in the struggle. The future is contemplated without dismay, and with a noble courage which is unflinching.

One of the striking features of the time is the silence of the oppressed countries. Hardly a voice reaches the outer world from Belgium or from Serbia. The condition of things in these countries with their unutterable sorrow is left to the imagination. Recently, however, one utterance reached the *Times* from an 'Escaped Civilian' from Belgium, and it throws a lurid light on the action of the German oppressors.

I have had time to adapt myself to my new surroundings and to understand how completely isolated from the rest of the world we are in Belgium. It is not so much that we lack news from the war, for we have learned to read between the lines of the German *communiqués* and to draw our own conclusions. But we do not realise in the least the conditions prevailing in neutral and Allied countries, the various currents of opinion and interests, the infinite complexity of the problems raised by the great conflict. Three years of persecution and of moral and physical sufferings have brought us to such a pitch of glowing enthusiasm for our friends and of irreconcilable hatred of the foe that there is no room left for intellectual subtleties and sentimental reserves. We have become, it is true—and perhaps in the nobler sense of the word—fanatics. We no longer discriminate between God and country. The war has become a religious conflict in which all will be won or lost, and the fervour with which we worship our martyrs is only equalled by the horror and loathing we feel for our enemies.

It seems at first incredible that the moral should be more satisfactory among oppressed people who have everything to gain by submitting themselves to their masters than among free people who have everything to lose by directly or indirectly encouraging the common enemy. It took me some time to understand that the proximity of the oppressor and the danger of thwarting his efforts, instead of fostering doubts and provoking disloyalty, were the best cure for war-weariness. It may seem paradoxical, but human nature is never so strong as when one would expect it to collapse under the strain. The soldiers will tell you that they feel the same difference between the rear and the front. Belgium and Northern France happen to be the civilian front in the West.

This front has, as you know, its casualties like the other. Patriots are shot, literally, every day — there is an average of thirty death sentences a month. They belong to every class, and every party. Among the killed there is one deputy, one burgomaster, many people belonging to the professional classes and, of course, many more workmen and peasants, including women and children. That is, so far as we know, for Von Falkenhausen, the new Governor, has ceased to publish the names of his victims, seeing that, instead of terrorising their compatriots, it only stirred their zeal to emulate them. Among the men imprisoned or deported to Germany are many well-known names: at least ten deputies and senators, no fewer than fifteen burgomasters and aldermen, several judges, and some eminent professors. The post of burgomaster of Brussels is particularly dangerous. M. Max is still in a German cell, and his successor, M. Lemonnier, and the Alderman Jacquemain have followed him to prison.

Such is the fate of all those who, openly or secretly, oppose German rule; no matter whether they are right or wrong. The only law in the country is dictated by the German tribunals. Even those who do not belong to the various organisations which help the young men to cross the frontier to join the army, circulate forbidden papers, or manage to send news abroad, are still exposed, every day, to the most severe sentences. If the Governor chooses to transform the University of Ghent or to set up a new administration, the professors or the officials are not allowed to send in their resignations and to remain faithful to their pledges. It is not enough not to work for Belgium, and the mere fact of refusing to work against Belgium is punishable as a crime. The consequence is that thousands of men and a great number of women are engaged on some secret work, and that all the spies of Germany have not been able to check their activity. I have heard people wonder how, after so many arrests, our organisations are able to go on with their work. There is a very simple explanation. For every man or woman arrested two others offer to take their place. The whole nation has become a huge secret society.

Failure is not due to the want of skill and activity of German agents. Every measure which brutality and cunning can contrive is taken against our patriots. Under the slightest suspicion they are dragged from their homes and imprisoned. For weeks and months they are isolated, unable to communicate with anybody, even with

their advocate, subjected daily to the most searching examination. They are told that their denial is useless, since some of their relatives have been compelled to confess their guilt, or that, if they will confess their crime, they will be allowed to see their wife or their child, who is dying. I have myself spent some weeks in the prison of St. Gilles (Brussels), and have been subjected to this kind of torture. If this fails, threats and blows are used by the examining officers. I know a boy of sixteen who was repeatedly struck for refusing to denounce his "accomplices."

Once on the black list of the secret police, the patriot, whether guilty or not, will do well to leave the country. If they cannot catch you in the act, the German agents have other means to arrest you. They manage, for instance, to slip a copy of *La Libre Belgique* in a drawer or behind a frame while searching your house, and proceed to convict you for circulating this forbidden paper. This manoeuvre caused the arrest of a well-known Brussels barrister. He had previously had a visit from a supposed "colleague" from a neighbouring town, who told him that his wife, who was at the time in the country, had been arrested, and advised him to hide all compromising papers. The same "barrister" headed the body of gendarmes who searched the house a few hours later.

Another method which has caused any amount of harm is known as "the sheep," and is supposed to have been invented by one of Germany's arch-spies, Ober-Leutnant Henry. A disconsolate individual is introduced into the prisoner's cell. Amid sobs and tears, he tells his companion all he has gone through and poses as the innocent victim of German oppression. Confidence calls for confidence, and, unless the prisoner is on his guard, the kind "sheep" succeeds in drawing from him some confession of guilt. The next day the two men are called together before the judge, and the "sheep" becomes accuser.

Such vile work is not necessarily done by Germans. We have our traitors and "activists" and profiteers, but they are beyond the pale. They no longer belong to the nation. They have yielded to the Boches, and with them they will leave the country if they are wise.

The Belgians have lost nothing of their splendid confidence. The final victory of the Allies is not even questioned, and I prefer not to think of what would happen if they should ever be induced to conclude an unsatisfactory peace. It would be the worst blow which could befall us. It would be the ruin of all our efforts to hamper the enemy's activity, of all the hopes for which we have suffered and shall perhaps still suffer so long. The Belgians are waiting anxiously for the return of King Albert, but they are waiting still more anxiously for the advent of justice and the punishment of the culprits. That spirit animates every thinking man in the country, from Cardinal Mercier to the Socialist workmen who drafted the striking manifesto published in July.

The capture of Jerusalem is already old news, but since the chronicling of that great event the English newspapers, which have

since reached us, show how tremendously significant the capture is regarded among many sections of the population. Mr. Massey's illuminating account in the *Times* shows the extraordinary joy that animated all sections of the delivered city. We take the following from the *British Weekly* :—

Monday was "a night much to be remembered" in the alien quarters of London. In dimly lit alleys and squares of Jewry the tidings circulated, and there were scenes which recalled the rejoicings of NEHEMIAH'S day, when the Feast of Tabernacles was kept by the returning exiles. The Chief Rabbi, Dr. HERTZ, pointed out the remarkable coincidence that Jerusalem was delivered on the anniversary of the Maccabæan festival. On that day, 2,000 years ago, the Maccabæans freed the Holy City from the heathen oppressor, and thereby changed the spiritual future of humanity. Another Jewish scholar, Dr. WEIXMANN, President of the English Zionist Federation, said that the news of the British victory would raise the hopes of the Hebrew race all over the world. Devout Jews believe that the Psalmist's words, recited so often at their burial services in strange and desolate places, will soon be realised in the fullness of their glorious meaning: "There shall be an handful of corn in the earth upon the top of the mountains; the fruit thereof shall shake like Lebanon; and they of the city shall flourish like grass of the earth."

Christians are no whit behind the Jews in their rejoicings over Sir Edmund Allenby's victory. The Bishop of Chelmsford proposed in a recent speech that the Sunday following the occupation should be observed as a day of thanksgiving. Two hours after Mr. Bonar Law's announcement our Roman Catholic fellow-citizens sang a *Te Deum* at Westminster Cathedral, and on Tuesday afternoon a great congregation joined in the *Te Deum* at St. Paul's.

'THE Romance of the Persian Oil-fields' is the subject of an article in the *Near East* which is full of interest. We take the following extracts to illustrate the history, the magnitude and the value to the world of this great undertaking.

That Persia was rich in oil was known in a general way to geologists for many years, and spasmodic attempts to exploit the country were made from time to time. The first man who took the business seriously in hand was William Knox-d'Arcy. In or about 1901 d'Arcy obtained a concession from the Persian Government, and set to work systematically to locate oil. In five years he spent out of his private resources no less than £300,000! He abundantly proved the existence of rich oil-fields, though his first strike (near Khanikin) was too remote from the sea-board to be commercially practical. At this stage the foreign oil magnates, who had for years completely dominated the trade of the world, awoke to the great possibilities of Persia, and all sorts of tempting proposals were made to d'Arcy to sell a controlling interest in his concession. But d'Arcy

was not out for money. He knew what the possession of vast oil-fields meant to Great Britain, and he determined that Great Britain and no other country should control the supply from Persia. The financial burden being too great for his own shoulders, he enlisted the interest of the then First Lord of the Admiralty—Lord Selborne—and through him the co-operation of the *Burmah Oil Company*, and of that great Empire builder, Lord Strathcona. In 1908 oil was struck in another rich field, situated only 150 miles from the Persian Gulf port of *Mohammerah*, and in 1909 the *Anglo-Persian Oil Company* was formed with a working capital of £1,200,000.

From 1909 to 1913 the *Anglo-Persian Company* did a great amount of development work. It laid a pipe-line to *Abadan* (a port on the Persian Gulf), built a refinery at the latter place, and carried out a great amount of geological tests. Hopeful as the prospects were, however, there came a time when the cost of this necessary development proved a heavy strain on the Company's resources. Money kept going out—very little came back—and there were those who, to use an expressive Americanism, "began to get cold feet." The foreign magnates, who had been quietly watching and waiting, came along again with their tempting offers. One foreign-controlled company in particular showed a very strong desire to "come in"—provided it secured control. Many great commercial enterprises have gone through critical days in their inception, and for a period the future of the oil-fields of Persia hung in the balance.

FUEL FOR THE NAVY.

One man, however, never lost faith in the commercial future of the enterprise, and moreover formed the vision that so great an asset must at all costs be maintained as a national possession. This man was Mr. Charles Greenway, the chairman and managing director of the company, who with a robust faith in the great future of the enterprise and characteristic resourcefulness and energy determined to endeavour to induce the Government to provide the future money required to bring it to a successful issue. Many people were very sceptical. What precedent, they asked, was there for the British Government providing funds for commercial enterprises of a highly-speculative character? The story is told that Mr. Greenway broached the subject to a well-known legal adviser, and the legal adviser suggested that Mr. Greenway should consult a doctor. "You must have been over-working," he said, by way of dismissing the matter. But Mr. Greenway was not to be discouraged. A staunch supporter was found in Lord Fisher, the constructive genius of the modern Navy. Lord Fisher had early grasped the importance of oil, and he saw clearly the vital necessity of securing adequate supplies for the British Navy. Mr. Winston Churchill—then First Lord—took the matter up with his indomitable energy, and gradually "enthused" the Cabinet. Mr. Lloyd George gave the great weight of his personal support, and amongst the other leading men who were instrumental in carrying the project through were Mr. McKenna and Sir Francis Hopwood (now Lord Southborough), the then Civil Lord of the Admiralty. But to Mr.

Churchill more than to any single Minister belongs the credit, and the nation has every reason to be grateful to him for the courage he displayed in forcing the matter through an apathetic, and, it must be admitted, rather hostile House of Commons.

The negotiations which ultimately led to the Government investing the substantial sum of £2,200,000 in the company received a considerable measure of publicity, and were widely commented on in the Press. It is interesting at this time of day to take up Hansard and read the debates in the House when the vote was asked for. If members ever re-read their own speeches those who have still a sense of shame may well blush to be reminded of some of the things they then said. It would be unkind to particularise, but it may be recalled that one member, who described himself as an expert in the oil trade, damned the proposal root and branch. He observed that it was a sound maxim that a greengrocer should not grow his own cabbages, proceeded to throw cold water on the idea that oil could ever be discovered in payable quantities in Persia, and wound up by solemnly assuring the Government that wisdom lay in depending for their supplies on the "competitive market" which was always sure to exist in oil. The "competitive market"—when the Oil Trust dominated the world's markets absolutely, and hardly a ton could be produced except at their price and on their conditions! A great deal more of this sort of nonsense was talked, but finally the Government secured its vote by a handsome majority.

The activities of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company since the Great War began are necessarily shrouded behind a veil of secrecy. It is known that the company has rendered important service to the Allied cause by providing oil and oil products to the British Government at a time when both were urgently needed, but beyond this general statement nothing can be said. It may, however, be pointed out that the Persian source of supply has had its influence on the price of the commodity charged by other producers, and so the British taxpayer has gained in more ways than one.

GOVERNMENT HOLDING.

At the annual general meeting of the Company, held on December 3, the Chairman, Mr. C. Greenway, gave an interesting survey of the position, which deserves to be widely read in detail. A few of the main figures from his speech may, however, be conveniently quoted here. Working under all the limitations and disabilities imposed by the war, the company has, in the past three years, made very rapid progress. In 1916 the trading profit amounted to £171,723; in 1917 this jumped up to £415,827, while in the current year the business already done justifies Mr. Greenway in predicting that the trading profit will reach the huge figure of £800,000 to £1,000,000. The company's capital has been increased from the original £1,200,000 to no less than £6,000,000, and ultimately will no doubt reach a much higher figure. Contracts have already been secured for future delivery of something like 15,000,000 tons of oil products.

Some of the figures quoted by Mr. Greenway are bewildering in their immensity, although it must carefully be borne in mind that only a comparatively small section of the area embraced in the Company's concession has so far been touched. The output is already larger than the pre-war production of the whole of the Roumanian and Galician oil-fields, to obtain which it is estimated that more than £40,000,000 sterling of capital has been sunk and more than 2,000 wells opened out. Moreover the quality of Persian oil is exceptionally good. The crude product is rich in benzine and kerosene while it yields good lubricating oil, fuel oil of high thermol efficiency, and first-rate paraffin wax.

LITERARY NOTICES AND NOTES.

True Tales of Indian Life.—By Durjendra Nath Neogi, B.A., Macmillan and Co., Ltd. Price (English Edition) Re. 1-8, (Indian Edition) Re. 1.

THIS is a collection of sixty-six short stories of famous Indians. The stories are well written, and most of them are worth telling. Exception might be taken to the story entitled *For Friendship's Sake*, which relates how a philosopher, after reading his commentary on an important philosophical work to a friend, noticed that his friend was in distress and asked him the reason. His friend confessed that he also had written a commentary on the same work and he was distressed to find it so much inferior to the one he had heard read. The author of the superior commentary immediately tore it up for friendship's sake. Most readers, we fancy, will think that the philosopher, instead of tearing up his commentary, would have done much better to place it at the disposal of his friend. It is surely possible to satisfy the reasonable claims of friendship without disregarding the claims of truth.

The book is excellently printed by the Glasgow University Press, but uniformity in the spelling of Indian names is conspicuously absent. *Saheb* and *Men-Saheb* repeatedly occur instead of the familiar spelling. The Sikhs always occur as *Shikhs*. *Zemindar* is spelt in three different ways. *Pashwa* and *Peshwa* are both found. The founder of Aligarh College appears as *Sir Saiyad Ahammad* and the identity of a famous Madras judge is disguised under the spelling *Mathuswamy Aiyar*. A curious mixture of John Company spelling and Hunterian spelling is found in such forms as *Meerat*. The following are probably errors of the press—*Bhji Rao* (p. 1), *Teg Bahadur* (p. 2), *Shastnas* (p. 10), *Tir Salar Jwy* (p. 36). *Blacklayer* on p. 73 seems to be intended for bricklayer.

Asoka.—By James M. Macphail, M.A., M.D. The Heritage of India Series. Pages 88. Price eight annas.

THIS addition to the Heritage of India Series is a well-written summary of the results of modern research. The author has consulted the writings of Rhys Davids and Vincent Smith as well as the most recent publications of the Archaeological Survey. Three preliminary chapters on the "Maurya Empire," "Asoka the Monarch" and "Early Buddhism" lead up to an account of his achievements contained in the fourth and fifth chapters entitled "Asoka the Missionary" and "Asoka the Scribe." The sixth and last chapter considers Asoka's place in history.

The book is well printed at the Wesleyan Mission Press, Mysore City. The frontispiece is a reproduction of a photograph by the Archaeological Survey of India of the Lion Pillar capital of Sarnath.

LITERARY NOTES.

AN important contribution to English letters is Sir Sidney Colvin's *magnum opus* on Keats (*John Keats: His Life and Poetry, His Friends, Critics, and After Fame*: Macmillans, 18s. nett). Thirty years ago, the author gave an earnest of his qualifications for the task in his brilliant number on Keats in the "English Men of Letters," one of the outstanding ornaments of that inevitably unequal series. We welcome this fuller and riper portrayal of one of the most alluring figures in English poetry.

A RECENT biography of more than ordinary interest is the *Life and Letters of Stopford Brooke* (two volumes: Murray, 15s. nett), from the sympathetic pen of Principal Jacks. In this country, Stopford Brooke's contributions to the study of English literature are widely known. His writings should prepare the way for this account of a rare and gracious personality.

A BOOK which ought to command attention is Mr. William Archer's *India and the Future* (Hutchinson, 16s. nett). The bulk of it was written three years ago—before the present agitation had done so much to obscure judgement. Mr. Archer writes with knowledge, and yet with detachment. He stands above the suspicion of partiality for bureaucracy or reaction. We commend his book to the sympathetic study of all who really care about the great problem embodied in the title of his book.

UNDER the title *Obstacles to Peace* (Stanley Paul, 7s. 6d. nett), that veteran American journalist, Mr. Samuel S. McClure, gives his countrymen a comprehensive indictment of Germany. In a sense, it is all familiar ground to us; but there is a special value in having the case stated afresh from the American standpoint. We note (*inter alia*) a judgement on the questions at issue which many other writers confirm. "Turkey is the very crux of the *Obstacles to Peace*. The fate of Turkey is *the* issue of this war."

IN this connection we may call attention to a work on the "Ottoman Caliphate." A Professor in the University of Rome, Signore C. A. Nallino, a leading Italian Orientalist, has published an illuminating study of the Caliphate, and the "fiction," or hallucination, of the "Ottoman Caliphate." He demonstrates, what every student of the subject knows, that the Caliphate really perished with the last of the Abbassides in the thirteenth century, and that its supposed transference to the intrusive Turk was due to the misconceptions of the European powers rather than to any movement in Islam.

IN *The Living Present* (Murray, 6s. nett), Mrs. Atherton has with commendable enthusiasm tried to do for the women of France what Mrs. Humphry Ward undertook for the women of England—to bring home to the American people all they have done, no less than all they have suffered, in this war. England, as well as America, may find inspiration in this telling account of the splendid work of the women of France.

THE deservedly popular "Everyman's Library" includes in its latest batch an English translation of Duruy's *History of France* (two volumes). At the present time, the English-speaking world does well to cultivate the knowledge of our great Ally. This work, by a distinguished French historian, should do something to dispel the ignorance of her past which has been all too general among Englishmen.

SIR HENRY NEWBOLT, in addition to distinction as a poet and critic, has won a place of his own as a writer of books for boys. His latest achievement in this field is *The Book of the Happy Warrior* (Longmans, 6s. nett), in which he endeavours to inspire the boys of England with all that was best in the ideals of medieval chivalry. It is worth noting that his heroes are chosen mainly from France—Roland, Bayard, St. Louis, and Bertrand du Guesclin standing shoulder to shoulder with the half-English Cœur de Lion and the English Robin Hood.

SCIENCE NOTES.

MANY different species of plants containing valuable colour principles are found in the Philippines but two of these only are of commercial importance—indigo and sappan. About one hundred others are known but are used only locally and are not grown carefully with a view to their market value. Indigo (*Indigofera tinctoria*, Linn. and *I. sufruticosa* (Mill.) is still cultivated on a small scale in North Luzon. Sappan (*Caesalpinia sappan*, Linn.) is widely distributed in the settled parts of the islands but is not systematically grown. This wood yields about two per cent. of red colouring material which contains brazilin, the colouring matter found in brazil-wood. Numerous shrubs or small trees produce brown dyes, chief among these are bancudo (*Morinda indica*, Linn.) the well known al dye of India, the bark of *Xylocarpus*. Black dyes are secured from *Heritiera litoralis*, Dry, and from different species of *Hibiscus*, *Semecarpus*, *Terminalia* and *Diospyros*. Yellow dyes are got from the seeds of *Bixaorellana*, Linn., from the wood of *Nauclea*; from *Carthamus tinctorius*, Linn.; from the bark of the common mango; from *Vitex* and from *Peristrophe tinctoria*, Nees.

FOR long after Dalton announced his atomic theory the word atom applied equally to the smallest particle of an element as well as to the smallest particle of a compound, and it was in order to avoid this ambiguity that Avogadro named the latter a molecule. Through the genius of Clerk Maxwell it became possible by means of the kinetic theory on the basis of experimental data to calculate not only the absolute mass of the molecule but also its dimensions and the speed of its movement. The hydrogen molecule weighs about three million, million, millionths of a gramme. It is about one-hundredth millions of an inch in diameter and it moves at several hundred yards per second. The general agreement between the values derived from different kinds of measurement is remarkable. Still the theory cannot carry complete conviction because of the number of hypotheses it involves and so some have not been wanting who refused to believe in the objective reality of molecules.

IN the year 1827, the botanist Brown when watching pollen grains in water under the microscope, saw that they were in constant rapid motion. This Brownian movement, as it was called, observed long before by Buffon and Spallanzani, who saw in it a manifestation

of life, is now known to show us not the molecules themselves but a magnified picture of molecular movement. Quite recently Jean Perrin, the French physicist, has proved that the magnitudes calculated from these coarse suspensions are the same as those got from the molecular kinetic hypothesis. He used a fine suspension of gamboge in water and found that these particles in Brownian movement behaved exactly as the molecules of a gas would behave according to the kinetic theory.

"WHETHER we calculate the fundamental molecular magnitudes from the viscosity of gases" writes Prof. A. Findlay in *The New Statesman* "from the Brownian movement of fine, but visible particles; from the phenomena of radio-activity; or from the blue colour of the sky, by which also the discontinuous structure of matter is made manifest, the same results are obtained, and the real existence of molecules is hereby established with a probability amounting to a certainty." And as Prof. Perrin has said "atoms are no longer eternal indivisible entities, setting a limit to the possible by their irreducible simplicity; inconceivably minute though they be, we are beginning to see in them a vast host of new worlds. . . . Nature reveals the same wide grandeur in the atom and the nebula, and each new aid to knowledge shows her vaster and more diverse, more fruitful and more unexpected, and above all, unfathomably immense."

AN object with a certain index of refraction attains the property of transparency if placed in a liquid having a corresponding index of refraction. In 1914, Dr. Spalteholtz published in Leipzig a book containing formulae for making such liquids and quite recently Dr. Harmer of the Natural History Department of the British Museum explained the remarkable nature of the process which the trustees of the British Museum wished to use, though patented in Germany in 1909. He said that a rat could be taken and prepared, then put in certain specified solutions and it would become extremely transparent so that one could see the details of the skeleton through the skin and the muscles. The Museum wished to use this process partly for preparing objects to be exhibited to the public and partly for study purposes.

RECENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

THE December number of the *Contemporary Review* opens with an article on 'The Education Bill,' by the Marquis of Crewe. With the main educational provisions of the Bill Lord Crewe is well satisfied. It was with profound dismay, therefore, that he heard that the Bill would be postponed to an uncertain date. He expresses particular satisfaction with the clause in the Bill which deals with the establishment of nursery schools for children from two to five years of age, and he approves also of the provisions whereby education authorities may make by-laws compelling attendance above fourteen. These provisions constitute a small industrial revolution in some districts in the north of England, and are bound to encounter a considerable amount of opposition both in and out of Parliament. With regard to the administrative changes proposed, Lord Crewe says it cannot be denied that fears have been widely expressed that there will be too great a development of centralisation if the Bill becomes law. The truth is that in this matter there is a dilemma to be faced. It is the policy of the nation to leave control as far as possible to the local authorities, and on the other hand it is the duty of the Central Authority to see that a certain standard of efficiency is maintained all over, devising, if need be, means for coercing recalcitrant or supine governing bodies. There is the danger lest in seeking to fulfill this function it may interfere with the efforts of progressive local bodies to introduce reforms. In respect of its financial provisions the Bill is open to a good deal of criticism. The difficulties to be faced by indigent areas have not been adequately recognised in the allocation to many districts of the respective shares of total outlay between the Exchequer and the local rates. But on the whole he thinks the Bill deserves general admiration and approval.

In 'The New Orientation in Germany' Mr. William Harbutt Dawson shows that in constitutional matters Germany is making progress, and that the War cannot leave her as it found her. In spite of the censorship of the press the outside world has been able to recognise many indications not only of the opposition of the Junkers to reform but of the growing strength of the Progressists of all parties. The changes impending in Prussia mark a great advance. At the same time Mr. Dawson points out that franchise reform in Prussia does not touch the true constitutional problem in Germany. The reform required for the Empire as a whole is one which will

emancipate it from the illegitimate and mischievous influence of Prussia in its political life; and that emancipation will only come about when the nation passes under genuine parliamentary government. In a German democratic paper it was recently stated that 'Germany is half-way between absolutism and parliamentarism: she must either go forward or backward;' and these words in his opinion faithfully describe the present situation. In the event of defeat in the War, he says, Germany may be expected to go forward of her own accord, but if by any chance her political system survive, militarism will survive with it, and further, if the German autocracy is confirmed in its old position it would be its first and persistent aim to restore autocracy in Russia. It would be fatal, therefore, to regard the question of German constitutional reform as a merely subordinate issue of the War; and though he is suspicious of after-war policies of retaliation, he thinks there is no measure of political or economic pressure which would not be justifiable for the direct purpose of forcing Germany's stubborn sovereigns to surrender their ill-gotten and ill-used monopoly of political power. The Allied Governments should formally state in clear and definite language that to the present Government of Germany there can be no return of colonies or coaling stations after the War, and that with it, so far as they are concerned, there can be no diplomatic or commercial intercourse of any kind. While the preliminaries of peace may have to be concluded with the present enemy rulers and Governments, the Allies should inform Germany that when the peace congress comes they will treat only with the direct representatives of the nation. Parliamentary government will not come in Germany in English forms. Rather, he believes, the Germans will go for their model to their own old and well-tried system of municipal government with its executive of experts, each chosen by and directly responsible to the town council, yet not liable to removal at every election of that body so long as he retains its complete confidence. With a Germany so democratised, the Allies might negotiate in an accommodating and, perhaps, an indulgent spirit, regarding her no longer as an enemy to be shunned but as an associate with whom they would be able to co-operate in the common tasks of civilisation.

Mr. J. G. Swift MacNeill criticises the system of the War Cabinet which in his judgment is the outward and visible sign of the suspension of the Constitution. The old cabinet system, he says, was based on the principle of the direct and continuous responsibility of Ministers to the House of Commons and of the House of Commons to the people; the War Cabinet system means the practical transfer from the House of Commons of the control over the executive and the

vesting in the executive of the control over the House of Commons. This has come to pass through the weakness and subservience of the House of Commons. At the present moment, Parliamentary Government is suspended, and the War, which in the case of the other Allies has tended to the strengthening of popular rights and liberties, has in our case been utilised for the establishment of a practical dictatorship.

Mr. Theodore Cooke Taylor writes on 'The Conscription of Wealth' for the purpose of distinguishing between right ways and wrong ways of conscripting wealth. And first he calls attention to the necessity of clearly distinguishing between capital and income. Without the clear recognition of this distinction, no sound business can be properly carried on. He then points out that in the income-tax and death-duties there is already a very substantial conscription of the wealth of rich people. In the death-duties there has been for some years conscription of capital on a considerable scale, but this is a different thing from conscription of capital in an owner's lifetime. The conscription of a wrong man's capital is not a practical proposition, and the attempt to carry it out might bring down the fabric of British credit with a crash. What is most required at present is the maximum production of commodities at the minimum cost to the nation, and that would certainly not be effected by making the state the sole or part producer, which in effect is what the conscription of capital would amount to. In the main, the War is being financed out of the world's income, and the important thing for our Government is to get the people to spend less in order that there may be more available towards the cost of the war. There is therefore justification for Government control in various directions, and greater efforts still will have to be made to divert the nation's individual daily expenditure from nationally disadvantageous to nationally advantageous lines. The simple and automatic way of doing this is to increase legitimate taxation so as to stop or largely stop the demand for luxuries, leaving it to each individual to choose his own form of self-denial.

Mr. H. Wilson Harris contributes an article entitled 'The Whitley Scheme at Work.' The War Cabinet has adopted as the basis of its scheme of industrial reconstruction the principles embodied in the report of the Whitley Committee, which recommended "the establishment in every organised trade of Industrial Councils of masters and men that shall have the whole conduct of the industry under constant review." But before the Whitley Committee formulated its proposals, the masters' association and the men's trade unions in the decorating industry had organised a national joint council, and their scheme, with district councils at which the masters' chairman and the men's chairman preside alternately, has been in operation for some months, and is

proving its ability to avert and to settle disputes. This is encouraging for the success of the Whitley Scheme. There is just one danger, Mr. Harris says, in regard to the operation of the scheme. There is at present no guarantee that the interests of the consumer shall be safeguarded. Safety, Mr. Harris suggests, may be found in some combination of the methods of the co-operative system with the principles of the Whitley Scheme.

Mr. Arthur Ponsonby writes on 'Reconstruction and the Individual.' He suggests that in considering schemes of reconstruction our statesmen should direct their attention not only to social diseases and the ills of communities and classes but to the outlook, the temper, and the attitude of mind of the people themselves. A well-disposed community suffers less, even though no carefully prepared schemes are imposed on it, than an ill-disposed community under the guidance of the most ingenious governors. Education, of course, is the bed rock of individual advancement, but apart from the methods of teaching and learning and the subjects to be taught and learned, Mr. Ponsonby urges the need for reconstruction in the individual outlook on life in general and for co-ordination and unification of the different compartments of human thought and activity in each person. Taking the domestic sphere, the social and professional sphere, the political sphere, and the religious sphere as roughly covering the field of human activity, Mr. Ponsonby says that while they are interdependent and complementary and while they ought to form a complete and harmonious whole, they are often assumed to be separate compartments with formidable partitions between them and with different codes of ethics, morality, and honour. There must be a spiritual awakening stimulated not by any narrow religious appeal but by a fuller understanding and a more intelligent appreciation of the unity which lies behind the complexity of modern existence.

Sir Walter Runciman, senior, traces a connection between the present war, with its enormous sacrifice of the best of the manhood of Europe, and the hostility of England to Napoleon, with its concurrent support of Prussia and the Central Powers. His argument briefly is that the English statesmen in power in the time of Napoleon absolutely failed to appreciate the world problem of their day, and so were responsible not only for the sacrifice of tens of thousands of their fellow-countrymen but for the establishment of a condition of things which led by inevitable steps to that from which the whole world is now suffering.

Mr. G. P. Gooch contributes an appreciative review of Lord Morley's *Recollections*; Professor H. R. Mackintosh has a very able article on Professor Pringle Patterson's Gifford Lectures, which have

been recently published with the title *The Idea of God in the Light of Recent Philosophy*; and the Rev. Dr. E. Lyttleton criticises very severely a book called *The Loom of Youth*. Janet Chase gives an account of recent legislation in Norway on behalf of children. Mr. Robert Bell discusses 'The Topography of the *Tempest*'; and Mr. J. E. G. deMontmorency in the Literary Supplement, deals with the mental aspects of diseases and their cure. Among the works reviewed in the Literary Supplement is a new edition of Captain Trotter's *History of India*.

THE January number of the *Contemporary Review* opens with an article entitled "The Radical Outlook," by the Right Hon'ble Walter Runciman. War, Mr. Runciman says, is not conducted according to the rules of liberty, though war has become the only means by which liberty can be preserved. In the rush and turmoil and organisation of war personal liberty has to give way to the necessities of the combined, uncompromising effort of the State. The three great freedoms, freedom of person, freedom of opinion and its expression in speech, and freedom of trade have been suspended during the war, but each of these must be restored when the War is over. Without these no progress can be made in thought or action or government. With regard to the restriction of freedom of opinion and the expression of it, Mr. Runciman says that, while the organised spread of sedition must be checked, the Liberal view is that the courts and not the executive should decide what is, and what is not, sedition. Interference and supervision, he thinks, have been carried too far and must be swept aside immediately the War is over. With regard to freedom of trade he admits that control was necessary in respect of certain industries in order that the State might put forth its full economic strength, but the amount of control that has overspread the life of nearly every trade is impeding our commercial machinery and hampering the free flow of intelligence, enterprise, and scientific adventure.

The War, Mr. Runciman says, has changed much, but the change from war conditions back to those of peace will be greater still; and there will be impatience with every form of dilatory or nervous handling of social question. What of the hitherto ill-paid agricultural labourer when he returns to his former occupation, and what of the housing of workmen generally? Is labour to return to its old controversies? Liberalism, Mr. Runciman says, has great contributions to make to the answers to be given to these and similar questions. A higher status for men and women in municipal, social, and industrial life is in his opinion an essential condition precedent to an era of goodwill. And the only basis on which reform and

social amelioration can rest is a system of sound finance. The burden of the War debt will have to be met, and it must be met chiefly, Mr. Runciman says, by increased taxation of the well-to-do, not by a tariff, the weight of which falls largely on the consumers and so more on the poor than on the rich. Food must be freed from all imports: every impediment must be removed from its import. Every effort must be made to stimulate increased home production: science must make her contributions to agriculture, not merely through the Royal Agricultural Society but through every modern University and College. The system of allotments, which has done so much to brighten the lives of dwellers in cities and towns, should be made permanent and generally there should be a real effort to carry out the proposals of the two Land Reports of 1913 and 1914. Education must be more enthusiastically taken up, and more money expended on it. It will be the duty of Liberalism, as the guardian of temperance, to provide the atmosphere and the conditions, irrespective of all private interests and investments, in which the temperance missionary and teacher can conduct their work. There are other important questions, Mr. Runciman says, in conclusion, which Liberalism will have to deal with, but which he has not space to discuss.

Lord Parmoor deals sympathetically with Lord Lansdowne's letter, more particularly with reference to its advocacy of the formation of a League of Nations. The main purport of the letter, Lord Parmoor says, was to raise the question whether the aims with which the War commenced cannot be obtained without such a prolongation of hostilities as will spell ruin for the civilised world and an infinite addition to the load of human suffering which already lies upon it. The letter falls into two parts. It asks, in the first place, for some further pronouncement on the present war aims of the Allies, and secondly it emphasises the vital necessity of adequate security against the risk of the recurrence of aggressive warfare in the future. As to the request for some further pronouncement on the war aims of the Allies, Lord Parmoor finds no fault with Lord Lansdowne. In particular he approves of his characterisation of the expression, 'The Freedom of the Seas', as an ambiguous formula, capable of many inconsistent interpretations, and therefore in need of more precise statement. In regard to the formation of a League of Nations, Lord Parmoor says it is the essential argument of those who favour it that such a League would give permanency to peace conditions and that without that any peace might not inaptly be called immature or premature. He further says that the primary condition, if there is to be any chance of providing an effective sanction to prevent the recurrence of aggressive warfare, is a measure of relative disarmament.

ment among the nation's party to the League. This condition has been overlooked, in much of the criticism levelled at the principle of a League of Nations.

In regard to the constitution, functions, and authority of a League of Nations, Lord Parmoor says there would have to be a permanent International Court, judicial in character, and with that atmosphere of trained impartiality which is the distinguishing feature of a well-constituted tribunal. Such a Court would be competent to decide all justifiable questions such as the interpretation of treaties and questions capable of judicial treatment. He thinks suggestions for the framework of such a great international tribunal might be got from the Supreme Court of the United States and the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council of the United Kingdom, which, though not international in character, exercise jurisdiction over independently constituted subject tribunals. But the formation of a League of Nations, Lord Parmoor thinks, would be useless unless the orders made by the International Court were enforceable by adequate sanction. Two methods of sanction have been suggested—the sanction of industrial boycott and the sanction of armed force. There is no reason, Lord Parmoor says, why these two forms should not be applied with cumulative effect, though in the last resort it might be necessary to use the whole strength of the League against any peccant nation. To those who disapprove of the use of armed force under any circumstances the reply is that in face of such a combination as a League of Nations would provide, the outbreak of war would be improbable, and even if it did break out the conditions would be unfavourable to the aggressor and the waste and ruin would be less terrible than in a world conflagration.

In an article entitled, 'Beyond the Battlefield' Sir John Macdonell also deals with the question how to establish a better inter-State order after the War: better in the sense that it will give greater security for peace and orderly progress in all the many directions which the human spirit is likely to take; better in the sense that it will allow free play to growth; better because, while not wasteful of the achievements of the past, it will assume that a different future awaits the world; better, too, because it will permit each community to live its own life and conform to its own ideals. So far, he says, the outlook is dark. The spirit of nationalism is still aggressive, and there are demands for tariffs against particular nations. At present there is no public land of Europe in the old sense of that phrase: the old order is passing and the new has not yet come. At the same time, Sir John Macdonell says, there are signs that the principles of a new public law of Europe are emerging from the utterances of statesmen of diverse nationalities

and character, based not on dynastic interests or the balance of power but on the needs of all members of the community of nations—a public law which they may not always observe but by which they agree to be judged. None of these is more remarkable, he says, than the change of view as to the place and function of small states. The existence of such States is now recognised as abiding testimony that Force is not supreme.

With reference to any measures of reorganisation that may be proposed for the amelioration of international relations, Sir John Macdonell says there must in the first place be provision for pacific growth. As in the national affairs of most States some provision is made for growth, so must it be in connexion with international affairs. In the second place existing institutions should as far as possible be utilised, though new movements should be noted as well as the demand for new institutions. And just as in almost every country there is provision more or less complete for legislative, judicial, and executive functions, so in any international federation or confederation there should be similar provision.

In 'The Entente and the Allies of Germany' Mr. Noel Buxton argues that both Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria are getting weary of German control and the sway of German militarism, that in Austria-Hungary a new spirit of liberalism seems to be in the ascendant, and that so far as Bulgaria is concerned the political situation has been greatly altered by the Russian Revolution. In view of the whole circumstances he is of opinion that an Entente policy aiming at the detachment of these nations from Germany might be adopted with good chances of success.

Mr. Saint Nihal Singh gives some account of 'Recent Educational Progress in India,' dealing more particularly with the most recently founded Universities. He seems to think the extension of primary education is chiefly a question of money. Other articles are 'The Greek White Book,' by Dr. Ronald M. Burrows; 'Turkey and Its Peoples,' by Mr. Joseph Bliss, M. P.; 'With the Serbians in Corsica,' by Kathleen E. Royds, and 'A Plea for a Higher Income Tax,' by Professor A. L. Pigou. Mr. I. E. G. deMontmorency contributes a short article to the Literary Supplement, and the number concludes with the usual reviews of books.

FROM THE QUARTERLIES.

THE *Hinduism of Theosophy* is the title of an article in the *Asiatic Review* for November last, by F. H. Barrow, I. C. S. (retired), and it cannot fail to arrest the attention of Madras readers. There is a strong leaning in many quarters towards mysticism and occultism, and Mrs. Besant has built up on the basis of the subjective experience of Hinduism a new creed, which, in spite of proved fraud, holds a wide sway. Mr. Barrow does not try to discover what it is in Theosophy that makes this strong appeal; his aim is rather to point out the dangers inherent in the system.

His chief complaint against Theosophy is that "it is merely a *réchauffé* of Hindu and Buddhist philosophy. All the root doctrines are the same." Foremost among these is the doctrine of Reincarnation, or the Transmigration of Souls, which professes to solve our most difficult problems and to moralize the otherwise inexplicable facts of life. The eternal Why? Whence? Whither? that puzzle our minds and try our faith, are fully answered by Mrs. Besant with the help of Hindu philosophy, modern physical science and some astounding assumptions of her own. No doubt this is one reason for the appeal that Theosophy exercises over some minds; it offers such a neat explanation of their difficulties to those who can accept Mrs. Besant's 'facts.' And yet these wonderful 'facts' are the merest assumptions, often the most palpably shallow inventions, clothed in language ludicrously crude.

Mr. Barrow gives a brief outline of Mrs. Besant's teaching. It is all complete and dogmatic, no uncertainty anywhere. She can even tell us exactly how long "the mental body" stays in heaven; the time "may stretch from 1,500 to 2,000 years." After this it attains a still higher state of being, and then begins to get restless for more experience and soon takes another plunge into our lower sphere. Not only so, but the able President of this great Society has precise knowledge of the working and *personnel* of the department for fitting souls with bodies, and can give us most illuminating glimpses into its organization. Mr. Barrow offers a very delightful analogy at this point; he says, "We are here reminded of the child who complained that her mother could not satisfy her about the domestic arrangements in heaven, when the cook could tell her all about them." But when we ask, How do Mrs. Besant and other adepts know these 'facts'? we are told that they are revealed to them in occultism, as the reward of thinking about nothing!

At one point we part company with Mr. Barrow. He says, "Now, there are certainly arguments in favour of reincarnation, and

we know that in ancient times it was universally believed in." This seems to us to concede too much, and is, besides, not correct. The doctrine of the Transmigration of Souls was not part of the religion of Greece. There is good evidence that it was an importation into Greek thought from primitive tribes with whom the Greeks came in contact; Pythagoras and Plato only dabbled in it and played with it as an interesting speculation. Again, there is no trace of it in the Vedas, it is not an Aryan belief; the Aryans seem to have acquired it from the pre-Aryan tribes of the Ganges valley;* and Hindu philosophy moralised the old primitive belief by the doctrine of *Karma*. In modern times it has been found among the extremely primitive aboriginal tribes of Central Australia in the most crude and curious forms.†

A danger to which even the most ennobling religions are open is that they should lose touch with the vital element that started them and rely on rites and ceremonies. To quote from the article under review: "If the latter [the vital spirit] is wanting, religions tend to become mere magic, and, relapsing into a kind of animism, depend on *mantras*, passes, charms and incantations; or, they sink still lower, and become a prey to witchcraft, demonology, and fetichism. Meanwhile the thoughtful become rationalists, and the crowd drop into the abyss of pure nature worship." Christianity is saved by belief in Christ, the divine and living Lord, Who is continually giving us of His Spirit and teaching His followers a new and living way of righteousness. But Theosophy admits only that Christ was "one of the Masters of Wisdom", and it is already far on the road to the degeneration described above. Mrs. Besant tells us that the air is peopled with gnomes, sylphs, salamanders, and discarnate spirits good and bad.

Theosophy professes to be not a religion but a philosophy, so that you can be a Theosophist and yet remain a Hindu, Muhammadan or Christian. But, as Mr. Barrow clearly points out, neither of the two latter religions can be held by a Theosophist, for Theosophy's prescribed means of soul-culture definitely exclude the idea of a personal God to whom prayer and worship can be offered. In the process of soul-formation complete abstraction must be practised by keeping the mind fixed on vacuity, till finally the state called in Hindu mysticism *Samādhi* is reached, the student becomes an adept, and the mysteries of occultism are revealed to him. This has of course been practised in the East for centuries, with the dire result of atrophied minds. What will this system of mind-culture on the one hand, and

* See *Intercourse between India and the Western World*, H. S. Rawlinson Chapter VIII.

† See *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, Spencer and Gillen.

this encouragement of spiritism on the other, result in? The human heart cannot do without a personal God with whom it can come into direct relations of love and trust; and the ordinary folk, denied this, sink into depths of idolatry and crushing superstition. Mr. Barrow draws attention to China, where precisely this result is seen; there fetichism and demonology hold a reign of terror, the natural outcome of atheistic religion. Christianity has freed its followers from the tyranny of such superstition by its teaching of a personal God revealed in Christ as a God of love. It has brought us liberty, freedom from fear, which atheistic or pantheistic systems must always fail to do.

FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.

AT present when event follows event at such short intervals, news rapidly becomes stale; but all the more on that account it is necessary, if we are to keep our balance, to look back at what has happened a few months ago. For this purpose few accounts of the War are more valuable than those contributed to the *Fortnightly*; although one has to regret that the writer has been admitted to official information and so pledged to official secrecy. But he is not upset by it and does not allow reticence to be misleading. In the November number he describes the operations from September 21 to October 20.

In May General Petain succeeded General Nivelle, the understanding being that rash attacks were to be avoided. To correspond, Sir Douglas Haig transferred his surplus force from the north of the Hindenburg line to Flanders; this occupied six weeks. Then the Wytschaete bend and the Messines ridge were captured. On July 31 the northern extension of the latter was seized, and the French on our left also advanced. On August 16 we gained Langemarck and made a little progress further south, but the Germans had now been powerfully reinforced. On September 20 the attack on the next ridge, to which Passchendaele gives its name, began. This ridge begins, on the south, at Gheluvelt and Becelaere; north of Passchendaele it dips to Westroosebeke and thence to Staden, about four miles to the east of Houthulst Forest, which the Germans have used as a screen for reserves from the beginning of the War. The ridge and the forest are the keys to the German positions on the coast; and the ridge is now almost entirely in our hands; we may expect here early in spring fighting as fierce as any the War has seen. September 22 gave us a good hold of the western edge of the southern half of the ridge. The number of prisoners captured was smaller than it would have been in a similar success earlier in the War; for the German front line was held lightly, and behind were the "pill-boxes," small concrete strong-

holds, that supported each other with machine-gun fire, and, being half underground, were difficult to hit with a high explosive shell, the only treatment that would put them out of action—from a distance, at least, as field-guns at short range followed up with bombs proved quite effective.

A German counter-attack on September 25 was the prelude to another attack on the 26th which gave us all Polygon Wood, all Zonnebeke, and about half of the southern part of the ridge bringing us to the outskirts of Gheluvelt. The next British move was on October 4; this gave us all the middle of the ridge, and left the Germans only the eastern edge in the south, with Gheluvelt and Becelaere. On the north they still held Passchendaele, but we were now within a couple of miles of it.

What was to be done next? It was a question of strategy as well as tactics; was the British objective the recovery of Lille or to push a wedge north-west into Belgium along the edge of the higher ground? Apparently the latter; with Broodseinde in the centre of the ridge for pivot and in conjunction with the French we reached the south of Houthulst Forest. Probably it was the bad weather and the state of the ground that prevented us from adding Passchendaele to our captures, and still worse weather on the 12th had a similar effect.

The concluding paragraph of this part of the *History* conveys a lesson much needed by British journalists and statesmen, possibly even by British Generals. "It is often said that the fate of the War will be decided in Flanders. This is true, but it is not the whole truth. We are fighting with Allies, and there are other fronts besides the British front." A decisive victory in Flanders will restore Belgium to the Belgians, but not Alsace-Lorraine to France, nor Serbia to the Serbs, nor will it give Trieste to Italy, or the Bukowina to Rumania. Before the War ends, the Germans must be beaten on all fronts, and, however hard we hit them in Belgium, the struggle will go on till there is victory everywhere. It is right to keep this in mind, as there is sometimes a tendency to build premature hopes of peace on the successful result of the Flanders campaign. Our own strategical position will be enormously strengthened when we have rid Belgium of the invader, but a great deal will remain to be done before the Allies are in a position to dictate the only terms of peace which will satisfy their war aims."

At the end of September General Maude decided to attack the Turkish right flank, as a means of disconcerting their reported plans for the recovery of Baghdad. This was at Ramadiya, on the right bank of the Euphrates, the general direction of which here is only a little south of east. The road from Aleppo here runs pretty close to the

river, and crosses the Aziziye canal, which runs in a south-westerly direction from the river. Another canal which runs south-east connects the Habbaniyar Lake with the river. Between the canals is the Aziziye ridge, and between the lake and the river the Mushaid ridge. The Mushaid ridge was seized in a surprise night attack on the 27th, then the infantry crossed the Habbaniyar canal and attacked from the south, capturing the other ridge after some pretty stiff fighting. The cavalry had been sent to cut off the retreat along the Aleppo road, but the Turks surrendered on the morning of the 29th without seriously attacking it.

The British force covering Baghdad was at that time distributed between Bakuba on the Diala, Samarra on the Tigris a hundred miles or so above Baghdad where the line from Baghdad ends, and Feludja, below Ramadiya, on the Euphrates. The Russians on our right have retired considerably.

What is to happen in Mesopotamia the writer in the *Fortnightly* could not predict. An advance up the Euphrates or the Tigris is possible, or, on the other hand, General Falkenhayn may be meditating an attack on Baghdad; that, however, might leave his communications with Constantinople liable to rupture, or disorder at any rate, if General Allenby advanced.

In the December number the story is carried on to November 20. We may begin with Flanders. On October 22nd French and British together forced their way into the Southern edge of Houthulst Forest and the line between it and the ridge was also advanced; on the 26th the French seized several villages to the South-west of the wood. On November 6 the Canadians advanced on Passchendaele from West and South and took both it and two hamlets beyond; four days later we failed to capture Westroosebeke, its strategical importance accounting for the unusual vigour of the German resistance. Of the battle of Cambrai only the initial success is recorded.

The main subject, however, is the Italian débâcle. No serious offensive has been conducted by Italy except against Trieste; but the left flank of the attacking force was weak. The Austrians held the Predil pass, with strong bridgeheads at Tolmino and Plezzo which the Italians never attempted to capture, although for a short time they were across the river at a point between them. Hindenburg concentrated seventy-five divisions (of which thirty were German) behind this twenty-mile front; they were hidden by the solid mass of Monte Nero. The offensive began on October 23; on the 24th the Austro-Germans crossed the Isonzo at S. Lucia, a little to the South of Tolmino. On the 27th they reached Cividale, an advance of twenty miles from Tolmino, and also occupied Gorizia. By this time the bulk of the

Second Army had been captured. The Third Army began its retreat from the Carso Plateau, intending to hold the Lower Tagliamento, but the enemy's advance refused them the time. On the 28th Udine which had been General Cadorna's headquarters fell; and an attempt on the 31st at holding the lower Tagliamento cost the Third Army 60,000 prisoners. A stand was made till November 4, when a retirement to the Livenza took place; this line was forced on the 7th, and the Italians fell back on the Piave. By this time they had lost 250,000 men and 2,300 guns. On the 10th Asiago on the Sette Comuni plateau was captured once more; the Upper Piave did not hold out long. The critical spot was now the part between the rivers Piave and Brenta, and it was to that spot the French and British reinforcements were hurried. The writer in the *Fortnightly* scarcely expected this line, lower Piave, then the hilly section between the Piave and the Brenta, and then the southern edge of the Sette Comuni plateau to be held, and was a little doubtful of the Adige. He considered the Allied Intelligence Department to blame as well as the Italian for the failure to prepare for the special concentration; but the part of the front chosen for the first assault seems to have been too weak to stand a much more ordinary attack, and the Italians seem not to have learned from Flanders and their own experiences of 1916 the advisability of fortifying places in the rear. On the other hand it was the masterly retreat of the Third Army from the Isonzo to the Tagliamento that saved the situation.

In Mesopotamia little occurred; the Turks advanced down the Tigris to Dur, ten miles below Tekrit; on November 2 we advanced and defeated them there, and on the 5th at Tekrit; but we retired as promptly and were back at Samarra on the 8th. The reason was that a Turkish corps was in the Jebel Hamrin, a hilly district on the left bank. On the 18th General Maude died, to whom the remarkable tribute is paid, "from the day he took up the leadership in September 1916, to the day of his death he never made one mistake, and this is more than can be said of any other British General during the present war."

On October 30, General Allenby advanced along a thirty-mile front towards Gaza and Beersheba; the latter was taken by surprise on the 31st. Khufweilah, ten miles North of Beersheba, fell on November 5 and the centre was on the same level at Abu Hareira and Tell-es-Sheria, the latter on the railway. This compelled the Turks to abandon Gaza and it was occupied on the 7th. A general retreat followed.

Mr. Robert Crozier Long writes on Finland's independence, which we may take to be now achieved. The dispute between the Russian

Provisional Government and the Finnish Landtdag is of some interest to the student of politics. The former held that the 'higher power' was now vested in it, while the latter believed that as the Tsar held it as Grand Duke of Finland it had passed to the Finnish people. The Bill in its later form seems to indicate that the Upper House (with the curious name of the "Economical Department of the Senate") is retained on sufferance; its members are to be appointed by the Landtdag in which the socialists command a majority. Mr. Long considered that this forcing of the pace was injudicious, but probably it simply meant that the Finns knew better than he what was to happen in Russia.

COLLEGE NOTES.

TWO events in College life, which took place in December, deserve to be noted. One is the part taken by our students in the Annual Debating Competition held in the Madras Y. M. C. A. between representatives of the Literary Unions of the three Arts Colleges of Madras. Each College put forward two representatives. The subject of debate was "Can man be made moral by Act of Parliament?" the Preliminary Competition held on the 7th December between Pachaiappa and Presidency Colleges resulted in the Presidency College men having to meet the representatives of the Christian College. This they did at the final debate on the 14th December. Our men argued that man could be made moral by Act of Parliament while the more pessimistic view was taken by the representatives of the Presidency College. Of course, the theme of the discussion still remains an open question and will, we fear, remain so to the end of the chapter, in spite of the eloquence of the dialecticians of the Madras Colleges who would decide it once for all, each party in its own way; but the Judges who presided over the debate—Miss De la Hey, Principal, Queen Mary's Women's College, Madras, and V. V. Srinivasa Iyengar, High Court Vakil—decided the prize for eloquence in favour of Messrs. O. C. Srinivasan and Mahdi Ali, representatives of the Christian College, who brought away the Silver Cup besides obtaining each a Silver Medal for himself.

OUR students also participated in arrangements for making "Our Day" successful. Under the auspices of the College Brotherhood, they organised themselves into a Working Committee for co-operating with the General Committee in charge of arrangements in Madras. They sold Union Jack flags in thoroughfares, in tram cars and by

house-to-house visitation in different parts of the city. The present writer remembers how, when he was going on a tram car in Popham's Broadway, he was suddenly attacked by one of Mr. J. P. Cotelingam's two sons in the College with the offer of a flag for which, of course, after realising the situation, he paid the price, but the effect upon his fellow-passengers of this *coup* on the part of the students was marvellous. More than a dozen passengers purchased flags, some quite cheerfully and some by way of yielding to the importunate demand of children going with them. Our students had sometimes to use all their powers of persuasion, explaining the objects of "Our Day," before they could effect a single sale. Nor were they afraid of crowds in the Evening Bazaar or the railway station: indeed, it was in these places they felt most inspired and carried on a roaring trade. They helped the General Committee by delivering flags for sale to different schools in the city and the suburbs. On "Our Day" itself they posted themselves at each entrance of the South Indian Athletic Grounds and saw to it that no one entered without wearing or buying a flag. Nor was their activity confined to the sale of flags. They sold Lucky Bag tickets (of one rupee each) for Rs. 521, the proceeds of the sale of flags being over Rs. 200 which means that they sold nearly three thousand two hundred flags, which, some would say, is not a bad number. The Brotherhood and especially its Secretary, Mr. O. C. Srinivasan, deserve to be congratulated upon the work they turned out in the course of a single week, *i.e.*, from the 5th to 12th December.

GRADUATES of the year! It is my privilege to welcome you this evening both on behalf of the College and on behalf of the old Boys' Association. My connection with the College hardly extends to a year and a half yet: and I cannot help wishing that some one with a better record than myself, either an old boy or one with a richer record of service had been chosen as the spokesman on this occasion. But those who have the final say in these matters have decided otherwise, and here I am in obedience to their mandate.

Yesterday afternoon you were solemnly admitted, along with others from all parts of South India, by the Chancellor of our University, to the great company of its graduate members. To-day in a less formal but in a more intimate way, we are met here to congratulate you and to welcome you, who belong to us, to the no less great company of the alumni of our College. We congratulate you on the success you have already attained and trust and pray that it may be only the firstfruits of still greater triumphs to come.

By receiving your degrees you have been admitted to that great brotherhood of University men scattered all over the world, who, however different they may be from each other in race, creed, tradition, and ancestry, are yet one in their training and ideals. Before you were formally admitted into that honourable company you promised the Chancellor "that you will in your daily life and conversation conduct yourselves as becomes members of this University, that to the utmost of your opportunity and ability, you will support and promote the cause of morality and sound learning, that you will, so far as in you lies, uphold and advance sound order and the well-being of your fellowmen, that you will faithfully and carefully fulfil the duties of your several professions, that you will on all occasions maintain their purity and reputation, and that you will never deviate from the straight path of their honourable exercise by making your knowledge subservient to unworthy ends." These are solemn obligations and it is a moment of consummation in your lives when you take such solemn vows. At such a time as this, it is natural to look backwards into the past as a time of preparation and equipment, and forwards into the future to survey the work that is yet to do.

So I wish to say to you a few brief words from the standpoint of the College in which you have studied, and from which you are going forth into the world. I hope that the memories of the days you have spent within these walls will abide with you long, and that you will look back upon the old College with affection and gratitude. During the days you have been with us, we have tried to the uttermost of our strength to help you not only to get your degree, which is the hallmark of your education, but I trust, in some measure at least to prepare and equip you as far as in us lies, for the battle of life, for the more arduous duties of manhood. Now that you are going from us, we send you forth loaded with our blessings and good wishes. May God bless you richly. May success and prosperity and sunshine attend your path. May you never forget that love of learning for its own sake and that reverence for ideals that you have learnt here: wherever you may be, whatever your vocation in life be, may you never forget that you belong to the great brotherhood of this College, and conduct yourselves in a manner worthy of it. There never was a more momentous epoch in the history of Southern India than the one in which we live, and in the years to come, you may be rivals in professions or take up opposite sides in public questions, but whoever you are, wherever you may be, whatever the issues involved be, may you never forget that you lived within these College walls where European and Indian, Hindu and Muhammadan, Christian and non-Christian, Brahmin and non-Brahmin all meet and mingle together in

the unity of a common life and live as one family. Even so outside these College walls remember that you are still children of the same Alma Mater. The old College will think of you still, will remember you with affection and watch your progress with interest and pride.

So far I have spoken of what the College has done and will do for you; and now may I with your permission say a word or two as to what you may do for the College? In one word, I say above all things, *believe* in the old College still, whatever appearances be like, whatever you may think individually of us here, will you still believe that the heart of the College is right, that it has stood in the past, is standing now and will stand for ever for all that is true and good for the people of our land. Institutions like our College have a life of their own, a sort of an oversoul, which is not identical with any or even all who may be in it at any one time and Providence works its ways almost as much with as without and in spite of men. Therefore, I ask you now to-day in all solemnity to be slow to believe in anything against the College, to trust it and those in it as doing all things to the best of their lights for the true good of our people.

If you believe in the College, I am sure you will help us. There are various ways in which you could. May I mention a few? You could keep in touch with us. You could leave your name and address in the College books, you could keep informing us from time to time where you are and what you are doing. You could join our Old Boys' Association. You could subscribe to the College Magazine. I can assure you that the present editor is making every effort to improve the quality of the articles in our monthly magazine, to make it more interesting, to cover topics of contemporary interest and definitely to set apart a section of the magazine for a detailed account of the various College activities, the doings of the Hostels in which you lived and the clubs and societies to which you belonged. I am asking you not only to subscribe, but to contribute to its pages from time to time, and induce others to take it who are not doing so already, you can make it a point to attend annual functions like this or College Day. And if that is not possible, visit the old College whenever you come to Madras and revive old memories and build up new ones. Send your children and your children's children to this institution hallowed by the memories of their fathers and fathers' fathers.

Another means of keeping in touch with and helping the College is by subscribing to its funds. I know that in the past large and liberal subscriptions have been given as occasions arose. I remember how last year when we assembled for a similar purpose one of the new graduates endowed a gold medal in Dr. Skinner's name. But at present I am not thinking so much of special occasions and special

needs. They have their place and value in the history of a College, and when the occasion or need arises, I am sure that we would come forward and meet it according to our ability and according as God has blessed us with this world's goods; apart from that, surely we can all send in regular or periodic subscriptions to the College funds in order that the benefits of education may be extended, either specifying some particular purpose for which it may be spent, or leaving it to the College authorities to utilise it in the best ways. Such a fund may be of invaluable help in enabling the College to extend to others the benefits of the education that you have received.

But there is something more that we can all do, the poorest among us included, and that is to bless the College where we have studied, to wish it well, and, to whatever class or creed we may belong, to pray for it, to pray to the God of all the world, the fountain of all light, to shower His choicest blessings on this institution, that wisdom and guidance may be given to those who control its affairs, that its resources for good and usefulness may be multiplied as the years go by, that a never-ending stream of good and useful men may go forth from it year after year who will flood all walks of life in Southern India, spreading sweetness and light everywhere. That is the ultimate end of our existence, as a College. Not in the flourishing state of our finances merely, nor in the ability, reputation and scholarship of our teaching staff, nor even in our success in the University examinations merely, but in the character of the men that we send forth into the needy parts of Southern India who will sow the seed and reap the harvest ten-fold, hundred-fold and thousand-fold, do we look for the signs of the true prosperity of our College. I cannot close these brief words better than with a prayer in which we may all join.

O God, who didst put it into the hearts of good and faithful people three-quarters of a century ago, to found this College, for the imparting of sound learning, the building of character and the spread of spiritual truth and knowledge of Thee, continue to help and bless our College as Thou hast blessed it hitherto; may love, unity and brotherhood be learnt here; may industry, uprightness and courage grow here; may Thy Spirit haunt and hallow these walls; and may succeeding generations who serve and study here, accept, adorn and hand on the heritage of the past, so that a great and glorious tradition may be built up here with the growing years to Thy honour and glory. Amen.*

* The above address was delivered by Mr. Raju to the Graduates of the year in November, 1917.

DR. MILLER was born on the 13th January, 1838. On the 13th January, 1918 he completed his eightieth year. This happy event was celebrated in the College on Monday, the 14th January (the day happening to be Pongal, or the Dravidian Harvest Festival) by members of the various College hostels, the College staff and former students co-operating. The social part of the celebration was gone through in the College Hall, after which the party adjourned to the Anderson Hall across the street. Rao Sahib T. Ramakrishna Pillai, President of the College Day Association, was voted to the chair. The proceedings took the form of a resolution spoken to by representatives of the different hostels, requesting the Chairman to send a message of congratulation as well as a report of the proceedings to Dr. Miller at Burgo Park. Mr. C. Satyanarayana, Secretary of Caithness Hall, in moving the resolution, described the College as a laboratory of character in which large ideals making for nationality as against sectarianism were inculcated, and described Dr. Miller as one who had at great personal sacrifice laboured in creating its traditions. Gratitude to Dr. Miller, he said, consisted in loyal co-operation with his successors in maintaining untarnished the honour and good name of the College. Mr. V. M. Ittyerah, the spokesman of Fenn Hostel, looked upon Dr. Miller as one who scattered far and wide through Southern India the benefits of Western education and played a large and important part in shaping the general educational system, including College hostels of which he was the originator. Speaking on behalf of the Second Students' Home, Mr. P. N. Krishna Rao referred to Dr. Miller's services on the Education Commission appointed by Lord Ripon, and observed that the hostels of the College embodied the keen personal interest he took in the welfare of students and the great love he cherished for the people of India in general and of South India in particular. The Rungiah Chetty Hostel found a voice in Mr. P. Kothandaraman, who said that Dr. Miller awakened in the people "the spirit of nationality in the light of spirituality" by imparting an all-round Western education. These tributes from the rising generation were supplemented by Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer who, speaking in the name of the Old Boys, dwelt upon Dr. Miller's contribution to the educational progress of the country. The crowning tribute of the occasion was paid by the Chairman who spoke as follows :—

We have gathered together to-night to celebrate the birthday of our benefactor and teacher. His philanthropy in erecting hostels for your sakes and the example he set as a great teacher which his successors follow in this institution are no doubt the strong motives which impel you to celebrate his birthday. But it is not merely as a philanthropist and as a successful teacher that we are proud of him. He had a higher mission which he tried to fulfil;

and that was as a seer who influenced the life and character of the people of this land. It is this aspect of his work that made many an old student to own, with evident pride and satisfaction, his indebtedness to this College. With what gusto the old student would give the answer to questions put to him, "I passed out of the Christian College." "I am an old student of Dr. Miller", and it is because you the present students appraise at its true worth the higher mission of his life which is continued now by his successors that you have combined to make this celebration as that of not one hostel as hitherto, but of all the hostels, and have turned out in such large numbers to-day.

Gentlemen, Dr. Miller was born on the 13th of January, 1838, and I am safe, therefore, in saying that he has this day exceeded the Psalmist's limit of age. But the singer adopted a rather plaintive note—"the days of our years are three score years and ten, and if by reason of strength, they be four score years, yet is their strength labour and sorrow." There is nothing unusual in that. One of our own poets sang thus about a thousand years ago. "The days of our years, according to the Vedas, are five score years; one-half is spent in sleep. Out of the remaining fifty, we have to take account of infancy, childhood, and the wild boisterous days of youth; and there are also these to take note of—, disease, hunger, old age, and days of trouble and sorrow. Therefore O Lord! I do not wish to be born again." Perhaps these ancient poets did not recognize the dignity of human life. But to Dr. Miller life with all its sorrows and troubles, its trials and difficulties, is worth living and to-day the consolations of a well-spent life are his. Believe me, my young friends, when I say this. I stayed with him in Burgo Park, and I speak from personal experience. His eyes have grown dim, almost to blindness, so that he has to rely upon others to read to him all about the present thoughts, feelings and tendencies of the people of this land; but the inner vision of the man remains yet clear and unimpaired; it is the vision of the true prophet who looks beyond the horizon of his village and his country, into the distant East and its destiny. Have we not had proof of this in the messages which he has been sending to us year after year, in parables like a true seer in the spirit of the teachings of his Master?

And if Dr. Miller were to be asked to-day if he would like to be born again, he would certainly say "yes". He would like to be born again in his own dear Scotland, to inherit once more his Norse blood and breathe the bracing air of his native hills, to render him physically fit for arduous work, and come back to the land of his adoption to be the Principal of the institution which his genius has reared and brought to its present position. But perhaps when he comes back, there would be one regret. He would find the institution in a prosperous condition, not as the High School of five and fifty years ago with barely a hundred and fifty pupils. His energy and enthusiasm would perhaps find vent in some other direction, some worthy difficult task, some noble ideal to strive for or some great aim to fulfil, and we have an inkling of this from his Convocation address, wherein he says:—"I cannot lift the veil that hides the future. Nevertheless, I am sure that if life's burden is wisely borne and its common-place duties patiently discharged by you and by the generations to which your character and influence will of necessity be handed down, there will yet arise in this land of yours some community or race, some city or institution, something, I know not what, in which men's thoughts will find noble utterance, and from which their energies will flame nobly forth, something that will make India a leader in the march of mankind

towards its appointed goal.' Need I say that the city which Dr. Miller would in his re-birth adopt as the scene of his labours would be the ancient city of Madras, the community or race would be the one brought by the fusion of hearts closer together, and the appointed goal would be the equal partnership by a gradual and sure process with the other members in this great Empire to which we have the honour to belong. But surely this task would be a stupendous one which even the boldest warrior would shrink from. But Dr. Miller would cheerfully enter the fray and lead us on gradually to victory in spite of impediments and even severe defects.

Great is the facile conqueror;
Yet haply he who, wounded sore,
Breathless, unhorsed all covered over
With blood and sweat,
Sinks foiled but fights even more,
Is greater yet.

The proceedings were brought to a close by a speech from Dr. Skinner in which he thanked the Secretaries of the various hostels who had within a few days after the re-opening of the College made the celebration so successful, to Mr. L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer for his weighty testimony on behalf of former students to the work and worth of Dr. Miller and to Mr. Ramakrishna Pillai whose long and intimate contact with Dr. Miller and the College made him the most appropriate Chairman for the occasion. In this connection it may not be altogether inappropriate to recall an Appreciation of Dr. Miller's labours by one of his own colleagues and contemporaries, only recently called away. At a meeting of the Free Church Missionaries in India held at Madras on the 15th May, 1893, to present an address of general congratulation and good-will to Dr. Miller, the Rev. Charles Cooper spoke as follows :—

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

The situation in which I find myself at this moment is such as, if it had been foretold to me twenty-five years ago, I should not have believed in its possibility. When at the aforesaid distance of time I came to India under the auspices of Dr. Miller, Madras was not to be mentioned in the same breath with Bombay and Calcutta. She was the Cinderella among the three sisters. She was the Nazareth out of which nothing good could be expected to come. Now I have the pleasure of supporting an address in which Bombay, Calcutta and Central India unite to do honour to Madras in the person of the Principal of the Madras Christian College.

I agree with every word of the address, and with all that Dr. Hector, Dr. Macphail and Mr. Lendrum have said; but perhaps I may be allowed, in the few words I am to say, to emphasise some points, or even add to their number, speaking as I do from the vantage ground of a long and intimate acquaintance and association with Dr. Miller.

The address puts forward the Christian College as Dr. Miller's greatest claim to honour, and when I compare what it was twenty-five years ago with its present position, and when I reflect on the rare combination of qualities

the exercise of which has enabled Dr. Miller to take all along the leading part in that development—his genius for organization, his omnivorous appetite for work, his capacity for taking infinite pains, his confidential bearing towards his colleagues which ever insured their willing co-operation, his liberal—almost lavish—private benefactions that have made the College buildings (using that term in a comprehensive sense) no unworthy compeer to the state-erected 'Palace of Justice' across the street, his vigilant outlook and intensitive discernment, on the one hand, of providential openings for new developments, or departures, and on the other, of difficulties and dangers, sure to come but as yet below the general horizon, his readiness to fight (inherited with his Norse blood) when peace with honour was no longer possible, and his prowess in the conflict which have made Directors and even Governors recognise that there were limits to their power—I quite concur with the address in regarding the Christian College as Dr. Miller's most splendid achievement.

And there are two points here which I wish to emphasize: (1) Anxious as Dr. Miller, like every other educationist worthy of the name, has been to secure academical efficiency, he has been still more anxious to make the College a means of moral training and discipline. My colleagues will easily recall occasions when, at the tiffin table perhaps, Dr. Miller has mentioned some new instance of regard for truth and honour on the part of a student—with what gusto he would narrate how a boy had, say, spontaneously confessed his fault, although the confession involved sure punishment. These are but straws, it is true, but straws often best show the real trend of the current. (2) Again, I am certain I am right when I say that Dr. Miller has all along cherished it as his deepest aim to make the College a means of helping to pave the way for the Christianizing of India. He early saw that if Christ was ever to become the dominant influence in the thought and life of India, education had a part and, although mainly an indirect, yet a most important and even indispensable part to play in the bringing about of that consummation so devoutly to be wished for; and although his conception of what that part was might not coincide with the popular one, it was yet the conception to which he had been led by a diligent and thoughtful study of God's way of working, especially as recorded in the Old and New Testaments. And to that conception he has been faithful, through good report and bad report.

Although the address says nothing of the now historical Education Commission, a brief allusion to the part taken by Dr. Miller in it will not be out of place in this connection. The Orders passed by the Government of India in accordance with the recommendations of the Commission have justly been designated "The Magna Charta of aided Education in India." The fact, therefore, gracefully recognised by the bestowal of the order of the Companionship of the Indian Empire, that no single member of the Commission had greater influence in procuring that great charter, would of itself, were there nothing else, be a sufficient reason for holding him in grateful remembrance.

We in Madras are proud of the honour that the University and the Government have united to confer on Dr. Miller, the former by nominating him as its representative on the Legislative Council, and the latter by appointing him to that office. If I may be allowed to speak from an experience of some fourteen years as a Fellow, there is no one who has taken a more active, a more enlightened or a more influential part in the deliberations of the University than Dr. Miller, and therefore no one who

more richly deserves the honour conferred. We are glad also that by this appointment Dr. Miller will be in a position to exercise a gift that I for one believe he possesses in no common degree—the gift of practical statesmanship.

As regards what has perhaps been the more immediate occasion of the presentation of this address—I mean the movement, now virtually completed, to erect by public subscription a statue of Dr. Miller, as a permanent memorial of him,—this is indeed a unique honour, for it rarely if ever happens to any but the most exalted personages to be contemporaries of their own statues. But unique as the honour is, it is chiefly, I believe, valued by Dr. Miller as a proof that the devotion of a lifetime to the intellectual, moral and spiritual regeneration of the youth of South India, which is his true monument—his *monumentum aere perennius*—has evoked a recognition and a response in their hearts. For although Dr. Miller has plenty of the Stoic independence, he has nothing at all of the Stoic cynicism, and, like all who take a sympathetic interest in their fellow-men he craves for their sympathy in return.

To us, his colleagues, the sad part of the business is, that the thought of the coming of the statue suggests the thought of the departure of the living original. When that day comes—and may it be long postponed—there will be a terrible blank in the Christian College, and whoever shall be called upon in Providence to stand in the breach, he will have much reason to take home to himself the exhortation, addressed with such iteration to the successor of Moses: ‘Be strong! Be strong! Be strong and of a good courage!’

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ANNUAL ADDRESSES.*

BY WILLIAM SKINNER, M.A., D.D., AND
FERRAND E. CORLEY, M.A.

THE REVIEW OF THE YEAR.

FINALLY, what shall I say about the great political movement, which is going on all around us, and in which as a College we are so vitally interested? You probably expect me to say something about it, and, at any rate, I do not think that I should be doing justice either to myself or to you if I did not do so. The past year will long be remembered as marking a very significant stage in the realisation of those hopes which we all entertain for the future of India. The ideal of self-government for India has been definitely proclaimed by the ruling power as the guiding principle of its policy, and at the present moment the best minds of the country are engaged in thinking out the measures by which the ideal may be most surely and safely reached. As to the nature of these measures, there is, and there necessarily must be, great diversity of opinion. But as to the goal itself there is practically none, and the immediate danger is lest, through over-insistence on party and sectional interests, there be lost that concentration of all the varied forces of Indian life, without which the problem of self-government cannot be solved. Beyond all question it is a great problem, and for myself, the feeling that is uppermost in my mind when

* By way of first article we print this month the concluding paragraphs of Dr. Skinner's review of the year and the address given by Mr. Corley at the College Prizegiving on Wednesday, 23rd January, in the Anderson Hall. It was felt that the matters touched on in both addresses were of sufficiently general interest to make their publication to all our readers desirable.

I think of the path upon which India is entering, is that of the tremendous responsibility that it throws upon the people of this country, and especially upon their leaders. For what is the task? It is that of maintaining throughout a vast continent, embracing a bewildering variety of interests, modes of thought, and types of civilisation, a government capable of enforcing law and order, a government which must command the support and co-operation of all classes of the people, and which must therefore be so directed as to secure the welfare and advancement, not of this or that section of the community, but of every section in equal degree. Hitherto that task has been performed by a foreign power, strong, honest, impartial, under which India has attained in some measure to the consciousness of national unity, and under which the various components of the national life have severally begun to realise their significance as co-equal partners in the life of the whole. That task is now to be devolved, slowly or rapidly as the case may be, but gradually, on the people of India themselves. That they will rise to the task, and ultimately lift their country to the position of a self-governing member in the empire of liberty, I dare not doubt. But in the meantime, as I said, the thought that is uppermost in my mind is that of the tremendous responsibility that has to be incurred. It is easy, comparatively, to get rid of a government. It is very difficult to establish another in its place, and the hope we must all cherish is that the transference of power in this country may be effected without disorder, violence, or bloodshed, without any abrupt break with the past, and in such a way as to command the allegiance of all the many and varied interests that require to be conciliated. It is our duty, therefore, to deprecate all racial, religious, and class animosities; to set ourselves soberly to a study of the complex problem which the situation presents, and to find a solution for it, which, if falling short of the full and final realisation of our ideal, will be at least a solid step towards its achievement, not a solution which, by any form of one-sidedness, may retard instead of advancing the attainment of the goal on which our eyes are set.

But what has all this to do with the College? It has everything to do with it. For, as you are often reminded, it is you and those like you on whom will rest in coming days the

responsibility for the peaceful development of the country along the lines of self-government, and if the College can do anything to equip you for this high responsibility, and fit you to take your place in the public life of India as sober, patriotic, and God-fearing men, it will have discharged a duty which is inseparable from its existence as a Christian College. You are the future citizens of India. On the recognition of that fact the appeal of the College is based, and any attempt to isolate you from the healthy influences of national life is far from our purpose. That being so, I am not disposed to resent your interest in politics. It has its dangers of course, dangers of which we hear a great deal at this time. There is the danger lest your interest in public movements, movements in which you recognise the voice of your motherland, should become so engrossing as to divert your minds from those tasks and studies on the successful prosecution of which your future serviceableness depends, should incapacitate you for sober thought and impartial judgment, and induce in your minds a restlessness and impatience of authority which may lead you to overstep the limitations which youth and inexperience rightly impose upon you. But after all, these are not dangers which have assumed very alarming proportions among us, and there is another side of the question which, to my mind, deserves greater attention. For there is no doubt, I think, that patriotic feeling is a powerful factor in education, and that, if once informed with the spirit of national service, our education would gain immeasurably in value and effectiveness. It is often made a reproach to our education that it is pursued solely for the purpose of passing examinations, and winning the personal advantages which such success ensures. That is far from being wholly true. But certainly, if education were once baptized in the spirit of service, if it came to mean to you that development of mind and character, that attainment of knowledge and capacity, that would make your lives a worthy contribution to the total life of your country, it would cease to be that course of lifeless drudgery which some of you find it to be; and, sustained by the inspiration of a great moral purpose, would be purged of all that half-heartedness and tendency towards mechanical methods of work which so often disfigure it. Education, I say, has everything to gain by alli-

ance with patriotism ; even as, on the other hand, those of you, I believe, are the truest patriots, who, under a sense of national responsibility, are devoting the years of your youth to the strenuous task of preparation, and who, in simple loyalty to the College, are acquiring those habits of self-restraint, sobriety of judgement, and regard for others, on which a life of public usefulness depends.

You will understand, therefore, what I mean when I say that I am not afraid of your interest in politics. I do not mean that you should make a practice of attending political meetings, join political associations, or take part in political agitation. Politics is not a pastime, such as may fitly engage the energies of youth. It is a serious business, involving the fortunes and happiness of millions of your fellow beings, and demanding of those who engage in it all the resources of mature experience, disciplined character, and unbiassed judgement. To these qualities you cannot as yet lay claim ; and therefore I say, it is not fitting that you should commit yourselves to any form of political work, or constitute yourselves before the public the exponents of any political views. But on the other hand it is altogether right, that subject to the conditions of student life you should take an intelligent interest in public movements, making yourselves acquainted with their aims and methods, and applying to them, in your own thoughts or in the friendly atmosphere of your societies, all that you learn from day to day, of fact or of principle, in the intercourse of the College classroom. It is right, in other words, that you should feel the responsibility that rests on you as the repositories of India's future, that you should work under the stimulus of a great national ideal, and so turn to account all the opportunities of your College life, opportunities of learning and opportunities of service, that, when the time comes, you may take your place in the public life of your country as men trained in the exercise of responsibility, imbued with the spirit of service, and capable of bringing to bear on every problem that arises a dispassionate regard for facts, and a clear insight into the laws and constitution of the world in which we live. That is the ideal that the College sets before you, and in a study of politics so conducted it is anxious in every way to co-operate with

you. Such too is the ideal for whose sake we would have you in the meantime refrain from the activities of public life, and by fidelity in small things prove yourselves fit for the larger responsibilities that in due time will devolve upon you.

When we claim your loyalty for the College, therefore, we claim it in the name of your country. The College is not a political institution. It is a national institution. It does not stand for any one party, or any one community. It stands for the whole, the foster-mother of ideals apart from which political life becomes a mere scramble for place and power. We meet within its walls, Indian and European, Hindu, Christian and Muhammadan, Brahmana and non-Brahmana, a very microcosm of the larger India without. We meet on the platform of a common life, learning, in obedience to the demands of a common law, that self-respect, that toleration of opinions other than our own, that subordination of private to public interests, all that consideration for others as members with ourselves of the same body, which is the essential requisite of national as of all human life. In India more than elsewhere does the situation call for the establishment of such a spirit, as the only means whereby the many and discordant elements that enter into her life may be co-ordinated, controlled, and made subservient to the purposes of a common good. The College in the past has done much in this sense towards moulding the character of its students for national ends; and just so far as it succeeds in its task, in drawing its alumni together in the bonds of a common allegiance to truth and right, and so making its life in miniature a representation of the India that is to be, it is performing a work of national importance, and laying the foundations, sure and deep, on which alone, in India as elsewhere, a truly national life can be made to rest.

May I remind you, however, that national life is not an end in itself? It is but a means to an end; and national life realises its purpose only so far as it enables a people to contribute of the riches of its spirit to the common heritage of a restored humanity, a humanity restored in God. For nations as for individuals, the divine watchword is not self, but service; and therefore the final message of the College to you who are its alumni is not of any temporal kingdom, realising the dreams of

earthly ambition. It is of a heavenly kingdom, even that kingdom of God, to which all earthly kingdoms owe allegiance, and in the service of which they reach the goal of all their strivings. That the national life of India may be enriched with the truth and power of the kingdom of God, that it may be saved from material aims, and made the vehicle of God's message of righteousness and love to all mankind, that is the highest end for which the College exists. It appeals to you not only in the name of India but in the name of God. For it is our conviction that national life is a gift of God to be used in His service, that it is degraded, weakened and destroyed by being turned to selfish and unrighteous uses, and that in the consecration of her national life to God—in that and in that alone—the path to India's future lies.

THE ANNIVERSARY ADDRESS.

Our annual prize-giving is a time when we may all of us fittingly take stock of what our College life should mean to us—not to the prize-winners merely, but to all who, as past or present members, have shared in the life of this place. It is avowedly a place of learning—a place where knowledge is sought, where knowledge is imparted. But let us remember two time-honoured, but never to be forgotten distinctions, which are pertinent to our consideration. (1) Knowledge in itself is not the same thing as wisdom: you may amass unlimited learning, only to become a pedant—a tiresome fool. (2) Knowledge is one thing, character is another. The current outcry for 'moral instruction' is at any rate a witness to the possibility that much learning may be imbibed only to make its recipient a clever knave. The true meaning of this College, of the ideal it has sedulously endeavoured to uphold, the rich possibilities of life it opens out to us, will never be rightly appreciated, except in so far as we seek to make it not merely a seat of learning but a place where the growing manhood of South India may be enriched with all that makes for the full development of the sane and ordered outlook on life which we call wisdom, and of the loyal response to the obligations of life which we call character.

It would carry me beyond all reasonable limits of time, did I endeavour fully to develop this theme. Let me be content to emphasise an aspect of it peculiarly appropriate to the present anniversary. You know the great French maxim, *Noblesse oblige*—noble birth, exalted station, carries with it obligations from which the common ruck of men are exempted. It always seems to me that learning carries with it a similar obligation—partly because ‘he that had knowledge shall be beaten with many stripes,’ and ‘to whom much is given, of him shall they require the more,’ partly because by the very fact of our learning, by our coming under instruction in a place like this, we place ourselves in the position of debtors. It is this last point that I would chiefly emphasise. It is a simple matter of arithmetic that no single student of the College pays, in the way of fees, his share of the actual cost of the College work. That in itself may give food for thought: but I want to pass on to something deeper. You come to us to learn: how is it that we have anything to teach you? It is because we also, in our student days, have been privileged to receive of the bounty of those who went before us. In the Universities of England and Scotland, we have had lavished upon us treasures we could never have gathered for ourselves—we have drunk deep from cisterns which other hands than ours had hewn. And remember, in this great heritage of learning, it is not only the ‘pious benefactors’ who stand our creditors, though they must be named with reverence and gratitude. All who have helped to win, to preserve, to transmit, the fund of knowledge, hold us in their debt—from the pioneers who first probed the secrets of life and of the world, who fashioned human speech and letters, down to those who have been our own immediate leaders and guides. If it were a mere matter of rupees, you might hope, by a successful career, to win the wherewithal to pay the College the balance not met by fees. But in this deeper sense, you have incurred a debt, a debt to the long generations of the past, which you can never strictly repay.

If there is any force in the higher obligations laid on the educated man, we cannot light-heartedly sit down bankrupt before such a debt. What then are we to do? Two things, I think, are within the reach of each one of us.

(1) 'To give thanks is good.' Humbly recognising how, in the good providence of God, other men have laboured and we have entered into the fruits of their labours, we may strive to pay all honour and gratitude to the host of the nameless dead, to the immortal ornaments of human thought, no less than to the 'pastors and masters' who have immediately instructed us. At every such commemoration as this, we may fittingly express our sense of a lifelong obligation. Many of you are accustomed on the day of *Sarasvati puja* to set your books before you as the instruments of your craft. Worship them, as the cooly worships his *mamutti* and basket, and it is a crude enough expression of religion. But set forth your books, bethink you of their contents, and how by knowledge man is exalted above the beasts, and you may indeed find in them 'devotional incitements' to lift up your heart in thanksgiving to the only Giver of good.

(2) As we remember that it is only by the favour of others that knowledge has come to us, we may make it our aim to pass on the good gift to the world around us. It is one of the glories of all the higher studies, of all true learning and knowledge, that giving does not impoverish the giver. 'Commercial Chemistry' may hug its secret processes, but the true learning, the true science, rejoices to publish its results to all the world. And if you endeavour to propagate the knowledge you have won, you will in a real sense discharge the debt you owe to the past. Why did princes and merchants and landowners endow our colleges and universities? Why did scholars and students through the ages toil to advance the bounds of knowledge and to bring succeeding generations into its possession? Because they desired that all men, everywhere and always, might enjoy the light of knowledge to the full. Not for their own behoof but for ours—and not for ours only, but for that of generations yet unborn—'they shunn'd delights, and liv'd laborious days.' As it is only by their grace that we are so richly endowed, so also it is only as we play our part that their high ambition can be fully realised. In helping to achieve their aim, we are surely taking the means to pay our debt which our benefactors themselves would most of all approve.

The events of to-day give a grim emphasis to the lesson I am trying to inculcate. In Russia we see a terrible warning

of the disaster which may befall a people where ignorance is widespread. There is something alluring and admirable in the soul of Russia. But a people may be 'led into captivity for lack of knowledge,' and enthusiasms in themselves generous may precipitate disaster. Nor is that all. Matthew Arnold, in his day, tried to drive home to the mind of England the dangers of character without culture. To-day we need rather to lay to heart the disastrous issues of culture devoid of character. We see them, in an acute form, in the hideous irony of German *Kultur*. More than that, we see them in the proven bankruptcy of science as a means to civilisation. The spectacle of a world at war reveals that bankruptcy. Unless the world can find some way to give to righteousness and mercy and justice control over all the works of man, it seems that the perfecting of science, the ever-increasing triumphs of knowledge, will be used to blot out all light and humanity in mutual destruction.

So I return to the point from which I started. Your learning shall profit you nothing in the last account unless it is informed by wisdom and by character. In the Christian College, I need offer no apology for such a theme. We are here because we believe we can best do our part in carrying out the great work of our Master and Lord by striving to enrich our students with all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge and character which God has made known to us in Jesus Christ. I have suggested that you may help to discharge your debt by handing on the treasures of knowledge to others. In so doing you will be acting up to the precept of Jesus—'Freely ye received, freely give.' And it is in keeping with His spirit that we should give most lavishly to those whose need is greatest. A general obligation is hard to discharge. I would lay it upon your consciences that all your life long you endeavour in every way to forward the education of two most needy classes—the millions of illiterates, and the women of India, the sisters and wives who have so little part in the knowledge their brothers and husbands enjoy. All of you to-day aspire to be nation-builders; and I for one pray that God may bless you in the task. But 'except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it.' Lay to heart the warnings of Russia—of Germany. How shall the foundations of India's life be well and truly laid, if millions are

excluded from the benefits of knowledge? How shall the children, the men of each succeeding generation, rise to the full measure of their possibilities, if India's womanhood lags behind? Seek for yourselves first of all—seek, and impart to others—not learning only, but that knowledge of all life means which deserves the name of wisdom because it is disciplined and supported by noble, unselfish character and the spirit of humble service.

EDUCATIONAL IDEALS.

BY S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI, M.A.*

EDUCATION (true and proper) consists in the development, according to natural laws, of the whole man with his many phases—physical, intellectual, aesthetic, social and religious—under conditions and methods ascertained by the science of man and nature to be the most suitable, and in training man at every step to apply the capacity so developed, and the knowledge acquired, under all conditions, readily and well, to the greatest benefit of himself and his fellows. The scope of education is practically confined to man, as man alone has self-consciousness, and can perceive the meaning and appreciate the value of things around him, and adjust his conduct suitably to every environment. Animals can only be *trained* to behave according to particular suggestions given, under external directions and coercion, but cannot be *educated* in the proper sense of the word, and such behaviour becomes quite *mechanical* with the formation of habit, through repeated directions and actions.

Education involves two factors, viz. :—

- (i) The natural or inherited capacities, which vary with individuals though within certain limits only.
- (ii) The environment, physical (natural) and social, including the home and the school.

Education may be regarded as the art of making an environment suitable to each individual, and to each stage of his life, so as to call forth and bring into play all his latent capacities,

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general and special ; and individual development consists in the progressively increasing complexity of the reactions on corresponding environments. The best teacher is not one who stuffs the mind of the pupil with all kinds of information of which he may be full, but one who directs the activities of the child's mind by presenting suitable objects, companions and occasions. But this is no easy task, as the teacher should have clear and definite knowledge not only of the environment constituted as above (of things, persons and occasions), but also of the inner workings of the mind, including the special tendencies of his pupils, and their laws. And such knowledge is possible only to one who has sufficient experience of the world, and a scientific knowledge of man and nature, and can enter into and sympathise with the experiences of the pupils through all the stages of their life, until they can stand on their own feet and act independently.

The external conditions of life, such as the environment, natural and social, the home and the school, the teacher, subjects taught, books and appliances, all being the same, all the children who enter on a course of education do not show the same interest in the subjects, or the same progress, and the point of incapacity for further progress or development is reached sooner in some cases and later in others, while in the case of genius, that point never arrives in life. While original differences of capacity do in part really account for the success of some and the failure of others in the different pursuits of life, the contribution of environment and education to the result is too often underrated. No parent would find anything wrong or defective in his children or home, but would throw the blame entirely on his neighbours or on the school, for their failings ; and no schoolmaster would see or acknowledge his incapacity, carelessness or neglect as responsible for the slow progress in study or bad behaviour of his pupils, but would explain them with reference to the natural and inherited tendencies of the pupils and to the ignorance, indifference and follies of parents. Where lies the truth then ? The contributions of a defective home, defective education, and defective society, in fact of a defective environment, to the failings and failure of boys and men are vastly greater than is ordinarily imagined or admitted. But every man who is capable of thinking

must feel that, but for the defects of his home, company, school and the scheme of education, he would have soared much higher and fulfilled life's purpose to the greater satisfaction of himself and his fellows, when he recalls and reviews his past in the light of the ideals he has formed of a home, school and society. Without healthy and congenial environment the best talents must ebb low and run waste. What good is it that a man has a fine eye for colour and shade or a good ear for music, if he is not carefully trained under a good artist or if his lot is cast among men who cannot appreciate the art? The man with special taste and aptitude for the art would certainly fare better than others without it, even under a poor teacher, but is sure to be left far behind another, who, with the same fund of original capacity, has been trained under a master of the art. Given native talent then, its development in range, height and vigour will depend wholly on the teacher and the facilities offered for work, which constitute in fact the environment. Untrained talents can serve no useful purpose in the economy of the world and can be reckoned only as jarring elements in nature. A man of ordinary capacity, who, with patience and trouble, has acquired some sound knowledge of men and things, and a good character under a systematic course of instruction and moral influences, is a more valuable member of society than one who has talent which has been neglected.

As men differ from one another in physical and mental capacity owing to causes and conditions over which we have no control, we have to take them as we find them and educate. The scope of education lies then not in creating the same capacity or talent in all men (the same in quality and degree), but in turning the given capacity to the best account possible by evolving and creating the most satisfactory environment possible. It is education or the want of it that makes or mars the life of an individual, society or nation.

Given the materials to work upon, the mind and body of children, the problem of education is how to "make the most of them"—to get the maximum of intellectual, aesthetic and moral result in the shortest time possible and at the minimum cost of energy and trouble, and the means and methods to be employed have to be defined in view of the ends or ideals to

be attained by men as members of society, of a state or nation, and individually with reference to their profession or occupation which affords them their living.

1. It should be the endeavour of every man to acquire such knowledge of nature, human and physical, as will enable him readily to accommodate himself to the social and physical environment, to save himself from all injuries and to combat and turn a hostile environment to his advantage, with a view to fulfil those higher aims and purposes which point to the progress and welfare of the society, state, nation or race to which he belongs. Knowledge is power, and the more a man knows about men and things the greater becomes his command over them, and the less his subordination to anything external. Elementary science, therefore, which is the broad basis of all the sciences, should form the ground-work in any scheme of education. A man who would be healthy and strong and live a long life should certainly have an elementary knowledge of the constitution of his own body and the conditions under which the several organs perform their functions best and in perfect harmony, and of external conditions in nature, those that are congenial and those that are injurious to life. Such knowledge, without the conduct corresponding to it, is certainly useless. But the man who has such knowledge can escape the chances of an uncertain life, if he cares, with greater success than one who is devoid of it. To prove the truth of the above, statistics of disease and mortality should be taken from big towns, where such knowledge serves best, the scope for its application being greatest. Similarly the success of a man in every profession and occupation by which he earns his living, agriculture, commerce and the industries, will be in proportion to the knowledge he has acquired of physics, chemistry, astronomy and the rest.

2. Knowledge of human nature, which is equally essential to one who would make the best of his life, is being practically acquired by every person from the very commencement of life in society, and experience is the best school wherefrom such knowledge can be had. But the knowledge of the common man, naturally acquired in the course of his dealings with other men, must necessarily be limited, as the range of his social

environment is but small. To supplement common knowledge and make it grow wider and deeper, the study of literary works produced by eminent minds that have a wider outlook over human nature and experience is indispensable; for situations, emotions and actions which can never present themselves in our life, but which we can understand and appreciate, are depicted in them with such freshness, vividness and power that they appeal to us with the force of reality and serve as inspiring ideals for us to realise in our experience. It has to be noted that all the nobler qualities of the human mind are best developed only through social life, which includes the intercourse with great minds through their works. Man's chief aim should be to be a man among men and to serve mankind best, with the highest knowledge and broadest sympathy, by which he can raise himself to divinity itself.

History, including biography, also sheds abundant light on human nature, individually and collectively as members of a state or nation, and is also of immense value to every man in practical life. A man devoted wholly to the study of physical science develops his intellectual side more than the aesthetic or the social, including the moral or the spiritual life.

It is essential to bear in mind that knowledge cannot be an end in itself, but must have a practical value in terms of human experience and happiness. The proper study of mankind is man, and the proper ideal of mankind is human happiness, to which all other knowledge and ideals should be subordinate.

The study of elementary science and of literature and history in outline is essential and indispensable to true culture, and specialisation in the sciences, including history and political economy, should be made by those who have special aptitude for the subjects with a view to enter the professions or to contribute to the development of the sciences, without which the ideal of the individual or of society, viz., to command nature and make it serviceable to mankind and to augment human happiness, would be impossible. Very few people have the capacity to engage in research work in science, or the convenience for the same, viz., freedom from the cares of life and from want, and every facility therefore should be afforded by the society or state to the few who are competent to enter the field.

It may be noted here that the power of the intellect cannot be dissociated from the amount of knowledge acquired. While the acquisition of knowledge depends on the capacity of the intellect, the development of the intellect depends likewise on the acquisition of knowledge; so that the measure of a man's knowledge is also the measure of his intellectual capacity.

3. The ideal of conduct consists not only in the power to command and rule over man (including one's self) and nature, which has been already stated in defining the ideal of knowledge, but also in the perfect accommodation to the laws of nature and the absolute submission to the rules and laws which form the ground-work of human society, and by which the higher life of man, moral and religious, has to be developed. It is only the man who has learned to obey the laws, to serve a master well, that can command others well and enforce the laws. Every man is a member of a family and should be able to understand his duties and responsibilities as master and servant, and develop all the moral qualities in his dealings with the other members—sympathy and love, patience and courage, generosity and justice, self-control and self-sacrifice.

The parents are chiefly responsible for the cultivation of the affections among the members of the family as well as for their conduct, exhibiting the chief virtues. As children acquire the virtues chiefly by imitation, parents have to set the models by their example, for their children to copy. But the generality of parents are not sufficiently educated nor stand sufficiently high in the scale of moral life to be made responsible for the moral life of their children.

In civilised countries children spend the best part of their time in the school and the responsibility is mainly shifted on to the shoulders of the schoolmaster. But the present day scheme of education, at least in India, requires far too much of subject matter (scientific) to be digested by students before they have acquired the capacity to understand and assimilate the same, and that in a given time, which is inadequate. Imparting of knowledge, or rather stuffing the mind with so much matter, is all that is cared for by the teachers and students in schools. Occasions for the exercise of the virtues rarely arise in the school-room and if any attention is paid to the moral side it is

only in regard to the putting down of mischief when discovered, and the award of punishment. In the school, where many children meet, sympathies will naturally be exchanged, friendships will be formed, and mutual help offered, courage exhibited in a right cause in fighting against some rough and unruly fellows, mischief put down, lies marked and condemned, truth praised, and justice administered. But all this happens between the boys themselves and behind the teacher, who by his personality and discipline only restrains and diverts the mischief-making propensities of his pupils when they are with him. The school of itself no doubt affords facilities for the growth of the moral qualities. But the question is whether there is provision made for moral education in schools, whether the teacher aims at and develops the qualities in children, noting individual tendencies and impulses and furnishing occasions for the exercise of the higher and the restraint of the lower impulses. We have to answer in the negative.

While the moral life finds a fairly congenial atmosphere in the school even without any organized attempt on the part of the authorities to develop it, the religious life has nothing there to foster it. In Mission schools, however, the Bible is taught, and to that extent they foster and strengthen the religious life of Christians, but the majority of schools go without any instruction in religion, as they embrace Hindus, Mahomedans and Christians, who can have no common instruction.

As the aim of moral instruction is to develop the virtues, the practice of which contributes to the welfare of society, including one's own, and results in the harmony between the members thereof, the aim of religious instruction is to create a sense in man of the Supreme and the Infinite, in wisdom, grace and power, and of his own insignificance and to engender the feeling that he is but the agent or instrument of God in the fulfilment of His high purpose, viz., the moral government of the Universe. The religious life consists in doing one's duty, because it is the will of God, and because it is right, and not because it serves the good, convenience or pleasure of this or that man, or society, country or nation. Are not our schools and schemes of education radically defective, without provision for systematic, moral and religious instruction?

Aesthetics are entirely neglected in our schools, except for the teaching of drawing which goes some way to meet the demand. Music has no place except in girls' schools. Half the enjoyment of life is lost to a man who has no eye for the beauties of nature and no ear for the fine melodies of music. And there is no man who does not respond to the elevating influences of the arts and in whom the appreciation of them cannot be developed far beyond the point reached by him at present. Provision has to be made therefore, in an ideal scheme of education, for instruction in morals, religion and aesthetics, as well as in natural science, history and literature, which now absorb the best attention of our schools.

It is hopeless to attempt the development of the different sides of man, one after another. The whole man has to grow, developing all the sides together, viz., the physical, intellectual, moral, aesthetic and religious; which is not impossible, as the different phases are not incompatible or inconsistent with one another. If one is careful, one can sustain high intellectual work without impairing his physique, can render social service without lowering his own happiness, can practise or enjoy the fine arts for a diversion, which would only refresh and invigorate the intellect, and can be religious, contemplating the Divine, without being irrational or unscientific, and without being moody or lonely, as the highest truths and principles of religion are not divorced from the world we live in, but have their application only in it—in nature and social life. It is a pity that there is not a single school organized on ideal lines as above indicated to serve as a model for others to strive after, to demonstrate the possibility of acquiring such composite culture at least by some men, and to raise the standard of culture much above the level with which alone we are familiar. The cosmopolitan spirit of giving equal treatment to all schools as to all men can be entertained only in idea, and has to be fulfilled in practice only gradually and with reservation. Schools in special localities, such as towns which can command the largest number of the best pupils in point of intelligence, manners, behaviour and taste, should receive special treatment and be worked as models. From the point of view of the individual it might be pertinent to ask why the people of a particular locality or people who are

rich and command certain facilities should alone have the benefit of a higher and more perfect education? But from the point of view of the society or the state, it is really impossible to provide the same educational facilities for all. As all men do not possess the same capacity or means and different localities represent different stages of progress in knowledge, culture and refinement, they could not all march in one line but require differential treatment, the front line moving forward first and those behind being brought up in their order as close together as possible. A society or state which fails to recognise this principle and works for the elevation of the whole—of all its members at once and in the same degree—must stagnate and get poorer in substance and vitality than another that recognises it. It has to be remembered that the progress of a state or society depends primarily on the men that lead, and the higher culture offered though to a few can alone beget competent leaders of thought and action whether for social reform or political advancement.

A good physique is the *sine qua non* of a useful or prosperous life and unfortunately it is too often neglected by students and by officers in India in their feverish anxiety to pass examinations and enter the service or to amass money. Most students and men do not take the examination or the office with the ease and the grace characteristic of a natural development. The consequence is that very few of our educated men have the high spirits and the vigour to be useful to society, and most of them are afflicted with some dire disease and are short-lived. A good physique depends on the healthy functioning of the several organs of the body and should be capable of sustaining the high spirits required for intellectual life and conduct in conformity with the ideal of service to humanity. The aim should be not so much to develop physical or muscular strength as to live the longest life possible in the height of vigour without derangement of the system or disease. Physical education might well be confined to drill and games, which are sufficient to make the body light and nimble and capable of endurance. In these days, when fighting is done by means of machine guns placed at a considerable distance from the enemy, the necessity for developing muscular strength through a course of exercise in gymnastics

has ceased even for war. Hand-to-hand fight at close quarters is a thing of bygone days.

Though the ideals above set forth may not be realised by any one man, they are the right ones to be kept in view by every man and approached as far as his capacity and environment will permit; as also by every educationist in whom is vested the high privilege of shaping the character of education in a state and thereby guiding the destinies of mankind.

Before concluding, it is worth while to note once again, that neither the knowledge attained nor the ideals of health and conduct realised, will have meaning or value, unless they contribute to the happiness of the individual and of society. Such supreme happiness of the individual and of society as is consistent with the progress and welfare of society is the supreme end to which all others should be subordinate.*

WAR NOTES.

By A. C. CLAYTON.

At the beginning of the year two authoritative pronouncements regarding peace were made. On January 7, Mr. Lloyd George made a statement on behalf of the British Government to the delegates of the British Trades' Unions, that is to the working men of Britain. On the following day the President of the United States made a speech to Congress, the Parliament of the United States. Both of these leaders of the Allies dealt with the question of making peace with the Germanic Powers in the same spirit, and laid down almost the same conditions, though the order in which the various topics were treated was different.

These two statements were received with complete satisfaction among the Allies. Together they were accepted as a complete outline of the terms on which the Allies can make peace with the Germanic Powers. A few days later Mr. Lloyd George mentioned them as the irreducible minimum on which the Allies will make peace. They are an answer, clear and unmistakable, to the Germans who have declared that we would

* We do not pretend to endorse all the views expressed in this article. But they may stimulate the thought of our readers. [Ed.]

not define the terms on which we would end the War. They are a challenge to all right-thinking Russians to consider how Russia has fallen away from her high purposes by renouncing loyalty to the Allies. And incidentally they are a proof of the consistency of the Allies. In principle the war aims stated by Mr. Lloyd George and President Wilson in January 1918 are the same as the aims of the Allies as stated by Mr. Asquith in August 1914.

The whole of the conditions of peace have been repeatedly summed up in three clauses:—

- (i) The Germanic Powers must withdraw from the territories of Belgium, France, Italy and Russia that they have invaded.
- (ii) They can never make reparation for the lives of the men and women and little children whom they have slain. But they can and must make reparation for the ruin they have wrought in the cities and villages, in the commercial and industrial life of the territories that they have invaded, and above all else for the desolation they have wrought in thousands of homes by carrying men, women and children into slavery.
- (iii) Because they have broken treaties that they had signed, have violated international laws that they had accepted, and have again and again proved that they would not keep promises that they had solemnly made, the Germanic Powers must give adequate guarantees to the Allies that they will fulfil the conditions on which they are allowed to make peace so that the whole world shall be free from fear of another such conflict.

'We therefore demand,' says President Wilson, 'that the world be made fit and safe to live in.' And that is an epitome of the whole of the Allies' cause. These principles underlie all that Mr. Lloyd George and President Wilson said in their speeches. Both statesmen repeated that this War was not begun by the Allies with any plans of aggression. The War began because the Allies could not let brute force, the iron might of German militarism, triumph over public right and international justice. The Allies do not seek to annihilate Germany or Austria or Turkey. They have never uttered the savage threats against Germany that Germany has uttered against France. From the beginning till to-day the Allies have aimed not at profit for

themselves but at justice for the whole world and especially the safety and the rights of smaller nations. The War will end on the day that Germany agrees to do justly by those whom she has wronged.

It is worth while to summarise these two important utterances, for they help us to see very clearly what must be accomplished if the sacrifices entailed by the War are not to be in vain. This War is an attempt of the free peoples of the world to resist the tyranny of a military despotism. It is due to the secret designs of two imperial monarchs to secure aggrandisement by conquest. As President Wilson says:—‘The day of conquest and aggrandisement and secret understandings is past.’ And in order to secure the clear expression of the wishes and the wills of all nations and to give no opportunity for the confessedly underhand diplomacy of Germany and Austria to trap unwary peace delegates into their plots, the negotiations for peace must be conducted openly and the decisions arrived at must be ‘open covenants of peace.’ Mr. Lloyd George puts the position clearly when he says: ‘We cannot any longer submit the future of Europe and civilisation to the arbitrary decisions of a few negotiators striving to secure by chicanery or persuasion the interest of this or that dynasty.’

President Wilson lays great emphasis on the right of ships and travellers in war time as in peace time to pass over the seas on their lawful occasions. German submarine warfare and reckless mine-laying have been the occasion of the murder of many innocent lives. Germany claimed to be the champion of the freedom of the seas against Britain. But, as Ambassador Gerard’s book, *My Four Years in Germany*, shows, it was Germany’s persistent, shameless and inhuman violation of all the rights of neutral and commercial shipping that brought the United States of America into the War on the side of the Allies. Never again must Germany or any other Power be allowed to commit such outrages. So President Wilson demands ‘absolute freedom of navigation of the seas outside territorial waters alike in peace and war, except as the seas may be closed wholly or partly by international action for enforcement of international covenants.’ Mr. Lloyd George only referred to this subject briefly, saying that ‘The Peace Conference must not forget our seamen and the services they have rendered and the outrages they have suffered for the common cause of freedom.’ But on January 18 he pointed

out that in any peace terms Britain would 'guard most carefully against any attempt to interfere with our capacity to protect our shores, shipping and overseas communications.' The position of the United States and indeed of almost every other country in the world is different from that of Britain in regard to dependence on sea power, and it is natural that the way in which President Wilson and Mr. Lloyd George approach this part of the problem of peace should be different. But both statesmen accept the same principle for solving the problem, so there need be no fear that they may not reach the same solution.

War is having a great influence on commerce. Vast multitudes are engaged in making munitions who would have been engaged in adding to the world's stock of useful machinery and products. There is also a growing shortage of certain raw materials urgently needed for manufactures and production, such as petrol. Some countries possess these raw materials. It is inevitable that they will help themselves and their friends first. America will be more ready to sell cotton to Britain and to France than to Germany. Germany and Austria are indeed rapidly becoming pauper empires. The tendency of some is to consign them to utter ruin in return for the evil that they have done. But that would not be for the good of the world as a whole. Mr. Lloyd George rightly says 'economic conditions after the War will be difficult in the highest degree,' and that they will change from time to time. He therefore makes it a condition of peace that international agreements shall be made which shall settle these economic controversies not only at the end of the War but as they may arise afterwards. President Wilson looks on such agreements not only as desirable in themselves but as a powerful means of inducing the Germanic powers to keep to treaty agreements. He words this condition of peace thus:

'The removal as far as possible of all economic barriers and the establishment of equality of trade conditions among all peoples consenting to the peace and associating for its maintenance.'

'As long,' says Mr. Lloyd George, 'as the possibility of dispute between nations continues, in other words, as long as men and women are dominated by passion and ambition, war is the only means of settling the dispute. All nations must live under the burden, not only of having to engage in war from time to time, but of being compelled to prepare for its possible outbreak. The crushing weight of modern armaments, the

increasing evil of compulsory military service, the vast waste of wealth and effort involved in warlike preparation, these are blots on our civilisation of which every thinking individual must be ashamed. For these and similar reasons we are confident that a great attempt must be made to establish by some international organization an alternative to war as a means of settling international disputes. After all, war is a relic of barbarism, and just as law succeeded violence in individual disputes, so, we believe, it is destined ultimately to replace war in the settlement of controversies between nations.'

The British Government therefore lays it down as a condition of peace that some international organization shall be created to limit the burden of armaments and diminish the probability of war. With the same motive President Wilson says, 'Adequate guarantees must be given and taken that international armaments shall be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.' Later he adds:—'A general association of nations must be formed, under specific covenants, for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity for great and small States alike.' These are the general terms that must characterize any agreements made about peace by the Allies.

Both Mr. Lloyd George and President Wilson have outlined their application to definite countries, and have shown what the Allies will demand in each specific instance. Among those whom Germany has wronged Belgium stands first. 'The first requirement of Great Britain and her Allies,' says Mr. Lloyd George, 'is the complete restoration, political, territorial and economic, of the independence of Belgium, and such reparation as can be made for the devastation of its towns and provinces.' 'Without this healing act,' says President Wilson, 'the whole structure and validity of international law is for ever impaired.' 'All French territory should be freed and invaded portions restored and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted, so that peace may be once more made secure in the interests of all.' That is what President Wilson says. And Mr. Lloyd George declares: 'We mean to stand by the French democracy to the death in the demand they make for the reconsideration of the great wrong of 1871, when, without any regard for the wishes of the populace,

two French provinces were torn from France and incorporated in the German Empire. This sore has poisoned the peace of Europe for half a century, and until it is cured healthy conditions will not be restored. There can be no better illustration of the folly and wickedness of using transient military success to violate national right.'

In the latter part of January it became clear to the Russian Extremists, who had attempted to make peace with Germany, that Germany had not the least idea of yielding back to Russia one of the cities or provinces that German troops had overrun. The Germans meant these provinces to be for ever part of Germany, and as Mr. Lloyd George said, 'the remainder of the people of Russia will be partly enticed by specious phrases, and partly bullied by threat of continued war against an impotent army, into a condition of complete economic and ultimate political enslavement to Germany.' Russia can only be saved by her own people ending the power of the Extremists, uniting under wise leaders and associating themselves loyally with the Allies once more. In this state of things Britain has no policy to state regarding Russia and the peace, though 'we shall be proud to fight to the end side by side with the new democracy of Russia, and so will America, France and Italy.' President Wilson insists that Germany must evacuate the Russian territory that she has seized, and that Russia must be accorded 'unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for independent determination of her own political development and national policy.' It will be seen that though President Wilson ventures to claim more for Russia than the British Premier does, there is no discord between them.

The Austro-German armies must be withdrawn from the territories of Serbia, Montenegro and Roumania that they have occupied. 'The complete withdrawal of alien armies and reparation for injustice done is a fundamental condition of permanent peace,' says Mr. Lloyd George. President Wilson goes into more detail. Serbia is to be given a port which shall be a free open gate for sea trade. The mutual relations of the various Balkan States are to be settled 'by friendly counsel' along 'historically established lines, allegiance and nationality' and their independence and integrity are to be secured by international guarantees.

Those parts of northern France and of northern Italy that

have been invaded are to be evacuated and restored, and reparation made for the harm done.

'*Italia irredenta*'—'Unredeemed Italy,' 'Italy in bondage' to the Austrians—the Trentino, and the districts around Gorizia and Trieste—is to be reunited to Italy proper, 'along clearly recognisable lines of nationality,' as President Wilson says.

'An independent Poland, comprising all genuinely Polish elements who desire to form part, is an urgent necessity for the stability of Western Europe,' says Mr. Lloyd George. President Wilson adds that the new Poland should have free access to the sea, which means that Poland must have a port on the Baltic.

The break-up of the Austro-Hungarian Empire is not one of the war-aims of the Allies. But the time has come when the danger to the peace of Europe caused by the hostility to each other of certain races within the Austro-Hungarian Empire must be removed. 'Genuine and truly democratic self-government' must be granted to those Austro-Hungarian nationalities who have desired it and Austria must face another problem. There are provinces of Hungary nearest to Roumania which ought to be part of Roumania just as Bosnia ought to be linked with Serbia. 'We also mean to press for justice to men of Roumanian blood and speech in their legitimate aspirations,' says Mr. Lloyd George. What President Wilson said about the Balkan States covers the same ground.

'While,' says Mr. Lloyd George, 'we do not challenge the maintenance of the Turkish Empire in the homelands of the Turkish race, with its capital at Constantinople, nor the passage between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea being internationalised and neutralised, Arabia, Armenia and Mesopotamia are, in our judgement, entitled to recognition of their separate national conditions. The exact form of such recognition in each particular case need not here be discussed.'

President Wilson's declaration is almost identical. 'The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured of secure sovereignty, but other nationalities now under Turkish rule should be assured security of life and autonomous development. The Dardanelles should be permanently open and free, under international guarantees.'

The internationalisation and neutralisation of the Dardanelles is peculiarly important, as also is Mr. Lloyd George's statement early in his speech that it is not one of the aims of the

Allies to deprive Turkey of Constantinople. The recognition of Arabia and Mesopotamia as separate states, and the separation of oppressed Armenia from Turkey, are also to be kept in mind.

Mr. Lloyd George declares once more that the decision as to what is to be done with the colonies taken from Germany will rest with a conference, and that the governing consideration must be the welfare of the native inhabitants. President Wilson speaks in more legal terminology. 'Free, open-minded and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims based on the strict observance of the principle that in determining such questions the sovereignty and interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined.'

And so the aims of the Allies are made clear and made clear with striking unanimity. 'An evident principle,' says President Wilson, 'runs through the whole programme I have outlined. It is the principle of justice to all peoples and nationalities and their right to live on equal terms of liberty and safety with one another.' 'If then,' says Mr. Lloyd George, 'we are asked what we are fighting for, we reply, as we have often replied: "For a just and lasting peace."'

The German reply.—Towards the end of January the German Chancellor, before the Main Committee of the German Reichstag or Parliament, replied to the speeches of Mr. Lloyd George and President Wilson. This official reply showed that the only idea that the German Government has of peace is one which would make Germany supreme. Count Hertling agreed that there must be public and not secret treaties and understandings; he agreed that economic barriers between nation and nation should be removed; he agreed to the proposal that the seas should be open to all nations at all times—but he demanded that Britain should give up Gibraltar, Malta, Aden, Hong-Kong, the Falkland Islands and other bases! He left the limitation of armaments, the settlement of colonies, and the league of nations to discussion at or after the peace conference. He said that the occupation of Russian territory by German armies was no concern of the Allies; that Alsace-Lorraine would never be returned to France; that Austria with German 'support' would settle about Italy, the freedom of the nations in bondage in the Austrian Empire, the restoration of Roumania, Serbia and Montenegro and the re-arrangement of the Balkan States. Belgium is 'a valu-

able pawn' to be restored 'on conditions' which he did not define. The Turkish Empire is to be restored as 'vital to German interests.' The independence of Poland is to be decided by Germany and Austria. Evidently Germany has yet to learn that the Allies will not make or accept any peace—such as Count Hertling's—that would merely be a time of preparation in which the Germanic Powers would gather materials for a new attack on the liberty of the world.

THE NAME OF FRANCE.

BY THE REV. HENRY VAN DYKE, D.D.

*Read at the conclusion of his Lafayette Day Address,
6th September, 1917.*

Give us a name to fill the mind
With the shining thoughts that lead mankind,
The glory of learning, the joy of art—
A name that tells the splendid part
In the long, long toil and the strenuous fight
Of the human race to win its way
From the ancient darkness into the day
Of Freedom, Brotherhood, Equal Right—
A name like a star, a name of light—
I give you *France* !

Give us a name to stir the blood
With a warmer glow and a swifter flood,
A name like the sound of a trumpet, clear,
And silver-sweet, and iron-strong,
That calls three million men to their feet,
Ready to march, and steady to meet
The foes that threaten that name with wrong—
A name that rings like a battle-song :
I give you *France* !

Give us a name to move the heart
With the strength that noble griefs impart,
A name that speaks of the blood outpoured
To save mankind from the sway of the sword ;
A name that calls on the world to share
In the burden of sacrificial strife
When the cause at stake is the world's free life
And the rule of the people everywhere—
A name like a vow, a name like a prayer :
I give you *France* !

NOTES OF THE MONTH.

THE great German offensive in the West has at last begun. Ever since the collapse of Russia set free large masses of German troops on the eastern frontier it has been expected that the Germans would make a supreme effort to break through the British or French lines. It was known that vast quantities of men and munitions were being gathered behind the German front and the only question was as to which sector of the long line from the North Sea to Switzerland would be attacked. A good many people thought, and, as it has turned out, thought correctly, that the attack would be made at the point where the British and French armies met. This was expected for two reasons. First, an attack there might have a greater chance of success owing to the possibility of there being want of co-ordination between the two allied armies, and, second, that was the nearest point to Paris—the great objective of the German armies. The attack, however, has been made over a front of fifty miles extending from north of Arras to the valley of the Oise. Thus a great part of the fighting has taken place on the battlefields of 1916 and over the country ravaged by the Germans when they retired to the Hindenburg Line a year ago. The enormous masses of men thrown without regard of loss into the fighting line have enabled the Germans in the course of a week's battle to regain the ground lost during the last two years and to occupy some more territory that they have not held since 1914. It remains to be seen whether they will be able to hold it now and to press on even nearer to Paris. The British and the French armies have been pushed back and have no doubt lost heavily, but from all accounts the German losses have been vastly greater. Apparently in order to make their great push they have been using up their reserves, and if, as the telegrams tell us, the British and French reserves are still intact we may soon see a repetition of what took place in the battle of the Marne. It looks as if the German plan were to push north-westwards down the valley of the Somme to Amiens and so ultimately to the coast and at the same time south-westwards down the valley of the Oise towards Paris. So far no decision has been reached and fierce fighting is going on all along the line. The Germans by the sheer weight of numbers are still making progress, but more slowly than at the beginning, and they have failed so far to break through. We may hope to hear soon that the Allies have succeeded in stemming the flood and are even beginning to counter-attack on a large scale. Even before the offensive began we were warned that we might expect loss of territory at the

beginning, for the army which takes the offensive has the advantage of being able to choose the point of attack, and although the loss of territory is vexing, especially when we know how the Germans treat the territories they occupy, that will ultimately be of little importance if the German attack fails to reach its objectives. Time is still on the side of the Allies, and if we remember that in about a week after the Battle of Mons in 1914 the Germans were within twenty-five miles of Paris we can see what a change the years have brought. It looks as if the Germans had realised what the coming in of America on the side of the Allies means, and were making a desperate effort with all their available forces to effect a decision before the American Armies are prepared to take their place in the field. For the sake of the future of the world we can only hope that the great German offensive may prove to be the last desperate throw of an unsuccessful gambler.

THE confusion in Russia at the present time has been greatly increased to most men by the sudden emergence of names and parties quite unfamiliar even to those who knew something about Russian history of old. Most knew of the Nihilists, but of these we never hear now. Instead new names are already becoming familiar, though their precise significance is by no means recognised. What are the Cadets, the Maximalists or the Bolsheviki, the Minimalists or the Mensheviki? We are indebted to Mr. E. A. Brayley Hodgetts for the following account of the different parties which appears in a recent number of the *Illustrated London News*. The founding of the Duma led to the growth of a number of new parties. The most important of these for a time was the body of Constitutional Democrats, of which M. Milioukoff was the leader. As they had for their initials the Russian letters *Ka Deh*, they were called the *Cadets*. The *Cadets* now signify the middle-class party, the bourgeoisie. They wish for government by a representative assembly, and are not particular as to its exact form, whether it should be a republic, or a constitutional monarchy. They desire the government to be run on the established capitalistic principles of Western Europe. The most respectable elements in Russian society, it is believed, group themselves round this party, in spite of the fact that for reasons not yet clear they have failed to retain the helm. Opposed to the Cadets is the Social Revolutionary Party. This party is recruited mainly from the intelligent, but inexperienced, working classes and their sympathizers and leaders. These stand for a country run on socialistic lines. They stand for the nationalisation of industry, the abolition of capital, the levelling of the classes and the equality of all. There are various degrees of revolutionary sympathy amongst them. Some of them are not far removed

from the Cadets, and would be content with a limited programme. These are the Minimalists or Mensheviks. Others demand the full programme and the full programme at once. These are the Maximalists or Bolsheviks. They are the fanatics of the Revolution, and are quite ready to see Russia go to pieces, provided each piece is run on absolutely socialistic lines. They are international rather than national, and care only for one thing—the establishment of their order of society all over the world. The different parties are recruited almost entirely from the towns. The real leanings of the great masses of agriculturalists are quite unknown. Prediction regarding the future of Russia is perfectly futile. It is highly probable indeed that she will be of no further assistance to the Allies, she may even be exploited by Germany for her own purposes. But whether Russia will ever be an entity again, whether a counter-revolution may yet gain the upper hand, these and kindred questions may be reserved for the future.

WE are confident that our readers will share the gratification with which we read the following tribute to the part taken by representatives of this country in a valuable piece of war-work. In a recent issue of the *Madras Mail*, the home correspondent of the paper concludes his letter with a paragraph we are glad to reprint.

Let me add a tribute to work now being done quietly and unostentatiously by Indians in France. There are there, as is known, a considerable number of Indians belonging to the cavalry and to the Labour Corps, and the Y. M. C. A. have some thirty huts in which they look after the comfort and well-being of the men. In most cases, Indians are acting as Superintendents and the Y. M. C. A. authorities, who are in supreme control, say that the experiment has been a complete success. It is a pleasure to chronicle work of this kind—work which has a real practical value—when there are so many Indians better known who spend all their time in talk.

The wide and beneficent activity of the Y. M. C. A., during the War, has been the theme of general eulogy. But we are apt to think of the Y. M. C. A. as something foreign, something brought to India from abroad. Now we see it in a new light. The successful participation of Indians in the work opens out possibilities for the future, which we are confident will not be overlooked. It is the more necessary that we should make known what has been done, because the workers themselves are not making any 'splash.' It is one of the commendable features of their work that it has been 'quietly and unostentatiously' done.

THE resolution of the Hon'ble Mr. J. H. Stone at the recent meeting of the Senate on the English of the Intermediate Examination was

passed *nem. con.* A certain section preferred the proposals of Mr. Statham, but, rather than run the risk of losing both, they decided to vote for the former. The practical effect of the new regulations will be that the Board of Studies in prescribing text-books will be required to select books or passages in poetry within a certain number of lines, and not more than two prose-books, in detailed study, and three books in non-detailed study. As the word 'book' is left unqualified there is naturally still room for great differences of view. Presumably, however, the present Board of Studies will not be anxious to take advantage of this indefiniteness to recommend books that exceed in length. As a matter of fact, the books selected for detailed study by the Board more than six months before the meeting of Senate, as will be seen by a reference to the books prescribed for the examination of 1920, are within, or in the neighbourhood of, the limit in Mr. Stone's resolution. Perhaps of more importance is the limitation set on the Board of Examiners. Questions involving purely literary criticism and scholarship are excluded. We are inclined, however, to think from a perusal of the papers set for the recent examination, set long before the Senate Meeting, that the Board of Examiners, like the Board of Studies, had of their own accord anticipated the decision of the Senate.

The Board of Studies has never exceeded the amount of work implied in the Regulations. When the new courses were instituted some years ago, the Board of Studies was requested by the Senate Committee to prepare courses on the assumption that English would occupy about half the time of the student. That this is so is proved by the fact that the marks assigned to English, *viz.* 300, are the same as the marks assigned to all the subjects in any one optional group, *e.g.*, Mathematics, Physics, and Chemistry, each 100. This has always been forgotten in the criticism of courses. It was in obedience to instructions from the Senate itself, which accepted the decisions of its Committee, that the Board of Studies acted in making its proposals to the Syndicate. If the students have been overburdened, the transgressors have been the Boards of the Optional groups.

THERE is a form of sloppy or muddle-headed thinking which seems peculiarly congenial to the English temper, and which, by a strange irony, finds a ready welcome in India. The average Englishman has an instinctive distrust for abstraction, for generalisation, and readily acquiesces in what would seem to the Latin mind untidy and slipshod. He usually takes refuge in the inane excuse that 'the exception proves the rule.' The Indian mind, with its boasted gifts for abstract thought, ought to rebel against this monstrous doctrine. But in practice (*e.g.*, in the application of University regulations and

College discipline) we have often found that the Indian regards it as quite fitting that his own case should receive exceptional treatment, as if the general rule would not be in any way compromised by his exemption from its effect. And, quite naturally, the plea, 'The exception proves the rule,' springs to his lips. It may not be amiss, therefore, to examine the foundations of this ingenious contention.

On the face of it, the thing is nonsense. A 'rule' in the popular sense may serve as a very fair guide to practice *in spite of* its exceptions—e.g., many of the 'rules' of English Grammar or spelling. Thus we may say—gh at the end of a word is as a rule silent. But the sounding of those letters in cough, rough, etc., whatever else it may or may not do, certainly does not *prove* our supposed rule. Similarly, the 'rule' that swans are white, or that man has five toes on his foot, is not *proved* by the discovery of black swans in Australia or the existence of a six-toed man among Barnum's freaks. But, if the saying is nonsense, how did it ever find currency? The explanation is simple. In its strict and original use, it is not nonsense at all, but sound common sense. It has nothing to do with logic (in any formal sense), nothing to do with science. It is a maxim of the law-courts. Its true form is Latin—*Exceptio probat regulam*: and a vicious translation is largely responsible for its perversion. Properly rendered, it means—Exception (*i.e.*, not an exception, but the fact of excepting) confirms or endorses the rule. Take an example. As plaintiff, I assert—'Promises made under duress are void.' The defendant retorts—'But your promise was not made under duress.' I answer—'*Exceptio probat regulam*. By making an exception of this promise, by electing to deny that it is a case in point, you confirm my "rule." I need not therefore waste the time of the court to prove my rule. You prove it, by excepting this case. It is sufficient if I establish the fact that this promise was made under duress.' To paraphrase the argument in logical terms. I state my case in a major premise, Promises made under duress are void, and a minor, This promise was made under duress. In order to escape from the conclusion of my syllogism, you deny my minor premise. I take it you admit my major, and need not labour to prove it. I have only to establish the minor in dispute, and my conclusion must be accepted. Any intelligent reader can see that this is straightforward and sensible. If our journalists and amateur politicians and orators would lay it to heart, and grasp the fact that if a rule has exceptions it is not strictly a rule—we only call it a rule in a provisional sense, because we have to work on imperfect material or in the light of imperfect knowledge—we might get rid of the nonsense that an exception proves a rule, with its practical corollary that a rule is only made to be broken.

MAY we call the attention of our readers to the following letter and statement from the General Secretary of the local Y. M. C. A. ?

TO THE EDITOR,

CHRISTIAN COLLEGE MAGAZINE,

Christian College, Madras.

DEAR SIR,

The following is a statement regarding the Employment Bureau which we are starting in Madras to serve the Indian Christians in South India in any possible way. Perhaps it might be a good thing to call the attention of Indian Christian young men to this Bureau through the columns of your journal:—

“ At the request of the Missionary Educational Council the Y. M. C. A. is starting an Employment Bureau open to Indian Christian young men. It is hoped that this Bureau may be able to serve young men, missions, firms and employing agencies. The enclosed are the rules governing the Bureau.”

Yours faithfully,

D. F. MCCLELLAND.

EMPLOYMENT BUREAU RULES.

The Bureau is open to all members of the Association on payment of a registration fee of rupee one.

At the request of the Missionary Educational Council the privileges of the Bureau will be extended to all Indian Christian young men.

Applications are to be accompanied by testimonials as to character, ability and previous experience.

The Bureau will seek to discover employment for each man registered and the firms and employing agencies will be solicited.

The Bureau will also undertake to discover suitable men for positions when firms and employing agencies register their needs.

Circulars are being sent to firms and Missions and other employers of labour inviting a list of needs.

We are ready immediately to make out a list of those men who desire work.

Lists of vacancies may be printed from time to time in the *Madras Young Men*.

Among the 'felt wants' of the student life of Madras, few are more acute than the need of some agency to secure employment, especially for graduates. The pathetic drift of so large a mass of graduates towards Government service and the law cannot be regarded as healthy. To arrest it, and divert some part of the stream into other channels, comprehensive organization is desirable. We are very glad that the Y. M. C. A. has made a beginning.

LITERARY NOTICES AND NOTES.

Cambridge Essays on Education. Edited by A. C. Benson, C. V. O., LL. D., with an Introduction by the Right Hon. Viscount Bryce, O. M. Cambridge University Press, 1917.

THIS is a collection of eleven essays on the underlying aims and principles of education. Viscount Bryce in his introductory remarks lays stress on the danger of hasty action at a time like the present, when there is a widespread belief that change is needed, and on the value of these essays as an attempt to restate and enforce by argument the principles on which reform should be based. Most of the writers are obviously more familiar with English Public Schools and more concerned with the problems of secondary schools than with elementary schools. Only in Lord Bryce's introductory essay and the essay of Mr. Mansbridge on *Citizenship* is there any reference to the problems connected with the provision of elementary instruction for the whole population. There is a certain amount of overlapping in these essays, but that was inevitable. Most of the essays are, in a high degree, stimulating and suggestive. The most incisive, perhaps, is the essay on the *Training of the Reason*, by the Dean of St. Paul's. Since imagination, according to Wordsworth, is "reason in her most exalted mood," Dean Inge finds himself at liberty to range over a pretty wide field. The concluding words of the essay show how comprehensive a subject the training of the reason may be. "To awaken the soul; to hold up before it the images of whatsoever things are true, lovely, noble, pure and of good report; and to remove the obstacles which stunt and cripple the mind; this is the work which we have called the training of the reason." The following paragraph may be quoted as a good specimen of Dean Inge's essay and as applicable to India as well as to Great Britain:—

We have to convert the public mind in this country to faith in trained and disciplined reason. We have to convince our fellow-citizens not only that the duty of self-preservation requires us to be mentally as well equipped as the French, Germans, and Americans, but that a trained intelligence is in itself more precious than rubies. Blake said that "a fool shall never get to Heaven, be he never so holy." It is at any rate true that ignorance misses the best things in this life. If Englishmen would only believe this, the whole spirit of our education would be changed, which is much more important than to change the subjects taught. It does not matter very much what is taught; the important question to ask is what is learnt. This is why the controversy about religious education was mainly fatuous. The "religious lesson" can hardly ever make a child religious; religion in point of fact, is seldom taught at all;

it is caught, by contact with some one who has it. Other subjects can be taught and can be learnt; but the teaching will be stiff collar-work, and the learning evanescent, if the pupil is not interested in the subject. And how little encouragement the average boy gets at home to train his reason and form intellectual tastes! He may probably be exhorted to do well in his examination, which means that he is to swallow carefully prepared gobbets of crude information, to be presently disgorged in the same state. The examination system flourishes best where there is no genuine desire for mental cultivation. If there were any widespread enthusiasm for knowledge as an integral part of life, the revolt against this mechanical and commercialised system of testing results would be universal. As things are, a clever boy trains for an examination as he trains for a race; and goes out of training as fast as possible when it is over. Meanwhile the romance of his life is centred in those more generous and less individual competitions in the green fields which our schools and universities have developed to such perfection. In classes which have small opportunities for physical exercise vicarious athletics, with not a little betting, are a disastrous substitute. But the soul is dyed the colour of its leisure thoughts. As a man thinketh in his heart so is he. This is why no change in the curriculum can do much for education as long as the pupils imbibe no respect for intellectual values at home and find none among their schoolfellows. And yet the capacity for real intellectual interest is only latent in most boys. It can be kindled in a whole class by a master who really loves and believes in his subject. Some of the best public school teachers in the last century were hot-tempered men whose disciplinary performances were ludicrous. But they were enthusiastic humanists and keen scholars passed year by year out of their class rooms.

In Sir J. D. McClure's essay on *Preparation for Practical Life* some very interesting information is given about Canadian experiments in vocational training which recall the U. S. A. experiments chronicled in *The Wreckers* of R. L. Stevenson. These experiments arose from the cry of railroad magnates and captains of industry for "practical training" for their sons, and the result of the experiments is that the most successful schools of commerce do not now attempt to teach the mechanism of business, because it is recognised that the great thing is to give a schoolboy a mind that will do anything, and that specialised education at school is of no value. Sir J. D. McClure also quotes the chairman of a great firm of shipbuilders who told a gathering of Headmasters that in his opinion the tendency of modern education was often in the wrong direction, and that too little attention is given to the foundations which lie buried out of sight and too much to a showy superstructure.

Professor W. Bateson's paper on *The Place of Science in Education* is vigorous and outspoken. He is very severe on a good deal of what is called science teaching. "A great proportion of teachers are not and never can be made scientific. Nothing proceeding from such persons will by the working of any schedule, regulation, or even Order of the Board be ever made to bear any colourable resemblance to

science." Professor Bateson ridicules the expression "the mind of the child," or rather the assumption of writers on pedagogy that the young all conform to a single type. The illustration he gives is worth quoting. "The ripe fruits of both varieties of maize are colourless if their sheaths be unbroken. The one, if exposed to the light before ripening, by rupture of its sheath, turns red. The second, otherwise indistinguishable, acquires no red colour, though uncovered to the full sun. If these maizes were two boys, not improbably the one would be caned for failing to respond to treatment so efficacious in the case of the other." Professor Bateson, it should be added, seems to regard biology as the one ultimate reality. "Science is not a material to be bought round the corner by the dram, but the one permanent and indispensable light in which every action and every policy must be judged." Darwin and Huxley did not deal in crudities of this sort.

The Senior Essay Writer for Indian Students. By E. S. Oakley, M.A. Christian Literature Society for India, 1917. Price Rs. 1-12-0.

THIS book in its main features resembles most books on English composition intended for the use of Indian students. It is a careful and conscientious piece of work. Some experience of teaching English composition, however, makes us doubt whether such books are of much use to Indian students. In the first place, the chief difficulty of the Indian student is to acquire a sufficient command of the English language, and no book on English composition can give him the slightest assistance in acquiring it. In the second place, students' essays all over the world, and especially in India where instruction is given through the medium of a foreign language, are a piecing together of phrases more or less imperfectly understood. On most subjects, they have nothing that can be called knowledge, and for this reason it is most inadvisable to set them to write an essay except on some subject that has been suggested by the studies in which they are engaged. To ask a student regularly to write on what are called "general subjects" is simply to encourage him in vague gush or declamation and to lead him to believe that it is a valuable intellectual feat to cover as many sheets as possible in a given time without saying anything in particular. A student who goes through a "training" of this kind will probably amaze debating societies with his fluency, but it is extremely doubtful whether he will ever become a useful member of society. On the other hand, if subjects are chosen on which the student can write with something like knowledge, if he is shown wherein his performance falls short, and especially if the virtues of relevance and conciseness are held up

before him, exercises in composition may be a very valuable training. Unfortunately, no book can do all this or any part of it.

Studies in First Corinthians. By Bishop Azariah. Christian Literature Society for India. Price As. 4½.

THERE is very little help available to the Tamil Bible student on the First Epistle to the Corinthians, so that for this reason if for no other we should offer a welcome to Bishop Azariah's "studies". There are however other reasons why we can recommend this new book. It is certain to prove most helpful to those who have to rely on Tamil commentaries. The introduction which is dealt with in the first four lessons is ample and helpful. The remaining forty-eight lessons deal with the epistle in a way suitable for a devotional class. We recommend the book very heartily.

The Children's Garden. By Miss G. E. Chandler. Christian Literature Society for India. Price Annas 8.

THIS is a book which will be of special use to teachers in girls' schools. Miss Chandler, who is a specialist in Kindergarten, has written sixty lessons in simple Tamil dealing with interesting subjects and full of useful teaching. There are also action songs set to music. It is a helpful little book.

Who is our King?—By Rai Bahadur B. L. Chandra. Christian Literature Society for India. Price As. 2½.

THIS book is in English and is published at the request of the Evangelistic Forward Movement Committee. Mr. Popley, the secretary of that committee, writes a brief introduction commending the book. It is a revision of a book previously issued at the times of the coronation of King Edward and King George and will probably be known from its earlier issues. It is really a series of addresses from the theme "There is another King, Jesus," and shows Christ as King amongst religious teachers, as King in His death, and as King in His resurrection.

LITERARY NOTES.

THE Syndicate of the Madras University made a very successful new departure in inviting Professor Elton to deliver a course of lectures on various Victorian authors in the Senate House. The lectures were followed with the closest attention by large audiences. Professor Elton's method in these lectures was to consider the authors with whom he dealt chiefly as influences on the thought of their day and

the present day, and secondarily as models of literary form. Failure to grasp the lecturer's aim may perhaps account for the fervid protest which Professor Elton's first lecture evoked from a contemporary against exalting a "bawling peasant" into a master of style. If the lecturer had declared that he found more of the magic of style in *Latter-Day Pamphlets* than in *Marius the Epicurean*, there would have been some point in the protest, but the lecturer was chiefly concerned with Carlyle as the greatest moral force of his time. That Carlyle sometimes lost sight of measure in his denunciation of the evil thing, that his voice was over-strained and misused, as Matthew Arnold phrased it, or that he occasionally "bawled" as our contemporary phrases it, cannot be denied, but when he forgot measure and over-strained his voice, the substance suffered equally with the literary form. Carlyle seems to have been curiously blind to the difference between the exaggerated denunciation he sometimes indulged in and the quieter and more persuasive strain of which he was equally capable. One of the most curious things in his life is his astonishment at the fervour with which his Rectorial Address at Edinburgh University was received. He was, or professed to be, unable to understand why an address, embodying, as he fancied, all he had been saying throughout his life, should be received with a chorus of approval, while *Latter-Day Pamphlets* and other works, in which he came near to railing like Timon, provoked a storm of disapproval. The reason is obvious enough, though Carlyle professed himself unable to see it. The Rectorial Address contains all his most characteristic teaching, but in form it is as far removed from railing as possible—the quiet talk of an old man to a gathering of students.

PROFESSOR ELTON was very happy in his treatment of Carlyle's loyal but infatuated biographer, who, with strange want of humour, published all the journals to which Carlyle confided his extravagances, asked readers to take them seriously, and took them quite seriously himself. A remarkable instance of the essential reasonableness of Carlyle has recently been given to the world by Viscount Morley in his *Recollections*. He relates how he took Joseph Chamberlain to see the sage, who presently denounced with all the wealth of his vocabulary a proposal to compensate publicans. Chamberlain listened patiently till the sage had done, and then quietly and persuasively stated the case for compensation. Carlyle heard him without interruption and admitted that he had overlooked considerations which could not be left out of account. However, as Professor Elton said, Carlyle's memory is only just recovering from the efforts of a zealous, but indiscreet, admirer and disciple.

MR. L. COPE CORNFORD'S *The Merchant Seaman in War* is a tribute to the men on whom the safety of the British Empire and of the Alliance against the Central Powers depends. "You shall mark in these chronicles," says Mr. Cornford, "the Merchant Seaman beginning unarmed and helpless, stumbling over mines, attacked by raiding cruisers, torpedoed or shot to pieces by submarines, sent adrift to go mad or drown in open boats, still sturdily going about his business He is the same merchant seaman who but three years since was the drudge of commerce and who now in his own right is entered of the chivalry of the sea." Lord Jellicoe, in a foreword to the book, says that the British Merchant Seaman "has founded a new and glorious tradition in the teeth of new and undreamed-of peril."

PROFESSOR C. H. FIRTH'S Creighton Lecture for 1917, published under the title *Then and Now* (Macmillan, 1s.), compares the War with Napoleon to the present War. He quotes Sydney Smith as one of the worst "croakers" of those days. In 1807 he was quite sure that success in the War was impossible, that our blockade was useless and that invasion was both likely to come and sure to succeed. Francis Horner, another Edinburgh Reviewer, thought that an army at home such as the Government desired to raise "would only be a less evil than conquest by a foreign invader." The sufferings of to-day are as nothing compared with the sufferings of 1810, when there was unemployment, higher taxation and something like famine. To-day there is an unprecedented abundance of very highly paid employment, and nearly the whole of the War taxation is borne by the well-to-do classes.

THE *Times Literary Supplement* of January 10th contains a notice of the last-published instalment of the *Linguistic Survey of India*, by Sir G. A. Grierson. This section of the work is from many points of view the most important of the whole survey. The languages treated in it are Panjabi and Western Hindi. Hindostani, the most important form of Western Hindi, has been for centuries the chief means of oral communication between the races and peoples of India. Sir George Grierson condemns the loose use of the terms Hindostani, Urdu, and Hindi. He defines the first as the language of the Upper Gangetic Doab and the *lingua franca* of India, capable of being written in both Persian and Devanagari characters, and avoiding the excessive use of either Persian or Sanskrit words when employed for literature. He defines Hindi as the form of the lan-

guage in which Sanskrit words abound, and which consequently can only be written in the Devanagari character. He applies the term Urdu to the form of the Hindostani language in which Persian words are of frequent occurrence and which can only be written in the Persian character. With regard to the *Survey* as a whole the Editor announces that he has completed the detailed work of systematization and exposition of his vast materials, though we must wait for many months and even years for all the remaining volumes to be available. Every language spoken in India between the eastern frontier of Assam and the western frontier of Baluchistan, between the southern border of Orissa and the Pamirs, and between Goa and Darjeeling, has now been surveyed and classified, and grammars written for all of them. The "Introductory" volume, reviewing the survey as a whole, on which Sir George Grierson is now engaged, will be long in coming, for the indexes and references cannot be completed until all the other volumes are in type.

SCIENCE NOTES.

ONE of the most important things when buying land for agricultural purposes is to know for what purpose the soil is most suited. It is obviously an expensive business to force a crop to grow on soil which is not naturally suited to it. The spontaneous flora, that is the weeds that flourish over the ground quite untended, clearly indicate the survival of the fittest and furnish a highly valuable index as to the plants which will thrive best in a similar situation. The study of the indications thus offered as to the nature of the earth is known as the biologic method of testing the properties of soils. A note in the French agricultural journal, *Vie Agricole et Rurale*, gives some valuable hints on this topic.

Where nitrification is very slow, the ground is most suitable for sedges and ferns. Where clover, lucerne and such plants grow wild they indicate the presence of phosphoric acid and sulphur. Fleshy or scaly plants show an abundance of salts in the earth.

As regards physical characteristics plants differ greatly as to the nature of the soil they prefer.

Spinach and mulleins are found in coarse-grained ground. Shepherd's purse, lotus, knot-grass and scabious all prefer light, calcareous or sandy soils. In wet soils we find tall stalks and cut foliage as in cow's parsnip and meadow-sweet. In dry land the stalk is short (sometimes non-existent), the leaves small and pointed, waxy or hairy.

Such xerophilous plants occur also in moist pastures and also in peat bogs.

So-called "bad weeds" are not the tall, thick-set annual plants but the low perennials such as the dandelion and the stoloniferous forms like the rushes.

SALT or alkali water is a necessity for all herbivorous animals such as elk, deer, moose, antelope, mountain sheep, horses and cattle in the Western States of America. Seemingly it is not the salty taste that is sought (the water is cathartic both to man and to beast) in such places as Jacksai's Hole, where loads of earth have been eaten for the sake of the salt or alkali which is necessary for life. Without this food the animals become sluggish, even much debilitated. Their hair loses its glossiness, their eyes their fire, and their spirit and energy are greatly diminished. Artificial "salt-licks," as they are called, are sometimes made to lure the deer in to be shot, but many timid animals have in this way been lured with common salt even to a few feet distant from the camera in order to be photographed.

In places where there are no natural "salt-licks," no salt-grass nor salt-sedge, cattle and horses are salted regularly every fortnight in order to keep them healthy and fit.

It has been found that the photographs taken at the tops of a volcanic cone show positive pictures instead of negatives and that negatives taken near volcanoes differ from ordinary ones in showing a thick line on the contours of mountains, trees, shadows in water, etc. It was at first thought that some radio-active substance in the volcanic region caused this phenomenon but lava has been found to give out no radio-active rays. Negatives taken at sulphurous hot springs show similar changes, and it was suggested that the gas, sulphur dioxide (SO_2), might act on the sensitised plate, affecting the silver bromide gelatine emulsion chemically. This has now been found correct, the length of exposure given to the plate having everything to do with the inversion. According to the concentration of the SO_2 , the length of exposure given and the intensity of the light, negatives may be got which are either positive or negative.

To destroy algæ in public reservoirs of drinking water sulphate of copper has been found very effective. Only a minute quantity (one part of the sulphate to three million parts of water) is needed—an amount which has no injurious results on fishes. After the sulphate is added, the number of bacteria at first increases, pro-

bably owing to the decomposition of the algæ, and then decreases. The copper sulphate is added to the water by being placed in a perforated copper tank attached to the end of a punt, so that as the punt moves along the blue crystals fall through the openings into the water below.

THE importance of coffee as a beverage has led to many coffee substitutes being prepared, especially since the outbreak of war. Pure coffee contains three essential principles, *cafféone*, an aromatic principle developed during roasting; a bitter febrifuge; *cafféine*, the stimulant or excitant. Since 1908 "decaffeinated coffees" have been on sale. These retain the full aroma. The so-called coffee substitutes are more correctly imitation coffees or pseudo-coffees, since they do not contain the three principles which make coffee what it is and usually recall the characteristic odour but faintly. All agree in having a bitter principle and in colouring water deeply. Chicory is the best known substitute and is often mixed with pure coffee and put on the market as a mixture. Besides pure coffee being adulterated with chicory, chicory itself is often mixed with cereals, acorns, carrots, seed-pods of the beet, etc., all of which, when dried, roasted, ground and impregnated with caramelised sugar resemble chicory. Fraudulent dealers mix with the pure coffee old coffee grounds, brewery malt, peat and even mineral substances. The "war chicory" sold early in 1915 contained all sorts of roasted vegetable tissues except chicory.

Barley malt is a well known pseudo-coffee, while coffee lupine, the common "garden coffee" of Brittany, is another widely used, and served in taverns as coffee in perfectly good faith.

RECENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

FROM THE QUARTERLIES.

The Eastern Question is the title of a short but very interesting article by J. Agar Beet, D.D., in the *London Quarterly* for January. Many of us have heard just enough about the Eastern Question in past years to get rather tired of it and decidedly bewildered by it. The policy of outside Powers towards the Balkan Peninsula, and events inside the Peninsula itself, have been so complicated, so subject to sudden and apparently inexplicable changes, that we have given up trying to follow and understand them, and consoled ourselves with the comforting reflection that after all it was not our business: it would eventually be settled, doubtless all for the best, by Providence and

those in high places whose business it is to follow and unravel tangled political threads, without our having to worry over it. But the War, in this as in so many other directions, has roused us out of our indifference, has awakened us all to a belated consciousness of our own responsibility, and has brought home to us the need to think and think clearly. We wake from our lazy sleep to find that Turkey is the crux of the present terrible situation, and that the settlement of the Eastern Question is of supreme importance in the attainment of an assured peace.

The question can only be settled in the light of history; and since the whole nation must bear the responsibility of the settlement, the whole nation and not merely a few specialists ought to know the history of Turkey and the Balkan States. Dr. Beet's article, named above, is a review of a book by J. A. R. Marriott, "*The Eastern Question: An Historical Study in European Diplomacy*;" and it is evident that this is a book which gives compactly and clearly what we need to know, and the sooner we all read it the better.

Why is Turkey the crux of the present War? Because, so long as Turkish misrule prevails in the Balkans, there is unlimited scope for German and Austrian intrigue, and no barrier against German advance in the East; the free development of the Balkan races would be the deathblow to the ambitions of the Central Powers with regard to the dominion of the East.

The geographical position of Turkey in the centre of the Old World is immensely important; no one can look at the map and fail to appreciate this. How did Turkey get there, and why is she still there? Speaking of the inroads of the Ottomans into Europe, a French historian, Albert Sorel, has said, "There is no Turkish nation at all, but only conquerors encamped in the midst of hostile populations. The Turks do not by any means form a state, but an army good for nothing but to conquer and tending to dissolve as soon as they are compelled to stop." The victorious advance of the Ottomans reached its climax in the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent. It is significant of the position the Turks had then attained that Francis I made a treaty with Suleiman in 1535 against the Emperor Charles V. And yet, from the moment of their check and defeat before Vienna in 1529, Ottoman greatness began at once, though at first by almost imperceptible stages, to decline. By the middle of the sixteenth century the decadence was apparent, and all through the seventeenth century the corruption and anarchy which have prevailed ever since were growing and spreading.

Why this utter and hopeless failure? Most people would agree as to its main causes. The first is the indolence and incapacity of the

Turk as a ruler. The proverb, "Where the Turk plants his foot the grass never grows again," has been sadly verified in large tracts of once fertile and prosperous country (Mesopotamia, for instance), now barren and poverty-stricken as a direct consequence of Turkish misrule. The Turks are an outstanding example of the truth that the capacity to rule does not follow from the capacity to conquer. The Assyrians were great conquerors, but never learnt how to rule. They never built up a stable empire because they could not rule the people they had subjugated; successive kings were always having to reconquer the same peoples. And in modern times the Germans have failed in precisely the same way.

A second reason is that the religion of the Turk allows no rights to Christian subjects. "Under the strict injunctions of the Koran, the infidel must either embrace Islam; or suffer death; or purchase, by the payment of a tribute, the right to life or property." In other words, he is either exterminated or held in bondage.

A third reason is to be found in the Turk's utter disregard of human life, both Moslem and infidel. From the sixteenth century onwards Sultans have been in the habit of beginning their reigns with a more or less wholesale slaughter of their brothers and nephews; and early in the last century the Sultan Maïhmoud massacred many thousands of the Janissaries, so destroying the finest corps of the Turkish army, not only in Constantinople but in every city of the Empire. Can a Government which does such things be called any thing but hopelessly bad?

We wish to distinguish carefully between the Turk as a man and the Turk as a ruler. All who know the Turk well agree that individually he is delightful. He has many virtues and loveable qualities; he is a fine soldier and a good comrade; but he is a bad master. He cannot govern, and after having proved this through many centuries at the expense of untold suffering and waste, he ought no longer to be allowed to try. Mr. D. G. Hogarth, the archaeologist, gives striking support to this contention in his books on the near East, the accounts of his excavations in Asia Minor. While speaking in the most warm and friendly terms of the individual Turk, he has nothing good to say of the Government and much to tell of the waste and desolation spread by Turkish rule. The same testimony comes from a very different source (we might cite endless examples). In *Turkey and the War*, by Vladimir Jabotinsky, a Russian military newspaper-correspondent, there occurs this passage, and it is only one of many to the same effect: "Turkey under Turkish rule is doomed to remain backward, unenlightened, barren. This doom is irremovable so long as the Ottoman Empire shall last. . . The destruction of the historical absurdum called

the Ottoman Empire will be a blessing for both Turks and non-Turks. The latter, independent or placed under protection of mighty civilising Powers, will freely develop their long-subdued vitalities; the former, liberated from the oppressive load of imperial responsibilities, will enter an era of peaceful and productive renaissance. He who wishes Turkey's destruction is a friend, not a foe, of the Turkish race." From America we have the same judgement in a book called *Obstacles to Peace*, by S. S. McClure: "Turkey is the very crux of the Obstacles to Peace. The fate of Turkey is *the* issue of this war."

Glancing very briefly at the history of Turkey, we find, in the seventeenth century, a new element coming in in the rise of Russia, a powerful neighbour anxious for an outlet to the south, and with religion as another cause of antagonism, the Christians of Russia naturally desiring to help and rescue the Christians under Turkish dominion. Later, Napoleon realised the great importance of Turkey in his campaigns, and tried hard to make Turkey a stepping-stone to greater things. Following close on this the uprising of the oppressed Christian races of the Balkans opened a new chapter of the Eastern Question. Serbia began it, and was followed by Greece; and everyone knows how, backed by France and Russia, a British fleet went to the Levant, destroyed the Turko-Egyptian fleet in the Bay of Navarino, and saved Greece. Yet after this for many years it was the avowed policy of the British Government to preserve the integrity of Turkey, though this more for the sake of keeping Russia out than for love of Turkey herself. At last the constant rivalry and suspicion among the Powers, with Turkey as the cause and centre, culminated in the Crimean War. It is hard for impartial history to justify the Crimean War. It has been called "the only perfectly useless modern war." One defence may be urged—that it saved Roumania from being swallowed up by Russia: yet, in 1878, when Russia was master in the Balkans, she gave Bulgaria, and let Serbia retain, independence; and the same might have been achieved for Roumania by peaceful diplomacy.

The British Government's support of Turkey persisted in spite of Bulgarian and Armenian atrocities, till public indignation over these crimes brought about a change of Government.

Then comes in a new factor—German policy in the near East. In 1896 the Armenian massacres horrified the whole civilised world, except, apparently, Germany; at any rate these shocking brutalities did not deter the German Emperor from ostentatiously sending a present to the Sultan on his birthday very soon afterwards. And in 1898 the German Emperor and Empress paid a visit to the Sultan. (It was during this notorious tour that the Kaiser visited Jerusalem; and the world has recently had the opportunity of noting

a most interesting contrast between the doings of the Kaiser on that occasion and the conduct of General Allenby. The Kaiser entered Jerusalem with every accessory of pageantry and pomp—a huge mounted retinue, himself mounted, armed to the teeth and clad in a flowing white robe over his armour, for all the world, as one of the English illustrated papers remarked, like a pantomime Crusader. And the Jaffa Gate not being wide enough to admit the gorgeous procession, a part of the city wall was obligingly taken down to make an adequate entrance. General Allenby came to Jerusalem as the head of a conquering army; but he entered the city with quiet reverence, on foot, and attended only by his staff and the French and Italian representatives, all on foot.) Next in the history of Turkey we come to the Young Turk Revolution and its failure, the rise of the Balkan League, and in 1912 the Balkan War. Everyone remembers how at the close of this War the Balkan States disagreed as to the distribution of the territory won from Turkey, and how in June, 1913, the Bulgarian armies suddenly attacked their Allies, the Serbians, to the dismay of all who had watched the progress of the Balkan States with sympathy. We now know that the attack was arranged and carried out, not only without the orders, but without the knowledge, of the Bulgarian Cabinet, at the instigation of the King and the military party, and that Austrian and German intrigue was behind it. The explanation of all this, and of the Kaiser's assiduous cultivation of the Turkish Sultan's friendship, is not far to seek. The Central Powers have long fixed covetous eyes on Constantinople, and on the further East to which Constantinople should be the gateway. This, it was felt, would be a good way to evade the British command of the sea. But if the Balkan States conquered Turkey and settled down as free nations living amicably together, this project had very little chance of being realised. German influence could do a good deal in Bulgaria, but Serbia was more difficult, and so Serbia must be crushed. There is no need to repeat the story of the methods which Germany and Austria employed towards this end in June and July, 1914.

So long as the Turkish Empire is bolstered up on the old lines there will be endless openings for German intrigue. The only alternative, as a settlement, to the absorption of Turkey by Germany, is that Turkish territories should be put under the government of the free peoples of the Balkans, or, in Asia Minor for example, under that of the great civilising Powers, England, France and Italy.

THE FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.

THREE articles deal with the problem of the rise in prices. Mr. Archibald Hurd calls his 'Wages, Prices, and Supplies: A Vicious Circle.' Too much paper money has been produced, and the rise in prices has been checked in many cases by official interference. The optimistic views of our statesmen a year or two ago allowed them to withdraw men from agriculture and shipbuilding—a serious mistake. As prices rise, workmen demand more, and we have to pay our soldiers and sailors more. Plenty of money and diminishing supplies send up the prices still more.

Mr. Hurd believes our military effort exaggerated and mistaken. We should have kept our essential industries fully supplied with men; we should have maintained our fleet at a strength able to watch the German fleet, to defeat the submarine campaign, and to deposit a small but well-equipped army at the point most annoying to the enemy. It would have saved Serbia and Roumania if we had done so; possibly on the other hand we should have alienated France. But the chief blunder has been the utter mismanagement of shipbuilding in the past year. What the Government mean by it, it would be hard to say. One can only guess that they had not yet given up the idea that the War was to last for only six months more. Now that no one imagines that, there is some chance of our setting to work to win it.

Mr. Oswald Stoll writes of currency inflation. His text is the report in a Manchester paper of transactions in gold at £5-15-0 (instead of £3-17-10½), which is an indication of how much the currency is inflated. This is the subject of Mr. Ford's article. His remedy is the gradual withdrawal of currency notes. But we doubt whether this is sufficient. As we have been learning in India, inflation may take place even with a low currency both in metal and notes. The proper remedy, too, is what is being tried here—the removal of money from the markets by Government loans. The restriction of credit from the banks is also essential; the raising of the rate at which banks lend (recommended by Mr. Stoll) and the lowering of the rate which they may grant depositors would seem to be the obvious way. But we must remark also that the £5-15-0 need not mean more than that the country has been swept clean of gold, for the benefit of the reserves of the Bank of England; the internal and the external prices of gold would then differ. If this is the case, the currency is token currency, and the presumption is that it is below par, but not necessarily so. To settle the question is impossible, theoretically, for there is no country with which trade has not been affected by the War. Of

course, the cost of commodities has gone up in the token currency, and that is *prima facie* evidence; but on the other hand, these commodities have become scarce relatively to the world's stock of gold. Whether the currency is depreciated depends largely on whether America's part in the War will be so great as to give us back control over the gold there; it seems unlikely but it is not quite impossible.

In the History of the War the chief place is taken by the battle of Cambrai, one of the most important of the War. It divides itself into two parts, first General Byng's attack which began on November 20th, and second the German counter-attack which commenced on the 30th. General Byng nominally attacked on the whole of his forty-mile front from the Scarpe to St. Quentin, but the main attack was on the twelve miles from near Moeuvres (8 miles W. of Cambrai) to Vendhuille where our line just touched the Scheldt canal, not to meet it again till St. Quentin. Our attack was made, as everyone knows, with tanks instead of artillery. By the end of the first day our line ran about east to Anneux, where it turned. At Marcoing and Masnières it touched the canal, regained it again at Lateau Wood and then followed it to Vendhuille. This was a promising beginning, but the second and third days were those really critical. At Marcoing and Masnières our cavalry was held up by the canal, and reinforcements to overpower the local German rally were not forthcoming. It had been decided to stop the attack after two days, if it were not succeeding, and it might have been better if it had stopped. By the third day our artillery was brought up, but so also was the German, and our tanks began to suffer. By the 27th our line had advanced in the north to Moeuvres and Bourlon, had crossed the canal at Marcoing and Masnières and had occupied the corner between the latter and Lateau.

But Cambrai is one of the most important places in the German line, and so all available reserves were collected to defend it, twenty or more divisions and many heavy guns. He attacked both the faces of the salient on November 30th. In the south the British were surprised, and the Germans actually reached Gouzeaucourt, three miles behind our front line. The Guards promptly retook it, but the Germans retained Gonnelleu and Villers-Guislain; from these villages they have advanced in their present attack. Then Masnières was attacked, and on the night of December 1st General Byng withdrew from it. Meanwhile Bourlon Wood was being attacked with great violence, and was held till it, too, was found untenable and we retired on December 4th to a position just in front of Flesquières, which gives the name to the salient whose flanks the Germans are now attacking in order to deepen it before overwhelming it with heavy artillery. But it is not a deep salient whether one reckons by distance or by angle; it is

only four miles deep and the angle is rounded off. The chief criticism made is that there should have been attacks made elsewhere in support so as to hold some of the German reserves.

During the month the Italians have held their own. They rallied in time to prevent a German advance at Zenson on the lower Piave. In the Sette Comuni they lost a forward position of some strength, but as they fell back the line straightened and they were able to hold it. Between the Piave and the Brenta, they held a strong line along the hill tops, losing only one summit near the latter river, and there is a similar line behind. The French and British troops occupy fifteen miles to the right of this section, along the Piave where it descends from the mountain to the plain; they thus relieve the First Army which has still over thirty miles to guard.

In Palestine the event was the occupation of Jerusalem. On November 18th, the day we entered Jaffa, we reached a point 12 miles north-west of Jerusalem. On the 21st the Nebi Samwil hill was seized, 6 miles from Jerusalem in the same direction; then a column of mounted troops captured Biltir station on the Jaffa-Jerusalem railway. After a delay which allowed it to come up, General Allenby's right wing occupied Hebron and Bethlehem on the 7th and next day Jerusalem was surrounded. The mayor surrendered and on the 11th the official entry was made in a way much less ostentatious than that chosen by the Imperial prospector some twenty years ago.

COLLEGE NOTES.

THE COLLEGE BROTHERHOOD AND OUR DAY.

TO THE EDITOR OF *The Magazine*.

SIR,

In November last you were kind enough to publish my appeal to the students of the College to help the Brotherhood in contributing its humble mite towards the success of Our Day. There was a hearty response to the appeal both from the College students and pupils of the School with the result that we were able to contribute Rs. 779-11-0 towards the funds. We sold 571 Lucky Bag tickets, mostly among students and their parents. We sold 2,620 Our Day flags, realising Rs. 208-11-0 on the whole. We were selling flags in trams, at railway stations, and other public places from the 8th December onwards, and on the 12th at the S. I. A. A. grounds. We take this opportunity of thanking the Military Secretary for the great help and encouragement he gave us, and the Joint Manager of the

Madras Electric Tramways for having given us free passes to sell flags in trams. Nearly a dozen students drew prizes from the Lucky Bag, one student getting a gold wristlet watch.

O. C. SRINIVASAN, *General Secretary,*
The Young Men's Brotherhood, Christian College.

MR. CRAWFORD left Madras on Monday, the 4th March, on furlough. He came out as Acting Professor of English in this College in July, 1912, and in February, 1913, was appointed Professor of English Philology. Among the various ways in which he has served the College may be mentioned the Editorship of the *Magazine* and the superintendence of the Hostels. The duties of Editor will, during his absence, be discharged by Mr. Corley, and as Superintendent of the Rangiah Chetty Hostel his place will be taken by Mr. Hogg. On the 21st February, the members of the Rangiah Chetty Hostel invited the Professors of the College to tea and availed themselves of the occasion to present the following address to Mr. Crawford :—

Dear Sir,

When in 1913 you were appointed the successor of the Hon'ble the Rev. George Pittendrigh in the Superintendentship of this Hostel, we were glad and proud to have as our Superintendent one who enjoyed high repute as a scholar, and our further acquaintance with you has not only deepened our admiration for your learning but helped us to appreciate your wide culture and broad sympathies, combined with a simple passionate love of all that is pure and ennobling. In you we have seen how learning can co-exist with child-like simplicity and become a means of moral and spiritual refinement. Your influence on this Home has been due not to the promulgation of edicts which demand obedience but to the diffusion of a subtle aroma of intellectual and moral culture which commanded emulation. Your visits to the Hostel have always been looked forward to for your informal but informing 'talks' with members in their rooms and in the verandahs, in which the past, the present, and the future seemed one connected whole, and ancient wisdom of all ages and of all lands including India was drawn upon freely to reinforce present duty.

Now that you are going home, we desire to thank you for all the good you have done to us and all the influence you have exerted upon us, and pray that you will have a safe voyage home and a happy reunion with those whom you love and are loved by. We need not assure you that a warm welcome awaits you when you come back, which we trust will be before long.

We remain, dear Sir,
 Yours obediently,

MADRAS CHRISTIAN COLLEGE,) THE MEMBERS OF THE RANGIAH
 27th February, 1918.) CHETTY HOSTEL.

Mr. Crawford replied that he always felt himself at home in the Rangiah Chetty Hostel, which various circumstances contributed to make in many respects an ideal hostel for Indian students. He would ever remember with pleasure his happy colloquies with its members. The Manager of the Hostel, Mr. Kandaswami Chetty, in bringing the proceedings to a close, said that he thoroughly identified himself with the sentiments and joined heartily in the good wishes expressed by the members in their farewell address.

PROFESSOR PROFULLA CHANDRA RAY, C. I. E., who came to Madras as special University Lecturer on Hindu Chemistry, was entertained by the Physical Science students of the College at 2 P.M. on Saturday, the 2nd February. After visiting the College Laboratories, in the company of Mr. Moffat, he sat for lunch with the students in the College Hall. The party then adjourned to the second class room where an address was presented to the Professor, who said in reply that it was a pleasure to him to visit scenes hallowed by the labours of a great man like Dr. Miller, whom he remembered seeing and dining with in Edinburgh over thirty years ago. It was his wish all these years to visit the College some time and he was glad he was doing so under such happy circumstances. "Your College stands," said Dr. Ray, "as a monument of Missionary labour in South India. It is impossible to exaggerate what Indian education owes to Missionary enterprise. We have been so long accustomed to Missionary schools and colleges that we do not appreciate their real value. In Calcutta, the Corporation now supplies filtered drinking water. But most people do not realise the benefit they get thereby. It is only those who, like me, know what it was to depend on a contaminated water-supply that can know the real value of the present system." Speaking about the industrial development in India the Professor remarked that it was absurd to hold the British Government responsible for what was due to lack of enterprise and of co-operation among the people. "Take, for instance, the Kolar Gold Fields. The income from a few square miles there is equal to the revenue of the whole Mysore State. But where is the sense in blaming the foreign capitalists? It was only after repeated attempts and the expenditure of large sums of money that the present company was able to obtain large profits. What is required in India is enterprise and co-operation between Capital and Labour."

MR. MOFFAT, who presided at the function, said that when he entered the University of Edinburgh Dr. Ray was one of the senior students working for his D. Sc. degree under Dr. Crum Brown. "We

junior students used to look upon him with great awe. Dr. Ray amply justified the promise of those early days, for to-day he is one of the greatest among living scientists."

This testimony to the greatness of one of their countrymen, coming as it did from one of their own Professors and graced as it was by a touch of personal reminiscence, was particularly gratifying to the patriotic sentiment of our students, of whom some no doubt felt, "What an Indian has achieved an Indian can achieve." Certainly he can, provided he understands the exact nature of the success achieved and the conditions which have made it possible. What the nature of this success is and what these conditions are, is well brought out in an appreciation of Dr. Ray which appeared in *Justice* from the pen of an Indian publicist who was not quite his contemporary but studied immediately after him in the Edinburgh University. We reproduce it in the hope that our past and present students will read it with interest if not with profit:—

Professor P. C. Ray, of Calcutta, the eminent chemist, came to Madras, delivered a series of six lectures and went back. Professor Ray is an extremely lovable character. He combines in himself plain living and high thinking. He loves the poor as much as he loves scientific research. Of the six lectures delivered in Madras the first two were historical and the last four were chemical. He is a distinguished graduate of Edinburgh University and a favourite student of Professor Crum Brown. Since he became Professor of Chemistry in the Presidency College, Calcutta, after his graduation at Edinburgh, he has dived deep into the antiquities of Hindu chemistry as well as into the composition and derivatives of the nitrites of mercury. About ancient Hindu chemistry Professor Ray has no delusions. In the materials collected by him about chemistry, as it was known to the ancient Hindus, Professor Ray sees the existence of the faculty of shrewd observation in our ancestors. Our ancestors began right, they displayed powers of observation which might rouse the envy of modern University men, but they had not gone very far. Chemistry as we know it at present was unknown to them. That, if the ancients had continued uninterrupted in their chemical research, they would have discovered most if not all that is known to modern scientists, is undoubted. But something seems to have arrested the process of their enquiry. They were not able to place their empirical conclusions on a scientific basis.

The same phenomenon is observed in the region of Hindu medicine also. Astonishing progress, especially for the time when it was made, marks the commencement of Hindu medicine. The progress continues for a time, then it comes to an almost abrupt termination. It will be interesting to investigate the causes that led to this check in the progress of all Hindu sciences. Perhaps it was the turmoil resulting from foreign invasion, perhaps it was something else. But the fact remains that the progress did stop. For nearly eight hundred or a thousand years none of these Hindu sciences has progressed.

To study the details of what our forefathers have done and to take a just pride in their achievements is good, but to exaggerate their work by asserting that they knew everything that is known to modern people and even more and that the present day Indians must start on the foundations, insecure though they may be, laid by their forefathers, regarding with disdain the results of modern scientific achievements, is to court stagnation in scientific progress. Professor Ray himself, in one of his University addresses delivered in Madras, said that he left such exaggerations of the work of our ancient forefathers to Hindu revivalists. He himself did not share their views. He was content to pay due reverence to the great powers of observation displayed by his forefathers and learn his chemical methods from Professor Crum Brown of Edinburgh.

The true scientific spirit that is in Professor Ray was displayed in what he said to a representative of the *Hindu*. "As for Madras you must first of all create an atmosphere of research; and this cannot be done unless you have a dozen or so of men who have secured European reputation by solid contributions to the advancement of science." Quite so. Calcutta has started on such a foundation. All the distinguished Indians who have laid the foundation of Calcutta as a centre of scientific study and research are British University men. The most promising of the students of these same Indian professors in Calcutta generally avail themselves of the facilities for scientific training available in European countries. Science is cosmopolitan, and no local prejudices or petty parochial spirit ought to be permitted to stand in the way of the free worship of science. Madras is anxious to skip this preliminary stage and establish a school of scientific research without the aid of men with European training. In that attempt Madras will most assuredly fail.

DEATH has recently removed from this earthly sphere three former students of the College—each distinguished in his way—all belonging to the Indian Christian community. Mr. D. Lazarus, who died at Waltair, Vizagapatam, on the 10th February, was an educationist; Mr. Joshua Williams, who died at Kavali, Nellore District, on the 19th February, was a Government servant; Mr. Paul Peter Pillai was by turns schoolmaster, publicist and lawyer.

The following record of Mr. Lazarus's life is taken from an appeal issued by his friends and former students on the eve of his retirement a few weeks before his death :—

Mr. Lazarus graduated from the Madras Christian College in 1876, and after a year's teaching in Madras was invited by the Rev. Dr. Hay to take up the headmastership of the London Mission High School at Vizagapatam. Mr. Lazarus made this institution his life work. When he joined it there were only 167 pupils. He now leaves it with a strength of 1,050 and an annual fee income of Rs 25,000. During his managership the school not only met the whole expenditure but yielded a profit for building purposes. Successive inspectors

of schools recorded the steady progress achieved year after year. Mr. Lazarus was the first to introduce into his school technical instruction in various branches, to admit female pupils and to start a night school with 300 pupils. His pupils are now scattered all over the Presidency and occupy honourable positions, including a member of the I. C. S., a recently appointed member of the Women's Medical Service, an acting Inspectress of Girls' Schools, and several members of the local Legislative Council. The London Mission appointed him a member of their Telugu Committees. The Government marked its appreciation of Mr. Lazarus' service and abilities and appointed him Honorary Magistrate, member of the District Board, Municipal Commissioner, and Marriage Registrar. It also conferred on him a Certificate of Honour. Though a very busy man, Mr. Lazarus published a "Brief Sketch of the History of India" (now in its 25th edition); "Aids to the Teaching of English;" and a "Brief Sketch of the History of England." Mr. Lazarus' life and career are a convincing proof of what a devoted Indian Christian graduate can do for his countrymen and the God he serves. Mr. Lazarus has most successfully solved the problem of self-supporting mission education.

MR. WILLIAMS'S death is thus recorded in the *Madras Mail*.

The deceased was the youngest son of the late Rev. Moses Williams, of the London Mission, a veteran Missionary of Cudappah. He received his education in the old London Mission School, Madras, and was one of the pupils of the Rev. J. Lazarus. After matriculating he entered the Madras Christian College, where he had a successful career, taking his B. A. degree in his 18th year. He became a teacher in the same institution and subsequently entered Government service as a clerk. By dint of industry and patience he rose to be a Deputy Collector, in which capacity he served Government for over 25 years, and was for some time the Fourth Presidency Magistrate and Income-tax Collector of the city. Very few Indian Christians have risen so high in Government service, yet he was always simple and unassuming in his ways, both in and outside the office. He was an ardent member and strong supporter of the C. M. S. Tucker Church and also an office-bearer of a Masonic Lodge. He was held in high esteem by all who knew him and many a poor Indian Christian has received favours from his hands. He served his faith and his country most loyally and his loss is deeply mourned by the Indian Christian community.

THE following particulars about Mr. Paul Peter Pillai have been supplied to *Justice* by an Indian Christian correspondent of Tinnevely :—

Sir,—Madras papers have not done justice to the career of a remarkable man who departed this life some two weeks ago, I mean Mr. Paul Peter Pillai, Barrister-at-law, late of Madura. He was born seventy-four years ago at Surandai in Tenkasi taluk, where his father,

Mr. Addis Peter Pillai, was inspecting catechist and did valuable religious work with the Rev. T. G. Parenbrook, the follower of the Rev. Rhenius, the earliest C. M. S. Missionary. Mr. Paul Peter was a favourite student of the Rev. Thomas Spratt. It was while travelling, as a little boy, with him in the jungles and wilds of Travancore hills that he imbibed the spirit of adventure. He was appointed a school-master at Tenkasi, but he threw up the post and walked from Tenkasi to Madura on his way to Madras, as his means were limited. There he joined the Free Church Mission College (now the Christian College) and passed the Matriculation and F. A. Examinations in the first class. Dr. Miller, who had a great liking for him, employed him as a teacher of the preparatory class (*i.e.*, Fifth Form) in the College. In 1877 he was appointed as Headmaster of the C. M. S. High School at Srivilliputtur. For ten years he was there. In Srivilliputtur and neighbouring villages his name was well known. He was not very happy after he took politics into his head. He contributed largely to the *Madras Times* when under the editorship of Mr. Digby. He criticised severely the Forest Laws, Irrigation rules, official corruptions, and tackled a number of economic questions. This brought him into collision with Government officials, Collectors and members of the Board of Revenue. It is mainly through his influence that the Madras Landholders' Association was started. He visited the India Office in England for the sake of the Association. In England people often mistook him for King Khama, of South African fame, and on his return journey to India he visited Paris, Berlin, Petrograd, Moscow, Rome, Constantinople, Jerusalem, etc. He was practising as a Barrister in Madura. He was an ardent Congress man. He attended the Congress Meeting in 1887 and was a frequent visitor to it since then. He held extraordinary views on many things. His mind was greatly influenced by the writings of such men as Blunt, Seymour, Key, Digby and Nao-roji. He was a staunch Christian. He held that many of the political problems, which India was suffering from, could be solved by the adoption of Christianity by the Indians. He was a self-made man and had indomitable courage and unyielding perseverance.

THERE are several points in common between the three men, a brief record of whose life has been given above. They were all in a sense children of the Church, brought up in connection with Mission establishments and brought into touch with Dr. Miller, whom they learnt to look up to as their guide, philosopher and friend. All three were teachers in Christian schools : one found his life's vocation in Christian teaching. All three bore through their multifarious activities the character of Christian men—God-fearing, humble, altruistic workers.

IN the address delivered by the Dewan of Travancore to the Sri Mulam Popular Assembly last February it was mentioned that an old student of the College, Mr. O. M. Cheriyan, Inspector of Vernacular

Schools, Northern Range, had been appointed District Assistant Recruiting Officer for Travancore. We were very glad to see it mentioned recently in the daily press that Mr. Cheriyan has been very successful in the patriotic work of securing recruits from Travancore for the Indian Army.

THE College, having closed for the hot weather holidays, or long vacation, on 1st April, will re-open on Monday, 1st July.

[OWING to the fact that most of our contributors and the Editorial Committee are now in the hills, it is more than ever difficult to issue the *Magazine* up to time. The Committee hope, however, to be up to date with the July and subsequent issues in the new volume.—ED.]

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FROM SOCRATES TO ARISTOTLE

(A STUDY IN THE HISTORY OF ETHICS).

BY FERRAND E. CORLEY, M.A.

'THE healthy know not of their health, but only the sick.' If there were no wrong-doing, there would be no ethics for our study. But what is the meaning of doing wrong? On the face of it, if the moralists are right, to do wrong is foolish, unintelligent, if not unintelligible. 'He that sinneth against me, wrongeth his own soul.' If the man who does wrong nevertheless does well for himself, what becomes of obligation? if he does not, how can his action be regarded as reasonable? It is well to recognise from the start that no ethical theory can be finally and completely satisfactory. It is emphatically a theory of error, of mistake, of something that has gone wrong. Deny the mistake, and you stultify your ethics: admit it, and man stands condemned.

It is not to be wondered at that many have inclined to the view that wrong-doing is due to ignorance; that if a man only *knew* what right and wrong involved, he could never be so completely foolish as to do the wrong. Many obvious examples, in our own experience and in the life we observe, lend support to it. *Tout comprendre, c'est tout pardonner* (to understand everything is to forgive everything) is a proverb that appeals to us all. And because in many cases a man would obviously have acted differently, had he known a little more, we are apt to conclude unreflectively that all wrong-doing is due to ignorance; that there is not anything which can properly be called 'sin.' As most of our readers will know, the doctrine that sin is only

ignorance found a stalwart champion in Socrates. An investigation of this crux of philosophy, from Socrates to Aristotle, may serve better than anything else to clear up and settle the facts. With as little as possible of technicalities, let us outline the gist of the great masters of Greece, and see what light they can give us.

Socrates is best known to us through the Dialogues of Plato, and it is often difficult to distinguish between the master and his disciple. (Happily, in the present discussion, it is hardly necessary.) But Xenophon, the more matter-of-fact biographer, gives emphatic testimony to the master's equation of 'virtue' and knowledge. In the *Memorabilia* (Bk. III, c. 9) he tells us—

Socrates was further asked if he considered those who know what they ought to do, but take the opposite course, wise men and continent. 'Not at all,' he said, 'but unwise and incontinent. Every man, I take it, chooses from what is possible to him just what he takes to be most expedient for him, and does that. So I consider the men who never do rightly neither wise nor prudent.'

He also said that justice and virtue in general was wisdom. For what is just, and everything that is done by virtue, is good and true; those who know these things would never choose anything else instead of them; those who do not know them cannot do them—as a matter of fact, if they try, they fail. In the same way, the wise do what is good and true, but those who are not wise cannot; as a matter of fact, if they try, they fail. Since, then, what is just, and everything good and true, is done by virtue, it is clear that justice and every other virtue is wisdom (knowledge).

Interpreting this, with the help of Plato, we may regard Socrates' teaching as resting on two main supports. (1) In the practical arts—weaving, carpentry, geometry—it is the man who *knows*, who does well. Failure is clear proof of ignorance. A man who says he knows how to make a table, but cannot make one, is a laughingstock. Are we to think it is otherwise with the art of living? The man who knows how to do the right shows it by doing it: if he does wrong, he obviously does not know. (2) It is monstrous—grotesque—to suppose that a man has knowledge and does not use it; that with knowledge present, he allows something else to rule his conduct. Wrong-doing, then, must be due to ignorance. The 'Socratic paradox,' *No man is willingly bad*, is the conclusion of the matter.

In Plato we find an ampler treatment of Socrates' teaching, and in many matters (it is agreed) he went far beyond his master. But on this central point there is no departure from

the Socratic position. In the *Republic* (Bk. I, pp. 331—335) we have an elaboration of the analogy of arts and crafts, and the general conclusion recurs in dialogue after dialogue. The whole aim of the *Protagoras* is to enforce the equation of virtue with knowledge, of vice with ignorance. 'I take it that none of the wise men supposes that anyone among men willingly sins or willingly does things that are base and wrong: they know perfectly well that all who do things base and wrong do them unwillingly' (*Protagoras*, p. 345).

We are justified, therefore, in concluding that the central stream of Greek philosophy concurred in the view that wrongdoing is due to ignorance, and that the necessary corrective is to be found in instruction (an important point for the Platonic theory of punishment). It was this doctrine that we may presume Aristotle to have imbibed during the twenty years he is said to have spent as the companion and disciple of Plato.

When we turn to Aristotle himself, we need not be surprised to find this 'orthodox' answer to the problem repeated. In a well-known passage in the *Nicomachean Ethics* (Bk. 7, p. 1145-b) he says—'You might raise the question—How does a man with right perceptions lose control of himself? Some say that if he has knowledge it is impossible: for it is monstrous, as Socrates held, that when knowledge is present in a man something else should control him and hale him about like a slave.' Aristotle's discussion will strike most readers as insipid: he never glows with the fervour of Socrates and Plato. A large part of it is academic. But as his manner is, he drops in two or three suggestive remarks, almost parenthetically, and the very fact of his considering the discussion necessary is (as we shall see) illuminating. The attempt to solve the problem by the use of his 'practical syllogism' (1147-a) need not detain us—he is riding his hobby, as all men will. It leaves us with a dilemma. Either you know you are doing wrong—in which case the problem remains unsolved; or you don't know—in which case it never arises. But his *obiter dicta* are valuable. He admits (1) that the Socratic (and Platonic) conclusion conflicts with what is commonly believed (1145-b); and (2) that it is desire that turns the scale, when knowledge is apparently present only to be defeated (1147-a). But substantially he accepts the Socratic

conclusion, that it is not really knowledge which is present when a man goes wrong.

What can we glean from this necessarily brief summary of Greek speculation? To begin with, let us clear the issue by ruling out certain cases which really present no difficulty, and only import confusion. If a man who (considered simply) has knowledge is temporarily deprived of it by drink, or madness, or acute pain, he may do what he would never do in the full possession of his faculties. But these cases prove nothing. They are the commonplaces of casuistry. If wrong-doing never occurred unless a man was in this obvious sense demented, it need not trouble us much. But every-day experience suggests, and our own troubled consciences affirm, that a man may *know* the right, and yet *do* the wrong. What are we to say to this?

(1) The Greek reply, given successively by Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, is to deny the fact. If the man really knew he would not do wrong. But does the forger, the thief, the libertine, not know that what he does is wrong? Now if Socrates was right in answering, 'No,' why did the Greeks go on asking the same question? The persistence of the problem argues that the solution is false. Men do not go on debating a question which has been satisfactorily answered. In spite of all the persuasive eloquence of Socrates and Plato, Aristotle still found it an urgent question. If the quick intellects of the Academy had found the true answer already given by Socrates and Plato, Aristotle's discussion could have had no place. Though he himself gives substantially the same answer, he is a valuable witness to its falsity.

(2) Note, further, that this rejection of the Socratic view is the more significant because it would save our self-respect if we could accept it. If we could say, of our own faults, and of the faults of others, they were merely due to ignorance, what a load of humiliation we should escape. It is, as Socrates urged, monstrous that knowledge should be present, only to be overpowered—monstrous, but true. It is our shame that we know the right, but do it not. To cite testimony to this universal human experience is hardly necessary. That the Greeks shared it is evidenced by the recurrence of the moral problem from Socrates to Aristotle. That with such an obvious motive for wel-

coming the Socratic paradox, which would take the sting out of the experience, the Athenians rejected it, is a decisive testimony to the truth of the experience and the falsity of the paradox itself.

(3) In confirmation of this view, that the equation of wrong-doing with ignorance will not hold, we may note that it is not only false to the general experience of mankind (including the Greeks, and in particular the Athenians), but that it specially conflicts with two well-known moral phenomena—on both of which Aristotle might be cited as evidence. (a) It leaves no room for remorse. When you 'come to' (as Aristotle puts it) and knowledge reasserts itself, you might *regret* what you had done amiss, like a man who had inadvertently sat on another man's hat. But you would not *blame* yourself; you would feel no *remorse*. Any such term as 'repentance' could find no place in our moral vocabulary. (b) The deterioration of character in the man who does wrong would similarly go unexplained. A man's first transgression is not only followed by remorse: it is usually the climax of a struggle. Why is it so much easier to sin a second time—and so on, progressively, to the depth of infamy? *Nemo repente fuit turpissimus* (no man becomes a complete scoundrel in a moment). If the first wrong was merely ignorance, are we to say the man has become still more ignorant by doing it? Unless we bring into account some other factor than the elements of ignorance and knowledge, the familiar fact of progressive depravity is an insoluble enigma.

On the primary issue, then, that it is possible for a man to know the right, but to do the wrong, in spite of the weighty authority of the three great masters of Greece, we conclude that the popular consciousness of Greece and of all mankind is right. Indeed, had Plato pressed a little further the analogy of the arts and crafts which he uses to confute Polemar-chus (*Republic, loc. cit.*), he might have discovered the inadequacy of his own view. In playing chess, in buying a horse, you want a partner or adviser who knows the matter in hand. But, as Plato points out, that by itself is not sufficient. The man who is clever at winning the game will also be cleverest at losing it: you therefore want some guarantee that he will use his knowledge to help you, and not to cheat you. As we should say, your partner must have character as well as

knowledge, moral as well as professional excellence, if he is to be of any use to you. So far as there is any force in Plato's analogy, it would appear that in every case the will to do the right thing must back the knowledge how to do it before the right result can be achieved. Thus, while we may admit that in order to do the right a man must know, it does not necessarily follow that if he knows he will do it. The popular conviction that a man may know the good, and do the evil, holds the field.

This point may be examined a little more closely before we pass on. That the sinner, in the midst of his sin, has the good clearly before his mind in the same sense as the wise man who spurns the evil and does the good, we need not contend. There is such a thing as turning your back on something you know. But the back so turned is eloquent—it is an index of knowledge. The point may be illustrated by Nelson's famous act at Copenhagen, when he put the telescope to his blind eye, and said he saw no signal. Why did he put the glass to that eye rather than the other? Just because he had a shrewd suspicion that Sir Hyde Parker was signalling to him to return, and he was resolved to go on. In our frailty and wilfulness, we often turn our blind eye to the precepts of righteousness, the pointing finger of duty. Why? It is the will, not knowledge, that is in default. The man who turns his blind eye to the truth may be said (in a sense) to be ignorant of that truth: but he knows enough to damn him.*

But it is no light matter to differ from the Greeks. It is hardly satisfactory to say merely that Socrates and Plato were wrong. We can hardly accept that conclusion unless we can show why they fell into that particular error. The key to it is not far to seek, but it has not perhaps been sufficiently emphasised. It is often said that Socrates and Plato, in equating virtue and knowledge, gave an intellectual interpretation to morality. This is profoundly misleading. The secret of their position is not intellectual, but moral. Everyone knows that Socrates was one of the best men the world has ever seen: that is part, at least, of the secret of his wonderful influence. It is

* The development of the word 'ignore' from its primary sense of 'not knowing' to the sense of 'refusing to know' is a confirmation of this analysis.

not always clearly recognised how completely, in this particular, Plato follows in his master's footsteps. But no one can read the Dialogues without discerning in their author a passion for righteousness which gives him a strong affinity with the Hebrew prophets. Now in proportion as a man is on fire with enthusiasm for good, evil ceases to be attractive to him. (Aristotle, as hinted above, characteristically notes that just as repeated wrongdoing blunts the moral sense, and leaves a man incapable of seeing the good, so continuance in doing right brings to a man such joy in doing right that the desire to do evil has no power over him.) We speak of the 'moral choice,' and so, to our imperfect characters, right and wrong, virtue and vice, present themselves. But to a man of settled character, the term 'choice' is almost ludicrous. After years of habitual honesty, the temptation to steal hardly presents itself as a possible alternative. Few of us stand on such a height of virtue that the allurements of evil do not seem to offer us a real choice between them and the good. But most of us have had moments of insight in which the beauty of goodness has shone clearly, and evil has been seen in all its nakedness: at such a moment, we have felt that there is, in a sense, no 'choice'—only the one thing, only the good, is really possible. (Some such insight, which makes us feel we have been 'fools,' is often an element in remorse.) Now where we have only fitful and momentary glimpses, the really good man enjoys a calm, assured contemplation. Socrates, wedded to goodness, utterly sure of its surpassing worth, is proof against the solicitations of vice. And by a natural extension, he feels that no man who *knew*—who knew what he knows—could even for a moment dally with the temptation to evil. No man who saw the good, as he sees it, could turn from it: no man who saw evil, for naked evil, as he sees it, could dream of doing it. Again the words of Wisdom occur to the mind: 'He that sinneth against me, wrongeth his own soul.' But while we can understand, and in proportion to our own insight share, this deep sense of Socrates and Plato that *if men only knew*, they could not do wrong, we must not let it hide the facts from our eyes. If a man knew *as they know*, he would not—could not—do the evil. But such knowledge is itself the fruit of character. Most of us, if we win to it at all, do so only through the discipline of

pain and repentance. Dives, in torment, awakes to the facts he had ignored: he thinks of his brothers, and entreats that Lazarus may be sent to warn them. Do they not know what they are doing? Did not Dives himself know? Not as he now knows, when his torment has forced him to open his eyes and see. In a sense, he was blind, as his brothers are still blind. But what is the secret of that blindness? 'If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead.' The sinner has not the full knowledge of a settled character: but knowledge he certainly has—enough to save him, if he will hearken; enough to damn him, if he sins against it.

We are entitled, then, to dissent from Socrates and Plato with some assurance, not only because their view conflicts with the general experience of mankind, but because we have come to understand what it was that lead them to entertain their paradoxical view. It remains to note one or two further points in which their attitude is significant. They afford an impressive example of faith—that attitude of mind which is vital both to philosophy and to religion. This faith is at once a faith in the real worth of goodness, and a faith in the real goodness of human nature: in both directions, it is ultimately a profound faith in God. (1) All our paltering with evil, our lingering idea that if we turn from evil we must forego something we should really like to have, argues that we do not fully believe that good (and good alone) is good. So far as we identify right and good with the will of God, it argues that we do not fully believe that God is good—else He would not require us to forego that imagined good with which we credit evil. But to Socrates and Plato such doubts are abhorrent. Good is good, and God is good. No man who really *knows* can palter with evil. (2) The idea, which we all find so alluring, that if only men knew they would not do wrong, argues that right and truth are man's natural element. Sin is an outrage on reason. The kindly optimism of Socrates must not be misunderstood. He never hesitates to stamp evil as evil. But, convinced that ignorance is at the bottom of their transgression, he would deal very gently with the sinners. Guide them, teach them, open their eyes. The inveterate faith of Socrates and Plato in the saving power of knowledge is based on the conviction that 'we needs

must love the highest when we see it.* Here, again, they are at one with the deep-seated Hebrew conviction that, in spite of the fact of sin, man was made 'in the image of God.'

The conversations of Socrates sometimes seem remote from the life of to-day: but the reader of Plato's Dialogues will often find that they fit close enough to his own experience. Philosophy is unchanging: while man remains man, it can never antiquate its past—in a real sense, philosophy, like human nature, knows no change. And in differing phrase or form, we may be beset to-day by the old idea that what is wrong with man is merely ignorance, that all he wants is 'education.' Never was that idea more powerfully asserted than by the classic teachers of Greece. And their failure to carry conviction should give us the measure of the truth. Man needs to learn: he needs to 'know himself.' But he will find, if he searches his own heart, that fatal possibility of turning a deaf ear to conscience, a blind eye to truth, which Socrates overlooked. In his instinct that man was meant for good, that only in goodness can man find rest, Socrates has the support of the ages. But, except for those rare souls, like Socrates himself, in whom wisdom already reigns, men need the power to do the good which too often they know only to their condemnation.

THE KURAL. †

By J. S. M. HOOPER, M.A.

IN an unfrequented by-path of Mylapore lies the little shrine of Tiruvalluva Nayanar, the author of the sacred Kural. Within its compound wall lies a little temple dedicated to Siva, and on the face of the shrine itself are images of Sarasvathi and of Ganapathi. When I last visited it the priestly attendant was

* Cf. James Adam, (*Gifford Lectures*) *The Religious Teachers of Greece*, p. 332: The Socratic doctrine that 'no one is willingly evil'...recognises the presence in all men of a hunger and thirst after righteousness, which it thus becomes the duty and privilege of the teacher both to stimulate and to assuage. In such a creed there is no room for despair; nor in his life and doctrine did Socrates ever show the smallest trace of pessimism. It is not the least of his claims to be regarded as the prophet of a new evangel, that every word he utters is full of indomitable courage and steadfast hope.

† A paper read before the Madras Missionary Conference, February, 1918.

engaged in burning camphor within the shrine, and as he swung the lights to and fro in the 'mūlasthānam' I was able to see dimly the bearded figure that stands as the image of the poet. Beside the shrine grows a fine specimen of the 'iluppai' tree—the very tree, as the attendant assured me, beneath which, unnumbered years ago, the infant poet was forsaken by his Brahmin father and Pariah mother, in obedience to the terms of the cruel compact by which they had come together, and where he was found by his foster-parents. The festival of Tiruvalluvar has been observed regularly here for many generations, and the reputed history of his life is well-known; but it was only in 1917 that an attempt was made to raise the celebration from a purely local observance into something more worthy of the fame of the supreme poet of the Tamil country. In addition to the usual processions and worship, meetings were held in the temple enclosure and addresses were delivered by distinguished scholars on Tiruvalluvar and the Kural. Those who were responsible for these arrangements also decided to institute a Tiruvalluvar lectureship, to build a Memorial Hall and Library and to form a memorial society. It was also decided to open schools in three different centres in Madras for the study of the Kural. Of two of these I know nothing, but the school that was to have met in Mylapore itself, within a furlong of the Tiruvalluvar shrine, has not been held. In any case, however, an attempt has been made to create a public sentiment which shall be strong enough to win for Mylapore in the Tamil world something of the place that Stratford-on-Avon occupies in the imagination of Anglo-Saxons. One thing at least is certain, that no Tamilian would regard the placing of Tiruvalluvar by the side of Shakespeare as in any sense an incongruity: he is as indisputably king in Southern India as Shakespeare is in England or America; he is the standard in Tamil literature as truly as Homer is in Greek. In morals a quotation from the Kural is final; in language it is the decisive test of literary excellence. The tributes paid to it by the members of the Madura Tamil Sangam, whose arrogance was put to shame by its excellence, according to the old story, are frequently quoted in its praise, and they succeed admirably in bringing out many of its leading characteristics:—

‘Valluvar’s Kural is short in words but extensive in sense, even as in a drop of water on the blade of the millet might be seen reflected the image of the tall palmyra tree.’

‘Of the six sects one will condemn the system of the other; but none of them will condemn the system propounded in the Kural; it has the merit of harmonizing the opinions of them all, so that each sect would admit it to be its own.’

‘The Brahmins preserve the four Vedas orally, and never commit them to writing, because if read by all they would be less valued; but the Kural, though committed to writing and read by all, would nevertheless not lose its value.’

‘Vishnu in his Kural (incarnation as a dwarf) measured the whole earth with his two expanded feet; Valluvar has measured the thoughts of all mankind with his Kural of two short feet.’

‘They who have not studied the Kural are incapable of good actions; their tongues have not expressed what is sweet in language, nor have their minds understood what is sublime in thought.’

Much more in the same sense might be quoted from ancient and modern Tamil writers to show the unanimity with which Tiruvalluvar is given a supreme place in Tamil literature; but for most of us interest in that question is probably subsidiary to the greater question of his intrinsic worth. It is conceivable that the best in Tamil literature may still not be good when judged by the standards of literature universally admitted to be great; or at least there may be so fundamental a difference revealed between eastern and western literary taste that we may be compelled to leave an eastern classic respectfully alone, as many among us are reduced to leaving Indian art and Indian music. We might recognise that we were losing something valuable, but we should have to submit to it as one of the numerous limitations that a western education involves. As representative of this view may be taken such a double-edged sentence as this of Fergusson in his *Indian Architecture*: ‘All that is intellectually great in India—all indeed which is written—belongs to the Sanskrit-speaking Aryan. All that is built—all indeed which is artistic—belongs to other races.’

The Tamil Brahmin, with a not unnatural desire to appro-

priate all intellectual distinction, might be disposed to admit this, and to support it by a reference to the supposed Brahmin paternity of Tiruvalluvar and his distinguished elder brothers and sisters; he will quote the first stanza of the Kural with its supposed play on words—its double reference to God the first cause of all things, and to Bagavan and Athi, the poet's father and mother—as conclusive proof of the veracity of the traditional story. The elaborate and impossible story of Tiruvalluvar's origin, of which this is the concluding portion, is unmistakably due to Brahminical influence; and we are on far surer ground when we accept the evidence of the only name by which the author of the Kural has been known throughout the centuries, and treat him as a Pariah priest. The unbroken tradition is that he earned his living by weaving, that he lived an exemplary life, that he attained great celebrity as a poet, and that other great poets, most of whom are reputed to have been closely related to him, flourished about the same time. He was certainly not a "Sanskrit-speaking Aryan," (he used very few but Dravidian words), and the Kural must therefore bear the brunt of the charge contained in Fergusson's somewhat sweeping dictum.

Those European scholars who have come to Tamil with the knowledge of western literature necessary for the passing of a comparative judgment on its merits have spoken in no uncertain terms, and it is perhaps worth while for us to strengthen the *prima facie* case for a study which in its early stages must be difficult and not seldom apparently barren. One writer goes so far as to say that its polish only needs to be known to challenge the unique eminence given to Greek and Latin poetry. Comparisons have repeatedly been drawn with the Book of Proverbs. Percival says 'Perhaps no language combines greater force with equal brevity.' Bishop Caldwell recognises to the full the defects that must strike every western reader who approaches Tamil poetry for the first time—'the affectation of brevity,' 'the involution of the poetical style,'—but he goes on to say of Tamil that it is 'the only vernacular in India which has not been content with imitating Sanskrit, but has honourably attempted to emulate and outshine it.' And he concludes that in the department of ethical epigram—that is, in the field in which the Kural is the chief representative of the literature—Sanskrit

has been outdone by Tamil. It would be easy to go on quoting authorities, but the purpose of this paper is rather to attempt to show something of what an amateur with no pretence to Tamil scholarship, but with an open mind, may find in the study of the Kural.

Indian literary chronology is in so unsettled a state that there is no general agreement as to the age of the literary revival in which Tiruvalluvar took part. Quotations from the Kural in grammatical works which can hardly be later than the tenth century establish that as the limit of possibility in one direction ; but there are authorities who are persuaded that there is evidence for a date even before Christ, while others suggest the third century A. D. The general tendency of modern scholarship has been to establish the earlier centuries of the Christian era as the most probable period for the composition of the Kural—a conclusion full of interest in the history of South Indian religion. All the sects claim Tiruvalluvar as their own ; but they generally acknowledge that a Jain influence is traceable in the Kural, and the period of Jain influence in the South has been held to date from about the eighth century (*cf.* Imperial Gazetteer 1908 Ed., Vol. II. p. 434). There is no trace in the poem of any exclusive attachment to a sect ; there is no recognition indeed that sectarian rivalry exists. There are hints of the Bhakti method of gaining salvation ; but it is a devotion directed not to any particular manifestation of the Deity but to the One who is Himself without any attachment (Kural 350)—

பற்றுக் பற்றற்றான் பற்றினை யப்பற்றைப்
பற்றுக் பற்று விடற்கு.

The invocation of the Kural occupies the first chapter, and in it the approach is one of humble, loving reverence—but not to Ganapathi or Sarasvathi ; it is to God Himself, the Original of all worlds, as A is of all letters, that the poet turns : and in the description of the Supreme Being that occupies the remaining stanzas of the chapter, while there is much that is characteristically Hindu, there is nothing that is distinctively sectarian. Into the epithets that are used may be read very largely what each sect may desire ; but their catholicity and doctrinal inoffensiveness is proved by the survival

of the Kural intact through periods of wild religious fanaticism, in which literary excellence was accepted as no excuse for heterodoxy. God is the one who is Pure Knowledge (வாலறிவன்); He passes suddenly over the full-blown flower of the rejoicing heart (மலர் மிசை யேகினான்)—a beautiful description of the sudden afflatus of the Divine Spirit in the experience of the devotee; He is without bias (வேண்டுதல் வேண்டாமையில்லான்); He is the Lord, who must be praised only for what is His real essence (இறைவன் பொருள் சேர் புகழ்.); He is void of the five portals of sense (பொறிவாயிலைந்தவித்தான்.), possessing the energy of all the senses innately; He is the One who can be described by no similitude (தனக்குவமையில்லாதான்); He is beautifully merciful—a sea of virtue (அறவாழியந்தணன்.), an epithet claimed by the Jains; He is the possessor of eight qualities (எண் குணத்தான்), an expression which is the happiest hunting ground of all for the sectaries. What are these eight qualities? Father Beschi yielded to the temptation and interpreted them in a definitely Christian, Catholic, sense; Pope suggests that the poet may have meant simply to sum up in one stanza all that he has said in the preceding eight. In any case it is outside the scope of this paper to spend time on a problem of interpretation in which finality is impossible. Taking the chapter as a whole there is no lack of appreciation of the part that religion should play in the life of the man who would be saved; it is only those who attain to the feet of the Lord who succeed in swimming through the great sea of Birth. But with this preliminary and fundamental acknowledgment of God Tiruvalluvar is content; his Kural is not a treatise on religion but on ethics; he practically ignores the legends of the gods—though early in the Kural (24) he makes passing reference to a discreditable story about Indra as an illustration of the overwhelming powers conferred by the practice of asceticism, and again and again he speaks of the heaven where the gods dwell. Speaking broadly, the Kural may be taken as an outstanding example of the happy divorce between the temple religion of Brahminism and the ordinary morality of the masses of the people. Drawing a comparison between the life of India and that of pre-Reformation Europe one writer (Gover *Folk-Songs of Southern India*, p. 5) has forcibly and aptly said: 'The temple Brahmins, excluded

from the society of their more intelligent brethren, have given ample cause for every reproach. The traditions of the gods as repeated in the temples are, to the present day, too often hideous beyond conception. The literature floated by the same class is obscenity itself. The gods are viler than devils elsewhere. . . . The Sudra hears these stories in the temples, receives them without a blush and passes them on to his sons ; but, out of the temple, he is another man. He sees, wherever he goes and in whatever he does, that truth and chastity, honesty and industry, and all those other virtues that the gods despise, are the keys of peace and happiness. He knows that obscenity at home will only bring ruin, and keeps his wife almost under lock and key. He soon learns that, however it may be among the gods, industry and skill are better things than idleness and begging. He is as sure as he is of his life that he cannot do business, cannot provide for his family, unless he keep his promise and meet his bond. If such be the case, there can be no hesitation in his choice—the gods perhaps have a different rule of life, because they are gods ; but that is their look-out. As for him, he will listen to and applaud the amorous tricks of a Krishna and the thefts of other divinities, but they must not shape his life.'

It is with the shaping of the lives of men that Tiruvalluvar is concerned ; and if, as the story goes, the Kural was composed by him in response to the request of those who had been impressed by the excellence of his life and wished to have in abiding form a statement of the principles underlying it, this practical omission of religion is full of significance. 'The Moral Doctrine of the Pariah' is the sub-title of a French essay on the Kural ; and Hinduism is so constructed that for the Pariah and for the man of low caste the best ground for morality to flourish in is that from which the temple religion is practically excluded.

And yet the Kural is not a treatise on morals that is throughout of equal application to every land and to every age, as some of its indiscriminating admirers have suggested. The great doctrines that underlie all Hindu religious and philosophic thinking are present here, and though Tiruvalluvar is too much of an eclectic for any school to be able to claim him as its own, the Kural could have been produced in no soil but that of India.

Christian thinkers are attracted to the theory that beneath the palm trees of old Mylapore the poet came into contact with the Christians of San Thomé, and there is no inherent impossibility in the theory; but in his treatment of God and of the great problems of life and death, there is no hint of anything that is distinctively Christian. It is true that again and again there are splendid thoughts which might well be reminiscences of the Sermon on the Mount; but it is unworthily to dim the light that lighteth every man to suggest an indebtedness for which there is no sort of positive proof. Tiruvalluvar does not treat formally of deliverance (விடு), but there are many references to it throughout the Kural, and there is no question that for him it meant deliverance from the round of birth. There are suggestions of deliverance through devotion to God—as in the first chapter and in 350 :—

பற்றுக் பற்றற்றான் பற்றினை யப்பற்றைப்
பற்றுக் பற்று விடற்கு);

it is clearly stated also that the attainment of the state which knows no change is possible for the man who has expelled all desire (370) :—

ஆரா வியற்கை யவாநீப்பி னன்கிலையே
பேரா வியற்கை தரும்.

But the fullest consecutive treatment that is found in the Kural comes in the 36th chapter, on Knowledge of the True (மெய் யுணர்தல்), where it is stated in various ways that folly and ignorance are the cause of re-birth. Two stanzas, in Pope's verse translation, read as follows (356, 357) :—

Who learn, and here the knowledge of the true obtain,
Shall find the path that hither cometh not again.
The mind that knows with certitude what is, and ponders well,
Its thoughts on birth again to other life need not to dwell.

The unvarying background of Indian thought is brought into curious prominence in the chapter on Fate. The Kural is a work very skilfully planned, and it is not mere fancy that sees in the position given to this chapter evidence of the unerring instinct of the poet for emphasis. It comes by itself, the last chapter in the First Book, of Virtue, cut off from the preceding chapters on Wisdom, and there is something ominous and lower-

ing about the very word—ஊழ், the Old Thing, the Thing that comes from the unknown past—that is used.

What powers so great as those of Destiny? Man's skill
Some other thing contrives; but Fate's beforehand still.

(ஊழிற் பெருவலியாவுள மற்ருன்று
சூழினுத் தான்முந்துறும். 380.)

And yet in this very chapter, dark with the inherited pessimism of Indian thought, there is a surprising hint of a personal agency that allots his destiny to each man—not simply a neutral 'karma', but an apportioner (377 வகுத்தான். . . .). And in a later chapter, 62, on Manly Effort (ஆள்வினையுடைமை) Tiruvalluvar steps right out of the darkness: 'Those who toil undismayed, unwearying, shall see Fate itself turn its back.'

ஊழையு முப்பக்கங் காண் பருலை வின்றித்
தர்ழாதுருற்று பவர்.

Enough has been said to show that it is impossible to construct an entirely coherent system out of Tiruvalluvar's teaching; he was hampered, as we should say, by many of his Hindu pre-suppositions; but with this limitation his teaching keeps close to life and continually suggests an ideal of character that the Christian hardly perhaps expects to find outside the pages of the Bible.

Before passing to a consideration of the contents of the Kural, it may be desirable to say something of it regarded as a work of art. It consists of 133 chapters, each containing ten couplets of seven feet, to the Tamil name of which—Kural (குறள்), shortness, conciseness—the otherwise nameless poem owes its designation. The metre is of extraordinary flexibility and variety, but there can be little doubt that much of the power of the Kural is due to the necessity the poet was under of obeying his self-imposed limitations, and curbing the too often unrestrained luxuriance of a tropical imagination to 'the melody of this small lute.' To the western reader even of Tiruvalluvar it may sometimes appear that the line separating poetry from the making of ingenious acrostics is hardly recognised, and that, as Caldwell says of Dravidian poetry in general, 'poetic fire has been quenched in an ocean of conceits.' But in the case of the Kural this first impression generally yields to more careful study, and the mark left on the mind is that

of a masterpiece, impressive alike in thought and in rare strength and beauty of diction. It would be an impertinence for a mere amateur to attempt to analyse the poet's use of alliteration and rhyme—a task at best difficult for a foreigner; but no one can read the Kural without being impressed by its curious felicity of words and its irresistible and frequently quite untranslatable finality of phrasing. As instances of the first, chosen almost at random, notice the descriptions of the world in stanza 13, *விரிநீர் வியனூலகம்*, the broad world, with its spreading water, and in 149, *நாம நீர் வைப்பு*, the earth, set in gruesome waters. Or take the wonderful fertility and felicity of the various combinations in which he uses the word “vision” (*காட்சி*).

174: it is free from meanness (*புன்மையிற் காட்சி*).

199: vision rid of spot, and from which confusion is removed (*மருடர்ந்த மாசறுகாட்சியவர்*).

218: vision which knows what duty is (*கடனறி காட்சியவர்*).

258: vision which is separated from passion (*செயிரிற்றலைப் பிரிந்த காட்சி*).

654: vision which is free from trembling (*நடுக்கற்ற காட்சியவர்*).

699: unwavering vision (*துளக்கற்ற காட்சியவர்*).

In the matter of finality of phrasing, *that* is of the very essence of successful epigram, and it is no exaggeration to say that the great majority of the stanzas in the Kural possess this quality. One stanza, in no way outstanding, from the delightful chapter on Courtesy (c. 100 *பண்புடைமை*), may be quoted in a colloquial English translation which perhaps succeeds in preserving the spirit of the original: ‘To fail in courtesy even to those who are unfriendly and do you wrong is—the limit’ (998

நண்பாற்றா ராகி நயமில் செய்வார்க்கும்

பண்பாற்றா ராதல் கடை).

There can be no question that Tiruvalluvar has the highest distinction of style—the clearness of perception, the grasp of the essential, the instinct for the right word, that are among the marks of the great poet.

To turn to the subject matter of the Kural, it is divided by the poet himself into three books, dealing respectively with Virtue, Wealth and Love (*அறம், பொருள், காமம்*). On the last of these I do not propose to dwell at any length, but it is necessary

to pass some judgment upon it, in view of the wide divergence of opinions that have been expressed. One writer says: 'It could not be translated into any European language without exposing the translator to infamy.' Dr. Pope has however translated it, and as a mere piece of literary work it is quite the most charming part of his whole translation of the Kural. That it lends itself to ingenious and indecently suggestive commentary is obvious, and as it is almost impossible to read it without some such commentary it is probably the most satisfactory course to leave it alone. But in justice to Tiruvalluvar two or three things need to be said. It is notorious that the eastern standard of judgement in these matters is entirely different from that of the west; we do not condemn the Song of Solomon, though it contains much that would be impossible in western speech; and the Kamattu-pal of the Kural is strongly reminiscent of the Song of Songs. Further, there is no suggestion of the exaltation of indiscriminate sexual licence; the Kamattu-pal deals with two forms of married life, and to Tiruvalluvar, as to Walt Whitman, the doubt evidently never occurred as to whether it is always expedient to eulogize openly any kind of pleasure that may be legitimately enjoyed. He was altogether free from prudery—so much is perfectly clear; but it is probably equally true to say that there is nothing in the third part of the Kural to destroy the impression of high morality and essential delicacy produced by the earlier books.

In the first two books Tiruvalluvar deals in turn with the ideal of the householder, the ascetic, the king, the king's ministers, the state, and the citizen, and by taking this line of division rather than the larger one of Virtue and Wealth we shall probably gain a clearer idea of his work. The account of the life of the householder is perhaps the best known part of the Kural, and it would be difficult to find in any literature a more completely pleasing picture of family life than is here presented. Pope summarises it as follows:—'The ideal householder leads on earth a consecrated life, not unmindful of any duty to the living, or to the departed. His wife, the glory of his house, is modest and frugal; guards herself and is the guardian of his house's fame. His children are his choicest treasures; their babbling voices are his music; he feasts with

the gods when he eats the rice their tiny fingers have played with; and his one aim is to make them worthier than himself. Affection is the very life of his soul; of all his virtues the first and greatest. The sum and source of them all is love. His house is open to every guest, whom he welcomes with smiling face and pleasant word, and with whom he shares his meal. Courteous in speech, grateful for every kindness, just in all his dealings, master of himself in perfect self-control, strict in the performance of every assigned duty, pure, patient and forbearing, with a heart free from envy, moderate in desires, speaking no evil of others, refraining from unprofitable words, dreading the touch of evil, diligent in the discharge of all the duties of his position, and liberal in his benefactions, he is one whom all unite to praise.'

These chapters, rich in thought, are rich also in satisfying expressions of it, and the chief difficulty here as throughout the Kural is that of selection. Two or three stanzas must suffice. In the chapter on the Possession of Love (c. 8, அன்புடைமை) occurs the striking couplet,

அன்பிலா ரெல்லாந்தமக்குரிய ரன்புடையா
ரென்பு முரியர் பிறர்க்கு.

'The loveless belong altogether to themselves; the loving, to the very bone of them, belong to others.'

In writing of the joys of parenthood he says (66)

குழவினிதியாழிணி தென்ப தம்மக்கண்
மழிலைச்சொற் கேளா தவர்

'The pipe is sweet, the lute is sweet, say those who have not heard the prattling of their own children.'

Or again the frequently quoted stanza in the chapter on Gratitude (108)

நன்றி மறப்பது நன்றன்று நன்றல்ல
தன்றே மறப்பது நன்று.

'Forgetting a good deed is not good; forgetting then and there what is not good is good.'

In the following section, dealing with the ideal of the ascetic life, we are on less congenial and less familiar ground to the western mind, but Tiruvalluvar is largely free from the

extravagance that frequently marks Indian thought and writing on this subject. He emphasises the distinction between அருள் and பொருள்—the untranslatable word ‘grace’, ‘kindliness’, ‘benevolence’, on the one hand; and ‘wealth’, on the other—as for instance in 247 :

அருளில்லார்க் கவ்வுலகமில்லை பொருளில்லார்க்
கிவ்வுலகமில்லா தியாங்கு.

‘Just as to those who have no wealth this world is not, so to those who have no grace that world is not.’

He insists on freedom from meat-eating and killing for the ascetic, and he regards Penance, (தவம்), as a great purifying and, conquering power. For the rest he concentrates his attention on the inner qualities that are appropriate to the man who is seeking for deliverance from births—the speaking and the living of the truth, freedom from anger and from doing evil to others, the recognition of the instability of the things of this world, and the gaining of freedom from inordinate desire. But it must be noted that elsewhere in the Kural he distinctly places the practice of asceticism below some other virtues—as for instance in chapter 5, on Domestic Life, where he asks what fruit there is for a man to gain from other methods of virtue, if he has succeeded in retaining his virtue in domestic life, and further exalts the virtuous domestic life as not only good in itself but as making other ways of virtue possible; ‘it possesses glory greater than that of ascetics’ (48). Possibly the harmonising of Tiruvalluvar’s views is contained in such a stanza as 346, where in dealing with Renunciation—துறவு—he says that the man who destroys the arrogance that speaks of ‘I’ and ‘mine’ gains entrance to a world higher than that of heavenly beings. An essential part of the householder’s virtue is the discharge of the responsibilities of benevolence and the like that belong to his position; wealth is indeed a trust which men are granted in order that they may exercise beneficence (212); self-regard in the householder is unpardonable, and if it—the most persistent form of that ‘desire’ whose extirpation leads to ‘the moveless blissful state’ (370)—does not exist, there is nothing left for a life of asceticism to accomplish.

In this book there is a very interesting chapter on Truth—வாய்மை—that which belongs, is fitting to the mouth. It

is defined (291) as 'speech without evil' (சீமையிலாத சொல்ல) and in the following stanza the idea is made still clearer : 'Falsehood even may take the place of Truth, if it yields good free from fault.' This raises an old question of casuistry ; but the rest of the chapter makes it very clear that for the 'lie in the heart' Tiruvalluvar has no tolerance.

Greater is he who speaks the truth with full consenting mind
Than men whose lives have penitence and charity combined.

மனத்தொடு வாய்மை மொழியிற் றவத்தொடு
தானஞ் செய்வாரிற் றலை.

And for the practical man his definition is very much more valuable than, for instance, the Aristotelian suggestion that truth is the mean between exaggeration and reserve.

The next section brings us to the second book of the Kural—that which deals with Wealth—பொருள். It is hardly necessary here to deal in detail with these very suggestive chapters in political philosophy. Much that is keenly debated in the political literature of ancient Greece is here of course passed by without mention ; there is no question as to the rival claims of monarchy, aristocracy, democracy, to be the ideal form of government. In ancient India there was only one form of government possible, and the presupposition of all that is contained in the Kural is that there is a king—that there are indeed a number of kings and that a large part of statecraft consists in the adjustment of the relations between these always rival, and frequently warring, monarchs. For this reason, the comparison that suggests itself is not that with Greece, but with medieval Italy ; not with Plato and Aristotle, but with Niccolo Machiavelli. Nor does the Kural suffer in the comparison. Tiruvalluvar is largely free from the cynicism that made the Italian reduce to a theory the prevailing practice of his time ; but he also keeps close to the realities of public life. Politics after all is a practical art, and as Machiavelli so clearly puts it, men being what they are it is folly for the monarch to treat them as if they were something entirely different and better. To say this is of course a direct negation of the whole Christian position ; but with that as a rule the political philosopher has not had very much concern. The king must be as wise as any of his enemies, and he must not

hesitate to use guile if it is necessary for the achievement of his will. So much it is fair to say in interpretation of Tiruvalluvar; but by far the greater part of the section on the king is made up of thoroughly sound and practical counsels as to the elements that constitute real greatness. By all possible means he must gain knowledge; he must associate with himself in the work of government the best men, and avoid dealings with those who are unworthy. All his actions must be taken only after full consideration, at the right time and in the right place, through well-chosen agents. He must give his whole mind to the task of government and must rule at once with justice and with kindness, with unflagging energy and with an unconquerable cheerfulness.

In the next section, on the Ideal Minister of State, the same knowledge of the world, combined with a purity of purpose and kindness of heart that put to shame the great Italian, are brought to bear, and the section forms an admirable manual for the zealous, ambitious, loyal counsellor. He must learn how to express himself before the king and in the council chamber and on such high missions as may be given him. He must be a careful observer of men and things, and must cultivate the power of effective action; but whatever betides, even (656) for the sake of a mother who is suffering hunger, he must never do a dishonourable deed.

The Ideal State is treated first from the standpoint of the wealth of the land and the strength of the fortifications and army; but then, in a series of great chapters, Tiruvalluvar speaks of the qualities which make states great. There must be strong military spirit—the spirit of the man who thinks it nobler to fail in shooting at an elephant than to succeed in shooting a hare (772), who, like the old Norse warriors, counts every day lost that does not bring him wounds (776), of men who die rather than break the vow of fealty they have sworn (779). There must be friendship—which he treats at some length, and not below the level of the other great men who have illuminated the subject. He then turns, and using the incisive form of his verse to the fullest advantage, with irony and passion he holds up to infamy the qualities which destroy states and men: friendship evil and unreal, folly (833).

நானுமை நாடாமை நாரின்மை யாதொன்றும்
பேணுமை பேதை தொழில்

‘To be shameless, not to search things out, not to love, not to care for anything, this is the work of a fool.’

Ignorance, hostility outside and inside the state, yielding to the seductive and ruinous influences of the harem, drinking, gambling—these are among the things that the poet doubtless saw illustrated in the courts of the petty kings of the South India of his day, and with relentless fidelity he pictures them as they are.

The last section of the Second Book is generally called an appendix; but it may fittingly be regarded as filling in the outlines of the character of the ideal citizen. It is here that some of Tiruvalluvar's greatest work may be seen. Much of it, as in the chapters on Nobility—which is really a discussion of the principle *Noblesse oblige*—Honour, Greatness, Courtesy—is full of the flavour of the romantic literature of the ages of chivalry. It is no further removed in spirit from the *Prince* of Machiavelli on the one hand than it is on the other from much of the careful morality and ponderous self-esteem of Aristotle's; *Ethics*. The ‘high-minded man’ of the Greek, that curious mixture of excellent qualities with a dignity that will not allow him to remember benefits he has received, and with an affectation of superiority that does not allow of exertion unless there is some great task toward—the high-minded man seems somehow to be described for us with satisfying accuracy, when we read the chapter in the Kural on Greatness (பெருமை c. 98) ‘Greatness will always bend; it is littleness that always tricks itself out and praises itself.’

பணியுமா மென்றும் பெருமை சிறுமை
யணியுமாந் தன்னை வியந்து.

This is simply to say that many of the distinctive Christian virtues, as we are wont to consider them, which are either neglected or expressly condemned in the Greek scheme of virtues, are entirely familiar and congenial to the Indian mind. In the reading of the Kural there is the frequent consciousness that the standard that is being raised is none other than the standard of Jesus Christ, and especially that in it there is restored an emphasis which is sorely needed in western thought

and practice upon love and kindliness as the very heart of the noble life. This is put characteristically in c. 99 on 'The Quality of Perfectness' சான்ருண்மை,—in some ways the finest chapter in the whole Kural. Everything that is good is the *duty* of the man who aims at perfection; the only good that is really so is inward. The elements that support perfect virtue are love, modesty, generosity, kindliness and truth. Perfect virtue speaks no ill of others. By meekness of spirit it conquers the anger of enemies; it endures with steadfastness reverses from men who are not to be weighed in the balances with one. To it there is no disgrace in worldly poverty. 'If you do not do good also to those who have done you wrong, what profit is there in your virtue?' (987)

இன்னுசெய் தார்க்கு மினியவே செய்யாக்கா
லென்ன பயத்ததோ சால்பு.

It is unnecessary even to suggest the lofty parallels that spring to the mind of the Christian when he reads such teaching as this. But it may perhaps be worth while in the conclusion of this paper to touch upon some of the points in which the non-Christian ethics of the West have failed to provide any *praeparatio evangelica* comparable with that of the Pariah priest. For this purpose it is not at all necessary to treat the Kural as so many vernacular—and other—preachers tend to treat great works of literature, as if their chief end was to serve as a treasury of apt quotations, without reference to the general trend of the author's thought. The Kural is peculiarly rich in quotable passages; it has the true barb-like quality of the epigram in all languages, that it at once pierces and sticks. But if we are to discover where the weight of Tiruvalluvar's teaching lies it will perhaps be wiser to avoid the isolated stanzas that tempt the anthologist and briefly to summarise what he has to say on such questions as humility, charity, the forgiveness of injuries, not neglecting to note if there is anything else which by the emphasis given to it in the poem should in any way detract from the prominence that this treatment gives to these selected qualities.

Of Humility, the stanzas already quoted are fairly representative. To them may be added 125, and 95; humility is a good thing for all men, and especially for those who are wealthy

is it an ornament of incomparable beauty. Charity, in its two-fold Christian sense of beneficence to the poor and of kindness of judgment and speech, is treated in several chapters in considerable detail. We have already seen that it is an essential part of the householder's duty to give to those who are in need; such an one is like a tank overflowing for the supply of the needs of a village, or like a fruitful, healing tree in the market-place. The one sting of poverty is to be unable to do kindly deeds (cc. 22 and 23). On charitable speech there is a quite extraordinary emphasis placed; the poet's treatment of speech in general is indeed one of the most notable features of the Kural: the chapters in which he deals with the speaking of pleasant words (c. 10), not backbiting (c. 19), not speaking profitless words (c. 20), as well as a number of isolated sayings in other chapters, constitute an impressive body of teaching on a much-neglected Christian virtue. Using unpleasant words when pleasant words are available is like choosing the unripe fruit instead of the ripe (100). If a man does not speak or act virtuously, still if he does not defame his neighbour there is some good in him. It is indeed more despicable to slander a friend and then meet him with a smile than it is to be a criminal. If you have to speak unkindly, let it not be behind a man's back, when spoken words have unsuspected powers of ill. If every man could see his own faults as clearly as he can see his neighbour's, it might mean the end of all evil (c. 19). And rather than speak foolishly or uselessly keep silent altogether: it is the only way to preserve your reputation.

Finally, what has the Kural to say on forgiveness of injuries—that which the Greeks regarded as the sign of a hopeless slavishness of spirit, and which by the teaching and example of Jesus Christ has become the law of life for the Christian? The great stanza, 987, has already been quoted: 'If you do not do good even to those who have done you wrong what profit is there in your virtue?' and reference has been made to the similar stanza where it is stated that no evil done can excuse even a breach of courtesy (998). In the chapter on Hostility (c. 86) we read that even if men plot enmity against you it is best not to pay them back in the same coin. . . . Wherever a spirit of hostility prevails, there is ruin; it is the source of all evil, as friendship is

of all good. In the chapter (c. 11) on the Knowledge of Benefits Conferred, we read that even if a man has done you the most deadly harm, one kind deed of his destroys all the harm. And the whole of the chapter on Forbearance (c. 16) (பொறையுடைமை) breathes the same spirit of gentleness. It is the height of virtue to bear with men who despise you, just as the earth bears up the men who dig into her. To forgive one who has stepped over the bounds with you is always good; it is better even than that to forget about it. The truest strength consists in bearing with fools, and unbroken patience is precious and lasting as fine gold. Even though others work you ill, feel sorry for the evil they have done, and keep free from it yourself. Overcome the evils wrought by the proud by the virtue of your own life. Ascetics may be great, but greater than they are those who patiently endure bitter and scornful words.

Tiruvalluvar leaves untouched hardly any element of human virtue, and what has been said above, while of necessity it neglects great stretches of his teaching, is an attempt without over or under-statement to convey an impression of where his main emphasis lies. It is a statement frequently made that the treasures of Indian thought, valuable and beautiful though they are in themselves, are so inextricably mixed up with what is irremediably evil that they could not be presented *in extenso* in an English dress without creating disgust, and that therefore all anthologies of moral sayings and the like convey an altogether false impression of the moral elevation of the people who rejoice in such literature. The Kural could not be included in any such sweeping statement without a gross perversion of the facts. That there are occasional references to Hindu mythology, and an almost unbroken background of fatalism, is true; but this does not prevent the Kural from being a most stimulating and lofty portrayal of the Ideal Life, which may be placed, with all the imperfections that Christian criticism cares to point out, in the gallery whose choicest picture is set in the framework of the Sermon on the Mount.*

* I am happy to take this opportunity of acknowledging my indebtedness to continued association with the ripe scholarship and sustained enthusiasm for Tamil literature of Mr. K. S. Gopalachariar, Senior Tamil Pandit in the Madras Christian College.—J. S. M. H.

WAR NOTES.

BY A. C. CLAYTON.

DURING the past few weeks there has been much to encourage the Allies. The German fleet is still interned. The German submarine campaign makes no headway, while we are allowed to know that the number of German submarines destroyed exceeds the number of submarines that Germany is building. Several hundreds of thousands of American troops are now in France and are entering the fighting line. Italy has recovered from the tremendous thrust made by the Austro-German army in October, November and December last year. There is good news from Mesopotamia and very good news from Palestine. But the course of events in Russia has been most perplexing, and has given reason for doubt whether Germany can be defeated within the present year. It may be well to try to sum up the present position of affairs in Russia.

At the outset I would disclaim any special knowledge of Russia. And it must be remembered that all the news that appears in our newspapers is much delayed, very fragmentary and never completely reliable. The Bolsheviks control nearly all the ways by which information can come from Russia itself, and they suppress news that is unfavourable to themselves and word the news that they do send out to their own advantage, with the object of making the world believe that everything is going in their favour within Russia. On the other hand the German invaders of Russia only allow news to be published which will further their own aims. And from wide stretches of the Russian Empire we receive no news at all, and of the many millions of Russian country folk, the peasantry which is the real Russian people, we hear nothing.

In these circumstances it is only possible to point out certain things as probable. I make no attempt to treat the whole situation with any finality, or to say absolutely what Russia, so vast and so diverse, is doing and thinking.

It is almost hopeless to attempt to get any adequate idea of the size and diversity of Russia. The total area of Russian territory is over eight and a half million square miles, or about one-sixth of all the land surface of the globe. In other

words Russian territory is between four and five times as extensive as India, which perhaps gives us some glimpse of its size. Or we may remember that before the war, travelling by a train going about the rate of many of the mail trains running on Indian railways, it took ten days to travel from one side of the Russian Empire to the other. On the other hand, though Russia is four times as large as the Indian Empire, her population is little more than half that of India. This will perhaps help to show how sparse the population is in many districts. The immense majority of Russians are farmers, or workers on farms, living in villages or in small country towns. These farmers and peasants have little or no education. Not more than one in five can read. They know about as much of what is taking place in other parts of Russia as a villager in the Deccan knows of what is taking place in Kashmir.

The artisan classes are largely miners for coal, iron, gold and asbestos, workers at the petroleum industries in Baku, in cotton and other mills, iron foundries, engineering firms and on the 50,000 miles of Russian railways. Compared with the agricultural classes these artisans are few. But they are far better educated and better informed. Both by their occupations and by their education they are separated from the peasants and small farmers. They are also even more definitely separated from the small but comparatively well educated professional, aristocratic and commercial classes.

It is this artisan class, living in a few big towns, that has brought Russia to the condition in which she is to-day. They did not begin the revolution of last March. Indeed what occurred last March, the dethronement of the Tsar and the setting up of the Provisional Government, was the work of men who were more or less experienced in statesmanship, moderate and practical in their aims, anxious to end the war, but determined that it could only be ended by victory over Germany, and not willing to imperil that victory by experiments in new methods of government till the enemy has been conquered.

But though the working classes of Russia did not begin the revolution, it was they, and particularly the artisans of Petrograd, who made the revolution a reality, and not a compromise with Tsardom. The result of this was inevitably that the artisans of Petrograd were not content to support the Provisional Government which came into being by the consent of all parties in the

Russian Duma when the Tsar abdicated. They speedily claimed authority for themselves, and Petrograd to-day is ruled by a committee of working men, who are trying to rule Russia also.

Now in itself a committee of working men, as we know them in England, is likely to make an excellent practical government. But unfortunately the working men of Petrograd and several other of the larger towns in Russia have become believers in a false theory of government. They consider that all other classes—the intellectual, professional classes, the trading and merchant classes and even the peasantry—are the enemies of the working classes; and that the working classes ought to rule and shape all the life of the world. From this it is natural that they should believe that all government and authority should be in the hands of the artisan classes. These are extreme views, and because they held these extreme views those who held them are called Extremists, or Maximalists or by the Russian title *Bolsheviki* or Bolsheviks.

Of course all Russian working men are not Extremists, but it is probable that the majority of them are. They and their fathers have been treated as slaves by despotic Tsardom. In their recoil from the tyranny of the Tsar they have claimed the right to set up their own class as tyrants over all others. They were unreasonable, but they had a fanatical trust in their creed. When the Tsar was dethroned they found that they had the power to impose their will on Petrograd and in other cities, and they began to reconstruct Russia with the enthusiasm of blind fanatics. Some of them were knaves in the pay of Germany. But most of them were and are utterly sincere. They believe that an army can be controlled without discipline and they have abolished the authority of officers over their men. They believe that land-holding is a crime and they have abolished land-holding. They have abolished by law practically everything that makes the ordered life of cities and states possible. For the moment there is no order where Bolshevik authority runs. Sanitation, railways, the postal service, the army, the navy, the hospitals, food-supplies, manufactures, banking and finance have all fallen into confusion.

In Petrograd the Bolsheviks are still supreme at the middle of March. But Petrograd is not Russia. The Ukraine, or Little Russia, with Kieff its ancient capital, one of the chief industrial centres in Russia, has formed itself into a republic. Finland has

become a republic. A republic of the Caucasus has been mentioned. We are told that the German prisoners in Siberia are forming an army to establish a German state there. And in order to carry on their own quarrels the Ukraine and the Petrograd Bolsheviks have both made peace with Germany.

For their own ends it was necessary for the men in power in the Ukraine and in Petrograd to make such a peace. The Russian army has gone to pieces, and that for a very simple reason. The peasant had been called to fight, or to send his son to fight; he had been badly fed, defrauded of ammunition and equipment, left to be shot down in thousands by German guns. The peasant knew that the Tsar had ordered him to fight. But he knew nothing of the wrongs of Belgium, nothing of the designs of Germany on the liberties of all Europe and America. As far as the ordinary Russian soldier and peasant and his wife and family knew the Tsar had fallen out with the Kaiser and the husbands and sons of Russian village homes must go forth in hundreds of thousands to be 'cannon-fodder.' When the Tsar was gone, the soldier in the ranks thought the war was to end, and the peasants in the villages of Russia expected their lads home again. And the Extremists told the Russian peasant and the Russian soldier that they were right, and so those negotiations for peace began between the Ukraine and Germany and between Petrograd and Germany which would be the most ludicrous in history if they were not also the expression of such suicidal folly and such thoughtless treachery to the Allies and to the populations of the states which were handed over to Germany.

Peace between Petrograd and Germany was signed on February 25. Peace between the Ukraine and Germany had been made a week or so earlier. The main conditions of peace between Petrograd and Germany were—

(1) That Russian Poland, Lithuania, Courland, Livonia, and Esthonia should belong to Germany, which thus adds to the German Empire a huge slice of Russian territory from Warsaw almost to the doors of Petrograd;

(2) what is left of 'Russia' is not to fight the Ukraine or Finland;

(3) Russia is to do her best to hand back to Turkey the Russian conquests in Anatolia, which means that Armenia should go back to Turkey;

- (4) the Russian army is to be completely demobilised ;
- (5) the Russian fleets are to be kept in Russian harbours till a general peace, or disarmed ;
- (6) Russia is at once to begin to supply Germany with the ores and other supplies that Germany needs for war-work ;
- (7) Russia is not to continue to denounce the methods of government in Germany, Austria, Turkey, and Bulgaria.

So much we know. There are probably other terms, and possibly the Bolshevik leaders have promised to pay an indemnity.

Now what does this mean ? It means in the first place that Russia definitely admits that Germany has defeated her. It means that Germany has for the time being acquired several large and valuable provinces from Russia. Thirdly, it certainly means that Germany will secure supplies of munitions that she did not expect and can use several hundreds of thousands of troops against the Allies on the West Front or in Italy that had been retained on the Eastern Front. This means the prolonging of the War.

But we must not lose our heads. There are one or two things about revolutions that are worth notice just now.

(1) Disintegration does not continue. The leaderless, ill-equipped, undisciplined Russian army may break up. The fanatical and ignorant so-called rulers of Petrograd or the Ukraine may make peace with Germany. Russia is a mass of fragments. But this is not the end. In every revolution, however it commences, there is a period in which one after another old institutions crumble, old laws and customs are discarded, and old authority is repudiated. The first apparent result of any revolution is to give power to the fanatic who is most violent in his opposition to the old order. But fanatics like the Bolsheviks, who have betrayed the real interest of the nation for the advantage of the class or faction to which they belong, never hold power long. There is another stage, which comes quickly, which is marked by reconstruction. The Bolsheviks will fail by the impossibility of carrying out their own extreme ideas. The moment the Russians dimly begin to perceive this the end of Extremism of that kind is near. The Bolsheviks will fight hard, and be ruthless in their effort to rule Russia. But when the Russians begin to rebuild the Russian state, the Bolsheviks will be helpless to prevent the creation of a new Russia. And a new Russia will stand among the free nations of the world.

(2) Russia may be useless to the Allies, and may to some extent be of service to the Germanic Powers, but that is much better than if Russia, under the weak rule of the Tsar, made to play the traitor by pro-German ministers, had continued to be a false and unreliable ally.

(3) The terms exacted from Russia by Germany show the rest of the world precisely what the Germans mean by peace, and the duplicity with which Germany broke her word to Russia by moving troops and by capturing such places as the ancient town of Pskov during the negotiations for peace should be sufficient warning to any one who believes, as some of the Bolsheviks did, that any fair peace can be made by negotiation with Germany so long as the German armies have not been decisively defeated.

(4) It must not be forgotten that the Revolution in Russia is only a year old. If much has happened there in twelve months, it is difficult to believe that much cannot happen there in the next twelve months. Patience is one of the characteristics of the true Russian, and he has borne much from the autocracy of the Tsars in years gone by. But an Extremist tyranny which commandeers capital, disorganises all money transactions, allows all commerce to go to rack and ruin, fails to keep up roads, railways, canals, and postal communication—to say no more—can only be endured till a strong man, either a Cromwell or a Napoleon, finds his way to the front. The worse the anarchy the more rapid will be his success. And the treatment that Russia has received from Germany makes it all but certain that that strong man will seek the friendship of the Allies rather than of Germany.

(5) The action of Germany and the helplessness of Russia has given Japan an opportunity. Japanese troops can freely enter Russia from the east, and thus bring help against the Germans who may be attempting to create trouble in Siberia, Persia or Afghanistan. Such help on the part of Japan would have been rejected by Russia till now. But at the middle of March there seemed to be a tendency even among the Bolsheviks to welcome Japanese aid against Germany.

Put together, these considerations show that the peace made by the Russians with Germany, which must entail the submission of Roumania to the Germanic powers, is a disaster. The break-up of Russia has already made the war last a year longer than it would have done. It may delay the defeat of Germany

yet another year. But in it there is nothing fatal to the success of the Allies. In a sense it has simplified the contest, which now has to be fought out on the Western front. Rightly viewed, all that has happened in Russia is but an added reason why we should do all we can by subscribing our money to Government funds, or by putting it into the Post Office Savings Bank, or by volunteering for one or other of the services in which we can either serve as soldiers for the Empire or can help our soldiers in the defence of the cause of liberty against the cruelty and unrighteousness of any German peace.

And little as we can dare to think that we understand the providence of God, all history tells us that, whatever temporary checks may come, it is assuredly God's plan that no effort and no suffering for the cause of right shall be in vain. Through all the ages right has triumphed over wrong, and this old world has slowly become more and more what God would have it. It is for the triumph of right that the Allies are fighting. Till that triumph has been won they will fight on. And in spite of Russia's fall that triumph is not far distant.

NOTES OF THE MONTH.

THE German offensive which began at the end of the third week in March has so far failed to achieve its objects. These were apparently to break through between the British and French forces, and so open up the road to Paris, and on the north-west reach the French coast at Calais and Dunkirk. The first phase of the great struggle lasted for a fortnight, and though the Allies had to retire to a considerable distance from their former positions on part of the front the Germans failed to break through. The French held them up in the valley of the Oise while the British succeeded in stemming the part of the flood that was threatening Amiens. Almost simultaneously with the lull in the fighting in Picardy and Artois the Germans launched another strong offensive against the Allies in Flanders. There too by force of numbers they caused a retirement from positions that had been taken last year and at some places they advanced beyond the old line. The object in Flanders was the same as that for which the battles of Ypres were fought in 1914 and 1915—to try to break through to the French coast. Here too the flood has been stemmed, and now it seems as

if the Germans were going to make another attempt in the Amiens direction. While these different offensives show the enormous masses of men the Germans have on the field, the fact that one plan after another is being tried seems to indicate a recognition of failure. The initial successes have been due to the overwhelming masses of men which the Germans have been able to throw against the points attacked. If, however, as seems to be the case, the losses inflicted have been greater even than those at Verdun in 1916, we may expect that each succeeding attack in this the greatest battle in the world's history will be somewhat weaker, while the resources of the Allies should be steadily increasing in spite of the severe losses which they too must have suffered.

ONE result of the German offensive has been the recognition by the British Government of the necessity of calling up a large number of men who for one reason or another have so far been exempted from military service. A new Man-Power Bill has been passed by which the age for military service has been raised to fifty and in some exceptional cases to fifty-five. The most controversial part of the new Bill is the extension of the Military Service Act to Ireland. The Irish Nationalist members have taken up a hostile attitude towards conscription in Ireland, but their position is distinctly illogical in view of the support that they gave to the policy of the Government in declaring war in 1914. It is not difficult to understand their attitude, however, if it is true that one of the reasons for the growth of the Sinn Fein party in Ireland has been the fear of conscription. In Great Britain one good result of the German success has been a cessation of labour troubles and a patriotic resolution that nothing shall prevent the whole-hearted prosecution of the war to a successful termination.

IT is almost impossible for the ordinary mind to grasp the figures which tell of the legions that are taking part in the titanic battle in France. We speak and write as glibly of 'divisions' now as in former days we did of regiments, and hardly realise that a division is, or was, about 20,000 men. Thus when it is said that the Germans employed 106 divisions in the first phase of the offensive that means that they threw into the battle front of fifty miles somewhere between a million and three-quarters and two millions of men. No less baffling to the imagination are the figures dealing with the vast sums required for financing the war. In the Budget for 1918-19 which has just been introduced by Mr. Bonar Law it is estimated that the expenditure for the year will be £2,972,197,000. Of this vast sum £842,050,000 will be raised by taxation, the re-

mainder, more than two thousand million pounds, by loans. Thus it is expected to raise by taxation in the current year a sum much larger in amount than the whole of the British National Debt as it was before the war began. Some idea of the burden of taxation this implies may be gained if it is remembered that the amount to be raised is ten times as large as the revenue of the Indian Empire was in pre-war days. The daily expenditure is now nearly seven million pounds, and it is expected that at the end of the present year the National Debt will have reached the enormous sum of seven thousand nine hundred and eighty million pounds. Germany, Mr. Bonar Law mentioned, though spending nearly as much, is not imposing heavy taxes upon her wealthy subjects. Either she is afraid to do so, or perhaps she is still hoping for indemnities to pay her war debt.

THE President of the United States showed once more his remarkable gifts both of clear-sighted analysis and of weighty utterance in the speech he delivered at Baltimore to inaugurate the third 'Liberty Loan' and to celebrate the anniversary of America's entry into the war. For all the world, as well as for his own countrymen, he laid bare the issues in words which every right-thinking man should lay to heart. After affirming his desire to judge Germany honestly, without any passion, jealousy or vindictiveness, and his readiness even yet to accord to Germany strict and even-handed justice, Dr. Wilson proceeded to set forth the aims which Germany is pursuing, in contrast with those which are sought by America and the Allies.

We ourselves propose no injustice, no aggression. We are ready whenever the final reckoning is made to be just to the German people and deal fairly with the German power, as with all others. There can be no difference between the peoples in the final judgment, if indeed it is to be a righteous judgment. To propose anything but justice, even-handed and dispassionate justice, to Germany at any time, whatever the outcome and when, would be to renounce and dishonour our own cause. We ask nothing we are unwilling to accord. It has been with this thought that I have sought to learn from those who spoke for Germany whether it was justice or dominion and the execution of their own will upon other nations of the world which the German leaders were seeking. They answered in unmistakable terms. They avowed that it was not justice but dominion and the unhindered execution of their own will. The avowal did not come from Germany's statesmen. It came from her military leaders, who are her real rulers. Her statesmen said they wished for peace, and were ready to discuss its terms whenever their opponents were willing to sit down at a conference table with them. Her present Chancellor said, in indefinite and uncertain terms indeed, and phrases that often seemed to deny their own meaning, but with as much plainness as he thought prudent, that he believed that

peace should be based upon the principles we have declared to be our own in the final settlement.

At Brest-Litovsk, her civilian delegates spoke in similar terms, professed a desire to conclude a fair peace, and accord to the peoples with whose fortunes they were dealing the right to choose their own allegiances: but action accompanied and followed the profession. Their military masters, the men who act for Germany and exhibit her purpose in its execution, proclaimed a very different conclusion. We cannot mistake what they have done in Russia, Finland, the Ukraine and Roumania. The real test of their justice and fair-play has come. From this we may judge the rest. They are enjoying in Russia a cheap triumph, in which no brave and gallant nation can long take pride. A great people, helpless by their own act, lies for a time at their mercy. Their fair professions are forgotten, they nowhere set up justice, but everywhere impose their power to exploit everything for their own use and aggrandisement, and the peoples of the conquered Provinces are invited to be free under their dominion. Are we not justified in believing that they would do the same things at their Western front, if they were not there face to face with armies whom even their countless divisions cannot overcome? If when they felt their check to be final they should propose favourable and suitable terms with regard to Belgium, France and Italy, could they blame us if we concluded that they did so only to assure themselves of a free hand in Russia and the East? Their purpose is undoubtedly to make all the Slavic peoples, all the free ambitious nations of the Balkan Peninsula, all the lands which Turkey has dominated and misruled, subject to their will and ambition, and build, upon that dominion, an Empire of force upon which they fancy they can then erect an Empire of gain and commercial supremacy, an Empire as hostile to the Americans as to Europe, which it will overawe, an Empire which will master Persia, India and the peoples of the Far East.

In such a programme, our ideals, the ideals of justice, humanity and liberty, the principle of free self-determination of nations, upon which all the modern world insists, can play no part. They are rejected for ideals of power, for the principle that the strong must rule the weak, that trade must follow the flag, whether those to whom it is taken welcome it or not, that the peoples of the world are to be made subject to the patronage and overlordship of those who have the power to enforce it. That programme once carried out, America and all who care or dare to stand with her must arm and prepare themselves to contest the mastery of the world, a mastery in which the common rights of women, and of all who are weak, must for the time being be trodden under foot, disregarded, and the old age-long struggle for freedom and right begin again at its beginning. Everything America has lived for, loved, grown great to vindicate and bring to a glorious realisation, will have fallen in utter ruin, and the gates of mercy once more be pitilessly shut upon mankind. The thing is preposterous, impossible, and yet is not that what the whole course of the action of the German armies has meant, wherever they have moved? I do not wish even in this moment of utter disillusionment to judge harshly or unrighteously. I judge only what the German arms have accomplished, with unpitiful thoroughness, throughout every fair region they have touched. What, then, are we to do? For myself, I am ready, ready, still ready even now, to discuss a fair and honest peace at any time that it is sincerely purposed, a peace in which the strong and the weak shall fare alike. But the answer, when I pro-

posed such a peace, came from the German commanders in Russia, and I cannot mistake the meaning of the answer. I accept the challenge, and I know that you accept it, and all the world shall know that you accept it.

It shall appear in the utter sacrifice and self-forgetfulness with which we shall give all we love and all we have to redeem the world and make it fit for free men like ourselves to live in. This now is the meaning of all we do. Let everything we say, my fellow-countrymen, everything we henceforth plan and accomplish, ring true to this response till the majesty and might of our concerted power shall fill the thought and utterly defeat the force of those who flout and misprize what we honour and hold dear. Germany has once more said that force alone shall decide whether justice and peace shall reign in the affairs of men, whether right as America conceives it or dominion as she conceives it shall determine the destinies of mankind. There is, therefore, but one response possible from us, force, force to the utmost, force without stint or limit, righteous, triumphant force which shall make right the law of the world and cast every selfish dominion down in the dust.

LITERARY NOTICES AND NOTES.

The Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai, from 1736 to 1761. Vol. IV, Mar. 1747—Mar. 1748. Vol. V, April to October, 1748. Edited by H. Dodwell, M.A., Curator, Madras Record Office. Madras Government Press. Price for each volume, three rupees.

THESE two volumes of Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary cover the period during which the British Power in Southern India was recovering from the blow inflicted by the capture of Madras by the French under Labourdonnais in 1746. Early in 1747 the British regained the command of the sea and so saved Fort St. David, and in 1748 Boscawen made his unsuccessful attempt to capture Pondicherry. Ranga Pillai gives many details of the siege, which lasted for forty-two days, and the fifth volume closes with an account of the rejoicings that took place in Pondicherry when the siege was at last raised on the 17th October, 1748.

All through these volumes is apparent Ranga Pillai's admiration for Dupleix and his dislike of Madame Dupleix. The picture of Dupleix that he gives is, however, by no means always a pleasing one. As Mr. Dodwell says in his introduction to Vol. IV: 'The Diary records a number of incidents which, though in themselves by no means astonishing, come as a disconcerting surprise to those whose conception of Dupleix is based on Colonel Malleson and the writers who have unfortunately accepted him as authoritative.' Mr. Dodwell quite appreciates the remarkable character of Dupleix. 'Few,' he says, 'have possessed a mind so fertile of expedients, so

tenacious of purpose, so clear-sighted, so courageous.' But, he adds, 'along with these great qualities, there went a violence of temper which often disturbed his judgment, and a subtlety of mind which often passed into disingenuousness. In judging others Dupleix was constantly disposed to believe the worst, to express his belief in untempered language, and to act on it in a way which allowed his good faith to be questioned.'

It is not necessary to say anything about interesting light which the Diary throws on life in Southern India in the middle of the eighteenth century, for the Diary is so well known now as to make such comment superfluous. But we may call attention to Mr. Dodwell's extremely interesting introductions to these volumes. They point out the most important features of the sections of the Diary under review, and at the same time give a very lucid account of the political situation in Southern India at the time when Dupleix was 'groping towards the policy which was to make him for a brief while the foremost man in Southern India.'

LITERARY NOTES.

A MELANCHOLY interest attaches to the last work of an admirable scholar, Dr. James Hope Moulton, who died after several days of exposure in an open boat in the Mediterranean in 1917. His lectures on Zoroastrianism, delivered in Bombay in 1916, excited the keenest interest among the Parsis. A posthumous work, *The Treasures of the Magi* (Milford, 8s. 6d. net), sums up the results of his study of modern Zoroastrianism during his visit to India.

A REVIEW in an Edinburgh paper describes it as a work of sound and careful learning which will be highly prized by students of comparative religion.

MOULTON'S interest in Zoroastrianism was first kindled by Professor E. B. Cowell (1826—1903), an Orientalist of truly prodigious learning. Cowell, at the age of fifteen, discovered a copy of Sir W. Jones's Persian Grammar in a public library at Ipswich. The study of this book and of a Latin treatise by the same author on Arabic and Persian poetry determined Cowell's career. With the assistance of a retired officer of the Bombay Army who lived in Ipswich, he mastered Persian rapidly, and he published a series of translations of Persian poets and articles on Persian poetry, while still in his teens. The published correspondence of Edward Fitzgerald, 'Old Fitz,' Cowell's senior by seventeen years, shows that he caught from Cowell his enthusiasm for Spanish and Persian. To the end of his life Cowell

continued to add to his store of learning and to inspire his pupils with his own enthusiasm. He went to Calcutta in 1856 with a considerable knowledge of Sanskrit, and when he returned to England in 1864 he had gone deep into almost every branch of Sanskrit learning with the assistance of the Calcutta pundits. He was appointed to the Sanskrit Professorship in the University of Cambridge in 1867, and he held that post up to his death in 1903. The Zend Avesta and its affinities with the Rig Veda were the chief interest of the last twenty years of his life. In a letter of 1895 he says he has a pleasant association with Beachy Head, for 'there I first mastered the Zend—the language of the old fire-worshippers of Persia, in which Zoroaster wrote his hymns. It is very much like Sanskrit, and so not so hard as it seemed at first. The old stern face of Zoroaster relaxed as he found out I was not wholly a stranger.' Moulton must have become his pupil a few years after Cowell mastered Zend, for the visit to Beachy Head seems to have been in 1883. A letter of Cowell's of 1893 says, 'Moulton is my Zend Abdial, faithful found every Saturday still.' Moulton had many of the qualities of his old teacher, and he had won for himself a leading position in at least two branches of philology.

SCIENCE NOTES.

Argulus foliaceus L., the carp-louse, is a small crustacean living in fresh water, and often found in large numbers attaching itself to the skin of fishes, especially the carp, which is the favourite host. The little creature measures from 1 mm. to 5 mm. long, according to age and sex, and fixes itself to its host by means of a pair of powerful suckers. The point of attachment is where the skin is delicate and where the fish cannot rub off its unwelcome guest against stones or water weeds.

Argulus feeds by piercing the skin of the fish with its sharp mouth parts, then sucking the juices into its capacious alimentary tract and after storing up enough food to last for a week, it quits the host either for moulting or for reproductive purposes.

Usually Argulus is present only in small numbers, but when conditions are specially favourable they may swarm in hundreds in a small pond and the fish, pricked and sucked by these small ecto-parasites, become anaemic and ulcerated and finally die. If Argulus is present only in small numbers then a healthy fish does not seem to mind it any more than a dog his fleas. Argulus attaches itself only to a living fish and quits a host as soon as it dies.

GREAT interest has been aroused by the discovery of a method of rendering animals transparent, so that the full anatomy can be made out with ease. We explained briefly a few weeks ago the method adopted by Dr. S. F. Harmer, F.R.S., at South Kensington. The process is practically the ordinary laboratory one of permanently mounting a slide for the microscope. For example, a rat is taken and skinned. It goes through successively complete immersion in weak alcohol, pure ethyl alcohol, pure benzol and finally in the last fluid, which must have the same index of refraction as itself. A liquid having the same index of refraction as most animal tissues is a mixture of three parts of salicylic methyl ester and one part of benzyl benzoate. Several others are known giving refractive indices from 1.538 to 1.577.

By carefully watching the results of adding these various fluids it is possible to bring out in relief only such parts as are desired to be specially shown. Thus, at will, bone or muscle may predominate in the finished preparation.

This new process, which is German in origin, bids fair to revolutionise the exhibits which up to the present have been used in museums all the world over as the best method obtainable for showing the anatomical preparations.

THE density of solids is usually found by immersing the body in water. This common method is found to give very divergent results, owing to a thin film of air attaching to the submerged solid. When benzene, mineral spirit or carbon tetrachloride however is employed the result is practically a constant. Water, therefore, though the most convenient fluid, should never be used in determinations of this kind.

RECENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

FROM THE QUARTERLIES.

The Hibbert Journal for January has an article by Professor Gilbert Murray on *The Soul as It Is, and How to Deal with It*. Professor Murray does not attempt to define what the soul is, but writes of the actual workings of the soul in men's lives. Yet we must try to realise what part of our being we mean by the word 'soul.' Let us begin with some ancient beliefs about it. To primitive man, starting from the dead body from which the life has flown, it must seem as if the soul is identical with the spirit or breath. Thus he calls it by words which mean 'wind' or 'breath' or 'vapour.'

On the other hand 'life' means 'body,' showing a different point of view from which men started in trying to express the thing which we call 'soul.' Take a dream image, or a reflection in water or in a looking-glass. What is wrong with them? How are they lacking in life? They are not real; there is the perfect image, there is movement even, but they have no solidity, no body, to give them life.

Another idea was that the dream image itself was the soul, that it gave life to the body, and was capable of leaving it during sleep and returning at will. Old vase-paintings, in depicting death, often show a beautiful little winged human figure springing from the dead body.*

There is one plain conclusion for us from all these groping metaphors—that there is something really there, something vital that eludes man's powers of thought and language. Greek philosophy held the conviction that man consisted, in some mysterious way, of two parts, one living and one dead. The Emperor Marcus Aurelius put it picturesquely when he described himself as 'a little soul carrying a corpse.' Plato, the first psychologist, says there are three ways in which the soul shows itself in action—desire, anger and reason: there are things it craves, and things it hates, but above these there is the power of judging and of shaping its own course, which Plato calls 'reason' and we mostly 'will.' Yet the first two, though they are forms of life, are but functions of the living body; the 'will' is the very soul itself.

The mistake made by all these early beliefs is a too sharp separation between the soul and the body, a mistake which we still make, partly because we use the old inherited language about them. We need to guard against this mistake in our thought. We all feel that the soul is the real man, that 'the body by itself' is nothing; yet the connection between soul and body is very intimate, because the body is the only medium of expression for the soul under present conditions. M. Bergson is the great modern exponent of the philosophy of the distinction between soul and body and we cannot do better than quote Professor Murray's summary of his teaching.

The body is of course subject to mechanical and biological law. Throw it up in the air, it will fall down again. Hit it hard enough, it will break. Starve it, and it will suffer and die. And the exact strain necessary in each case can, within limits, be calculated. Furthermore, for much the greater part of life the will—that is, the man himself—acts automatically, like a machine. He is given bad coffee for breakfast, and he gets cross. He sees his omnibus just going, and he runs. He sees in one advertisement that X's boot polish is the best, and in another that Y's boot polish is the best, and he accepts both statements. He does not criticize or assert

* Cf. the Egyptian Ka, the dead man in miniature, on the mummy cases.

himself. He follows steadily the line of least resistance . . . But you will sometimes find that when you expect him to follow the line of least resistance he just does not. . . . He can resist, he can choose; he is after all a live and free thing in the midst of a dead world, capable of acting against the pressure of matter, against pain, and against his own desires.

What a warning, and also what an encouragement to us who so often feel ourselves chained to a daily routine, bound by conventions, living mechanically, doing the things we always have done, with our wills, our souls, asleep. How many men (and women too) the war found in this state, the corpse too heavy for the little soul that fainted under it. But the war brought a supreme appeal to their souls, and their souls rose to meet it; and nowhere is the difference between soul and body so clearly seen as on the battle front, where the body is so easily destroyed, while the soul remains 'untouched and unconquerable.'

Yet Professor Murray suggests that we are too ready to accept this consoling belief, and to think of martyrs as always triumphant because of this quality of the soul. He asks, 'Is the soul unconquerable? Why are there no Protestants in Spain? Not because of the persuasiveness of Spanish theology, but because the Spanish Inquisition did its work. Why are there no descendants of the Albigenses in France? Because they were massacred.'

But, we feel inclined to say, does not the soul of the Albigenses still live, and is not the fact that they had to be massacred in itself a proof that the soul of them was unconquerable? On reflection we must say that in a sense it is; but we also have to face the strange paradox that though the soul is unconquerable it may yet sustain defeat. It cannot be conquered, but it can be put out of action, it can be denied expression; and this because for the present it is so intimately connected with the body.

No: martyrs are not always successful, and they are not even always right. In all the great moral conflicts there have been martyrs on both sides, and they cannot both be right. Especially as the particular points they are most eager to insist on are usually those which most definitely contradict the views of the opposite side. And also, 'A man does not usually reach the point where he is willing to die for a cause without getting his passions strongly interwoven with his beliefs; and when a belief is mixed with passion, as we all know, it is almost certain to deviate from truth.' So it is fairly safe to say that a martyr is generally considerably wrong. And, as we may not deny a man the name of martyr because he is wrong, so neither must we blame him because he is inconsistent: no one has ever yet succeeded in building up a consistent theory of life;

and the higher a man's ideals are, the less perfectly consistent with them is his daily life likely to be. But we may demand of him sincerity of belief and purity of motive; without these two he is not a martyr, he is merely a humbug. The distinction seems obvious and easy enough to draw, and yet it represents one of the most important and most difficult and delicate tasks of government. Where rebels can safely defy the law, the nation cannot claim to be a free nation; and, on the other hand, where the forces of government are used to compel men to sin against conscience, the nation has ceased to be free.

To illustrate the workings of the soul opposed to material force Professor Murray takes two very striking examples, the life of Gandhi and that of Stephen Hobhouse. He details briefly the long course of suffering patiently borne by Gandhi for many years in South Africa in the cause of his Indian brothers. For us it is enough to recall how Gandhi bore all the punishments the South African Government could subject him to, doing no wrong in return, but rather, always suspending his opposition when the Government was in special difficulties (*e.g.*, the Boer War, a native rising, an outbreak of plague, the great railway strike), and coming forward with ready help. Yet, because he never relinquished his great aim, he was continually being imprisoned and humiliated, till at last, in 1913, he achieved at least partial success: an Imperial Commission was appointed to report on the points at issue, and the result was the Indian Relief Act.

Stephen Hobhouse is an Englishman who renounced a brilliant career and a life of ease and wealth to follow Christ, identifying himself with the poor and the oppressed. He is a Quaker, and as such considers it a sin to take part in war. When conscription became necessary the Act allowed complete exemption to all who had conscientious objections to fighting. It was a generous Act in the true English spirit of tolerance. But discretion was given to the local tribunals who administered it to allow or disallow conscientious objections. Hobhouse's tribunal most unjustly disallowed his objection and sent him to the Army. He might have appealed, but would not, as he felt himself called to share the hardships of other Quakers in similar cases. He refused to obey military orders and was punished with increasing severity till he is now undergoing a term of two years' hard labour.

Professor Murray says roundly that Government has broken the law, that it is persecuting the saints, and he speaks of the conflict between men's souls on the one hand and the engine of material force on the other. But we cannot see it quite in this light. Of course no one can seriously maintain that the way in which this soul and others

like it are being dealt with is right and satisfactory; yet the blame seems to lie with the tribunal which administered the Act unfairly. The Government must support the tribunal, as no appeal was made from its decision to the higher power. It seems very unfortunate that so much is left to the discretion of the local tribunals, allowing scope for personal spite or jealousy or for stiff, narrow prejudice; but if we remember the acute difficulty for Government to decide between the true conscientious objectors and the shirking humbugs, it is hard to see how it can be done except locally, by people who know each case or can collect evidence on the spot. At a time of national peril when conscription has become necessary it is the duty of Government to compel the shirkers to fight; that, in doing this, it has unwittingly made some righteous men suffer is matter for sorrow, but not for contemptuous anger. For what Professor Murray seems most surprisingly to have forgotten is that Government is not mere material force. Government also represents soul; this conflict is a conflict of soul against soul, only the soul on one side happens to be backed by material power, and we are apt to see only that and be blind to the soul behind it. It is absurd to say that because the sufferers are men of saintly life there is nothing to be said on the other side. Let us give honour to them as martyrs; but they may be wrong, the other side may be right.

But whatever one may think on the particular point at issue it is plain that it is useless to do battle with a soul. You may break the body, you cannot force the soul into submission. And while we recognise this as a fact, let us see to it that our own souls do not die.

THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

THE February number opens with an article on 'The Outlook for Labour,' by the Right Hon. Arthur Henderson, M.P. Documents dealing respectively with party reorganisation, war aims, and the reconstruction of society after the war have recently been issued by the Labour Party. These together, Mr. Henderson says, constitute a political and social programme of first class interest and importance, embodying the new ideas and ideals which the organised democracy of Britain desires to see ascendant as the nations approach the war settlement to take up the tasks and duties of peace. With reference to the question of party reorganisation, the Labour Party, recognising that reconstruction must begin at home, said that their first duty must be to overhaul their own machinery and to revise their constitution. In doing this they have not changed the character

of the Party as a federation of trades unions, socialist societies, co-operative societies, trades councils, and local labour parties. The rights of representation enjoyed by these organisations have been safeguarded, their voting power has been left unimpaired, and their influence in moulding the policy of the party is not diminished. But the centre of gravity has been shifted from the national societies to the constituency organisations upon which the main burden of electoral organisation and political propaganda will fall. Under the new constitution the individual elector will be brought into direct association with the party. Every one who is engaged in productive work, whether of hand or of brain, will have an opportunity of helping to mould the party's future, and women, particularly, will have full scope for expressing their views on every question with which they are concerned.

With regard to the general social policy which the Labour Party will seek to carry out, their objects are defined under three heads—national, inter-dominion, and international. In national affairs the party's broad aim is to secure for the producers by hand or by brain the full fruits of their industry, and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible, upon the basis of the common ownership of the means of production and the best obtainable system of popular administration and control of each industry or service. Their inter-dominion policy involves the utmost possible co-operation with the Labour organisations in the Dominions and Dependencies, with a view to the promotion of the party's objects and for the purpose of taking common action to establish a higher standard of social and economic life for the working population of each country. Their international policy is one of fullest co-operation with the working-class organisations in other countries for similar ends, and especially for the purpose of assisting to organise a federation of nations for the maintenance of freedom and peace, for the establishment of machinery capable of settling international disputes by conciliation and arbitration, and for the promotion of whatever international legislation may be found to be practicable.

The Labour Party's programme of reconstruction starts, then, from the assumption that the individualist system of capitalist production has broken down, and that no attempt should be made to restore it. Industry must be organised on the basis of democratic control. Mr. Henderson foresees financial difficulties ahead. The Liberal Party will have a very onerous and responsible duty to discharge in connection with national finance and methods of taxation. They stand for a system of taxation which will place the main financial burden on the shoulders of

those most able to bear it. In the matter of financial policy they hold that the emphasis must be on the idea of public right not that of private interest, on the good of the whole people and not on the claims of a class. This is surely an ideal worthy of realisation: the question is, Do the leaders of the Labour Party and their followers realise the conditions on which the realisation of it depends?

In regard to the war aims of the Labour Party, Mr. Henderson says the outline of the peace settlement to which organised democracy stands pledged has in its main essentials been endorsed by Mr. Lloyd George and President Wilson, and he does not think it necessary to discuss it at length.

In dealing with questions of social reconstruction those who speak for Labour appear to forget sometimes that the goal of their aspirations cannot be reached at a bound, and that even if they could devise a scheme by which the reconstitution of society according to some ideal plan would ultimately be realised, any such scheme must be brought into operation in the first place in the world as it is. In this connexion we commend the article by the Right Hon. Sir Joseph Compton-Rickett on 'State Idealism—its Duties and Dangers.' Idealism, Sir Joseph says, plays a great part in the common life of everyone, but we are compelled to interpret it in the terms of common sense. When the world begins to move from what is to what is to be, it will require the existing social and political machinery with which to make a start. The old can only be discarded bit by bit as the new is introduced. A disastrous and pathetic picture is that of Russia, where idealism has run amok. A state has a right to transform itself into any new form it may please, but it has no right to do so at the sole cost of one part of the community or to enrich a majority of its citizens by despoiling the minority. A League of Nations for guaranteeing peace is a thing much to be desired which seems simple in theory, but the establishment of such a League in the world as it is to-day is beset with difficulties that seem to be insuperable. The idealism of religion, Sir Joseph says in conclusion, has suffered shock through the inability of the Christian Churches to save the world from the catastrophe of war, to ameliorate its conduct, or to take any effective part in securing conditions of peace.

In an article entitled 'The War and the Parties' Mr. Harold Spender calls attention to the disintegrating effect which the war has had on political parties, and speculates on the place which parties are likely to hold in the national government after the war. For the moment, he says, all the great parties are in ruins, and it is only the door-keepers who pretend that the houses stand foursquare to all the winds. In spite of the prognostications of the Party Press

on both sides the coalition idea holds the field to-day; and is it likely, Mr. Spender asks, that the habit of coalition, now so long practised, will cease in a day? Rather, coalition is certain to continue through the period of reconstruction. As to what may happen thereafter it would be somewhat rash to prophesy, but after consideration of the outstanding facts of the political situation Mr. Spender comes to the conclusion that, after reconstruction by coalition, there will probably be a period of confused aims and purposes, out of which definite parties with definite programmes will finally emerge. They may or may not use the old names, but whatever names they use, they will be new parties with new programmes. In all probability, he thinks, there will be a return to the old tradition of the two-group system. With reference to the after-war programme of the Labour Party, as expounded in their Reconstruction Pamphlet, he remarks that it is not so much a legislative programme as the sketch of a Socialist Utopia. It is one of the incalculable and baffling effects of the war that the working classes are drifting away from their own ideals of State Socialism, and in all the fighting countries are daily getting to be less and less enamoured of State control.

Lord Henry Bentinck discusses the very important subject of 'Industrial Fatigue—and the Relation between Hours of Work and Output.' Experiments made in connection with various industries have shown that a reduction of hours is beneficial to both workers and output, but the difficulty is to get rid of the bad system at present in operation. Neither employers nor employed yet realise that in industry it is not the *immediate* return that counts. Reduction of hours can only be effected gradually, and if it is to be effected with a minimum of friction, the employers must take the employed fully into their confidence and try to make them understand the grounds on which the case for reduction is based. And as it has been established that each trade or industry has its 'optimum,' in respect of hours of work, there must be no attempt at a 'flat rate' for all workers.

Sir Alfred Hopkinson deals with 'The Education Bill,' that is, the English Bill. It will pass with deserved acclamation and will do good, but he points out that the more 'comprehensive organisation of education' which it aims at securing has its dangers. One of these is the cramping influence of the official mind, with its desire for uniformity and the standardisation of work, which not infrequently leads to the destruction of individuality. While approving of the proposal to make attendance at continuation schools compulsory after fourteen years, Sir Alfred Hopkinson thinks the whole subject of the

nature of the work to be done at these schools, of the provision of suitable teachers, and of the effect of the proposal on various industries requires fuller consideration before detailed schemes are adopted.

Professor Sir William Barrett contributes an address on 'The Deeper Issues of Psychical Research,' in which he seeks to emphasise the fact that the paramount importance of psychical research lies in its demonstration that the physical plane is not the whole of Nature nor the outer conscious self the whole of our human personality. Mr. John H. Harris pleads for the acceptance and application of what he calls the 'principle of trusteeship' by nations administering Colonial Dependencies as the only guarantee for their satisfactory development. The Rev. William Temple describes 'The Life and Liberty Movement' which has arisen within the Church of England and has for its object the awakening of the Church to the needs of the present spiritual situation. O. de L. writes on 'The Situation in Warsaw,' showing, among other things, that politics in Poland are primarily not political but personal; Dr. J. H. Balfour Browne urges the formation of a national trust to manage 'Our Docks and Harbours'; Mr. A. F. E. Bell gives an account of 'The Third Portuguese Revolution'; Frances Pitt gives an interesting description of life in the woods in winter; and Mr. J. E. G. de Montmorency contributes 'The Peace Makers' to the Literary Supplement, which includes also the usual reviews of books.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

BECAUSE of the irregularity of the arrival of the mails from England, the last number of this Review to hand is that for January. In consequence to one writing in the lull of the German spring offensive much of the matter reads like ancient history. But ancient history is interesting enough if it be closely related to our own experience, and nearly all the articles in the January *Nineteenth Century* are war articles.

The first place is given to a poem by Sir William Watson, '*America, Hail!*' It is right and fitting that a contribution from such a pen on such a theme should be given the place of honour, and there is no doubt that Sir William Watson has given expression to the instinctive feeling of his countrymen in making the entry of America into this War the subject of a panegyric poem. After all, no fact between the stemming of the first rush through Belgium and the treachery of Bolshevik Russia is of equal importance in the history of the struggle, and ultimately the American intervention may be the deciding factor for good or evil in the character of the Peace.

But while we applaud the motive and the choice of subject, we cannot help wondering whether the hour has yet struck for the composition of lasting poetry on the subject of the War. It is the business of an occasional poem to strike while the iron is at white heat, and that is a contributory cause to the insipidity of much laureate verse. Somebody has said somewhere that the best poetry is the result of passionate experience recollected in tranquillity. Of the passion of these days we have no doubt, but of the tranquillity—? It may not be altogether fair to Sir William Watson to speak thus disparagingly of his poem, for it is always within his rights to revise what he has written when the time for reminiscence arrives, and it is by the final edition alone that such work should be judged.

The second article, *In the Balance*, by Dr. Shadwell, is an extraordinarily able review of the general situation, and as we read we have to remind ourselves again and again that it really was written before the German offensive. Dr. Shadwell is one of the very few Englishmen who are prepared to credit the German enemy with intelligence as well as cunning and ingenuity. Consequently his forecasts of events are generally not very wide of the mark, so far as plans and intentions are concerned. His knowledge of what are rather vaguely called 'economic conditions' is of immense value to him in gauging and sizing up 'movements' and 'tendencies,' and these are, in reality, all that a writer in the Reviews can, or may, go upon. His conclusions are even now becoming history. He feels that the campaign of this year is bound to be, not the end, but the supreme test, for all the belligerents; and, if I understand him rightly, he is thinking less of the armies in the field, when he says this, than of the masses behind them who make up the belligerent Powers. He is certainly far more anxious about the nerve of the British workman than of the British soldier, and he argues rightly that the same is probably the case in Germany. He protests against the talk of German demoralization; it may have begun, but it has not become a real factor in the situation. So far as we can tell, there is nothing very wrong with the mere physical courage of the German armies in France at the moment.

THE FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.

PERHAPS the most interesting article in the February *Fortnightly* is one by Mr. J. E. Allen on 'A Capital Levy: the Conscription of Wealth.' The War Debt amounts to £6,000,000,000 and the interest and sinking fund will be £360,000,000. It is argued that this cannot be paid by ordinary taxes; it is proposed by the Labour

Party that a levy should be imposed on property; part of the justification being that the propertied classes have made money out of the War. As a matter of fact, not counting War Debt, the capital in Britain has fallen, even when measured in inflated currency. It is only a small portion of the War Debt that is represented by railways and factories.

Mr. Allen's article is mainly concerned with what he considers would have been the proper way to deal with war finance. Very heavy taxes should have been imposed from the beginning on practically all the nation; this would have secured the necessary diversion to war work of the nation's energies without the raising of prices which resulted from competition between the Munitions Board and the private consumer. For, as a matter of fact, it is only to a very small extent that a war can be paid for otherwise than at the time. The national reserves do not go very far, and what can be got from abroad is only a small part of the total expenses.

Since taxation has not been sufficiently heavy, money has had to be raised by loan. Mr. Allen confirms what we said last month about subscriptions to war loans from banks. These are apt to be merely an inflation of credit; the banks can afford to subscribe generously, not because they have customers' money to dispose of, but because they know that what they lend to Government may not be called for at once, and in any case is bound to come back to them almost immediately when the spending of the money begins. Mr. Allen even considers that the same objection applies to subscriptions from individuals with the help of loans from banks. If the loans are to be repaid in monthly instalments over, say, fifteen months, it probably means greater pressure to save, and therefore is a good thing.

Mr. Allen considers that a levy would be unjust, since the bulk of the War expenditure has gone in wages to the working classes whose income has greatly increased even allowing for the rise in prices. He hints strongly that our difficulties have been increased by the over-supply of paper money. He is rather sceptical as to profiteering; the most serious kind of profiteering is where a middleman charges a higher percentage (or even the same) on a greatly increased volume of goods; but we should imagine the middleman's opportunities to be greatly restricted. Similarly, in factories, margins which were only reasonable in peace trade become too great on an enormously increased output, or on standardised production; in this case, revision of the contract price after delivery seems the best method.

As to the capital levy, it was tried by the Germans before the war to pay for their military preparations. They got less than half of what they expected, and its collection was attended with an amount of ill-feeling upon which they had not reckoned. It would discourage subscriptions to war loans, and saving in general. Mr. Allen's main objection to its unfairness as falling on a small class we find somewhat intangible. It would, of course, be necessary to exempt War Debt securities, as that would simply amount to partial repudiation; but, otherwise, it would simply be the payment of an insurance premium. Whether it is advisable is another matter. Perhaps moderate incomes could stand an extra 20 per cent. if it were not to be a tax but a forced loan on which interest would be paid at, say, 4 per cent.

Mr. Whelpley writes on 'America's Peace Terms.' President Wilson gives fourteen points, on ten of which the Allies would be at one. On the other four there would be considerable difference of opinion. One of these is the second: 'Absolute freedom of navigation in peace and war outside territorial waters, except when seas may be closed by international action.' In time of peace this would be nothing new; as to war, Mr. Whelpley reads it along with the League of Nations proposal, when it becomes less objectionable, but still unhappy, like his 'peace without victory.' The next is 'Removal, as far as possible, of all economic barriers.' The present seems a curious time to propose Free Trade, when many supporters of it have become halting in their allegiance. Another, 'An absolutely impartial adjustment of colonial claims, the interest of the peoples concerned having equal weight with the claims of the Government whose title is to be determined,' is unobjectionable when it is noted that it is the interests, not the wishes, of the inhabitants that are to be regarded.

Dr. Wilson's last point is 'An association of nations affording guarantees of political and territorial independence for all states.' Mr. Whelpley thinks that this means that the Alliance should be continued with the possible addition of some neutrals as a nucleus for a complete League; but, after all, there is much more sense in saying, with a French premier, that there is but one war aim, to win the war. 'The all too prevalent feeling that the end of the war is near, that Germany is about to collapse, that the Prussian war lords are about to express their realisation of inevitable defeat and bow to the will of the Allies in consequence, is the most dangerous phase of the present conflict, so far as the Allied and American peoples are concerned.' 'To say that we have now reached the stage of talk is to admit a compromised peace, and to admit this is also to admit that all peace

programmes are useless, for it means a German victory.' Until and unless the war is won, 'neither America nor the Allies will be able to carry out a single item of the peace programme of which we talk and over which we argue, nor shall we be able to discharge any of the debts we owe to ourselves or to others.'

Mr. Archibald Hurd replies to criticisms of our naval strategy. The forcing of a way into the Baltic is impossible, as it would be a 'combined operation' of the greatest difficulty, and we have not at present resources to spare for it. For fleet action in the North Sea, we are rather short of light cruisers and destroyers, and these are also required for the anti-submarine campaign.

Politicus describes 'The Future of France and of Civilisation.' For the well-being of Europe, a populous France is necessary; the low birth-rate in France is due mainly to the fact that her principal industry is agriculture. In particular she lacks coal iron, and that is the basis of progressive industry and an expanding population. Accordingly, Alsace-Lorraine must be restored.

COLLEGE NOTES.

THE Report of the College Council, recently published, opens with an account of changes in the staff which, owing to restrictions on travelling imposed by the war, was less depleted than usual on account of furlough. Mr. Sherriffs returned in August last. Mr. Macphail, who had gone to Britain for the summer vacation, returned to work in October after being laid up in hospital for three months in Bombay in consequence of injury sustained at the sinking of the *Mongolia* on the 23rd June. 'It is a pleasure to record that, with the exception of an injury to his hand which unfortunately cannot be repaired, his health has been completely re-established. In July last Mr. Hogg's seriously-impaired health necessitated his taking leave of absence for six months, but in January of the current year he returned in restored health to resume a place in the College from which he had been greatly missed. The difficulty caused by the absence of Mr. Macphail and Mr. Hogg would have been much greater had it not been for the timely help rendered by Mr. J. G. Tait, who, having retired from the Principalship of the Central College, Bangalore, joined the staff in July for a limited term. The Council take this opportunity of thanking Mr. Tait for what he has already done for the College and of welcoming him as a member of the staff. Mr. Armstrong's departure to take up the appointment of Professor of

Chemistry in the Khalsa College, Amritsar, in September, was anticipated by the appointment of Mr. K. Seshachallam as additional Lecturer in Chemistry in July last. Four of the Professors have had to undergo a regular course of military training out of College hours, while three have been called for varying periods of general service entailing their entire absence from College. The College is indebted to Mr. J. Muliyl who kindly acted as Headmaster during Mr. Angus' absence on military duty and Mr. K. B. Madhava who suspended his work as University Research Student in Mathematics to fill the gap caused by the similar absence of Mr. Ross. Mr. Henderson is believed to be at the front having recovered from the injury he received in the fighting of two years ago. That Mr. Henderson is still remembered with affection in Madras is shown by the action of some of his former students who, on the occasion of the annual social gathering of Caithness Hall in November, presented a framed enlargement of his photograph to hang on the wall of the Hostel in which they had known him as their Superintendent. Of other changes some were due to the exceptional circumstances of the year and others to the resignation in ordinary course of Readers (or Tutors as they were formerly called) and Demonstrators. The College welcomed back in July Mr. S. Anavarathavinayakam Pillai after his three years of tenure of the office of Reader in Tamil to the University. To Mr. T. T. Kanakasundaram Pillai, who acted for him during that period as Lecturer in Tamil and Superintendent of Vernacular Studies, the thanks of the College are due for the regularity and zeal with which he discharged the duties of his temporary appointment.'

THE average number on the roll was 888,—133 in the Honours classes and 755 in the ordinary classes,—the percentage of absentees being 7.6 as compared with 7.4 of the preceding year.

TWO extra classes were conducted throughout the year, one for students of Class II who had failed in the English Division of the Intermediate Examination, and one for students of Class IV who had failed in the English Division of the B.A. Degree Examination. This was rendered possible partly by the assistance of Mr. Tait, and partly by the fact that professors who in ordinary circumstances would have been on furlough were detained in India by the regulations in force during the war. It can hardly be hoped that the same arrangement will be possible next year. But undoubtedly it has been of great value as reducing the strength of classes, and giving greater scope for individual attention in teaching.

THE arrangement whereby students of the College are allowed to study in the College Hall from 7 to 9 o'clock in the evening, with the use of the adjoining Consulting Library, was continued throughout the year. The average attendance was sixty-eight, and the average number of books consulted was fifty-one.

TEN students of the College volunteered for the Indian Defence Force, and underwent training at Trichinopoly for three months from October to December. Suitable concessions were made to them in respect of College fees, and, by the University, in respect of College attendance.

REVIEWING the finance of the College, the Council observes :—Enhanced scales of salaries for lecturers and teachers, additional appointments to the staff required by the special circumstances of the year, rise in the price of books and paper, and loss in exchange, among other causes, taxed to the utmost the resources of the College during the year. The Council are grateful that the finances of the College were able to bear the strain.

THE income of School and College from *fees* was Rs. 1,13,143 as against Rs. 1,11,952-14-0 of the previous year—the increase being accounted for mainly by the special classes in connection with the Intermediate and the B.A. *Home grants* realised Rs. 46,286-14-1 as against Rs. 47,403-15-3, this appreciable difference being due to loss in exchange. The Government gave grants amounting to Rs. 42,700. 'The Council desire to express to Government their cordial thanks for these grants, and more especially for those of them which were given after the extended period sanctioned or their payment had elapsed.'

THE ordinary working expenses of the School and College combined amounted to Rs. 1,95,017-4-0, an increase of Rs. 8,909-8-5 on the expenditure of last year. This increase is due to causes already mentioned. A sum of Rs. 11,550 was transferred to the Scholarship Fund in repayment of part of the sum advanced in 1914 by that Fund to the general funds of the College to enable it to purchase the buildings mentioned in the report of that year; while the grant of Rs. 936, which was sanctioned for the fitting up of the lecture room in the new chemical laboratory, was paid over to the New Buildings Fund.

THE total income of the year from all sources and including the balance carried forward from 1916 amounted to Rs. 2,28,092-2-11, and the total expenditure to Rs. 2,07,503-4-0. This made it possible to carry forward to 1918 a working balance of Rs. 20,588-14-11, which, in view of the fact that the greater part of the income is received in the second half of the year, is barely sufficient.

The funds at present under the control of the Council are thus no more than sufficient to meet the ordinary expenses of the College. They are not sufficient for much needed development and expansion. In addition to increases in the staff which have been already considered and recommended by the Council, more room is required for libraries and reading rooms, and the separation of the College buildings from those of the School will have to be proceeded with as soon as there is a reasonable prospect of the necessary funds. The New Buildings Fund has, during the past ten years, been of the greatest service to the College in making provision for pressing needs. Unfortunately that Fund is, for the time being, unable to render assistance to any schemes of advance. It closed the year with a deficit of Rs. 14,762-3-3, which, while a reduction of Rs. 3,838-1-8 on the adverse balance with which the year began, is still sufficient to hamper seriously the finances of the College. The Council would again commend the Fund to the generous support of former students and friends of the College. In the course of the year the upper story of the new chemical laboratory was equipped as a lecture room and was in regular use during the Long Term. By the construction of this room the equipment of the new laboratory approaches completion, a fact which the Council record with pleasure.

THE College received various gifts during the year, and these the Council gratefully acknowledge. (1) In recognition of the facilities afforded to them by the College for the study of Chemistry the Minor Zemindars of Kalikot, Saptur, and Kuruppan sent a donation of Rs. 200 to the New Buildings Fund. (2) Mr. Ahmed Batcha added to his former gift by a donation of Rs. 100 in order that the Skinner Gold Medal and Prize might be awarded in full from the first. (3) The Secretary of the United Free Church Foreign Mission Committee forwarded a sum of £100, which had been bequeathed to the College by the late Miss Isabella Galbraith. (4) Two former students contributed Rs. 270 to the Cooper Fund, a sum welcome alike because of its donors and because of the help which it gave to deserving students. (5) Mr. J. D. Nimmo of Glasgow continued to supply the reading room with several weekly papers, a gift which the Council much appreciate.

THE Services in College Church were conducted regularly every Sunday during the term, almost entirely by the College staff. To all others who gave assistance, the Council would express their thanks. From the offerings made week by week, subscriptions have been sent to various mission and philanthropic bodies.

As the 4th August was a Saturday, the anniversary of the War was observed on the preceding Wednesday, when a College service of intercession was held in the Anderson Hall. The service included a short address and readings from Scripture, but was mainly intercessory, and was designed as a fit expression of the attitude of the College as a whole towards the War and its issues.

REGARDING Hostels which form an integral part of the College, the Council observes :—

With the exception of Caithness Hall for non-Brahmins, all the Hostels were full throughout the year. Owing to the largely increased number of Christian students in the College, in consequence of which many of them were unable to find accommodation in any of the Christian hostels in the city, it was decided as a temporary measure to set apart some of the vacant rooms in Caithness Hall for their use, arrangements being made by the Managers of the Fenn Hostel and the Miller Home for supplying their meals in these two places respectively. To the Manager of the Miller Home, a hostel not attached to the College though closely associated with it, the thanks of the College are specially due for his kind co-operation in this matter.

THE College Park Hostel has every prospect of becoming a working institution soon.

In the course of the year Government were pleased to pay to the College in advance the full grant of Rs. 75,000, which they had sanctioned towards the erection of College Park Hostel. The Council desire to assure Government of their appreciation of this grant by means of which they were enabled to proceed with the building of the Hostel without delay. Many things at a time like the present have made building slow, but it is expected that the hostel will be ready for the admission of members by the end of the present year. Dr. Miller, desirous that the scheme for the provision of a hostel with suitable grounds should be a success, generously made over by deed of gift to the College the whole of the property owned by him and known as College Park. By this gift the College is put in possession of the site for the hostel, a playing field, and a house for the residence of pro-

fessors. In addition to this Dr. Miller gave a sum of Rs. 8,000 to be applied to the further development of the scheme. The Council gratefully acknowledge these gifts of Dr. Miller which are hastening the accomplishment of a long-cherished plan.

THE transfer of the College Park property to the College has enabled the Council to assume responsibility for the award of the Caithness studentships and scholarships for which for many years up to 1917 the funds were provided by Dr. Miller and which will be paid out of funds belonging to the College until an endowment is given or built up.

THE various College libraries had Rs. 2,077-14-0 spent on the purchase of books—in all 367 volumes—for them.

At present there are 17,570 volumes in all the libraries connected with the College, namely, 6,854 in the General Library, 2,876 in the Consulting Library, 4,974 in the College House Library, 1,666 in the Honours Library, and 1,200 in the Class Libraries. The number of books issued from the General Library during the year was 6,856.

The above figures are exclusive of the School Library, which towards the end of the year was separated from the College Library and placed in the old General Library room. The removal of the School Library to its new quarters has done something to relieve the pressure of space in the College Libraries, but every year makes the extension of library accommodation more necessary, and as soon as peace allows the price of materials to become more normal, extensive alterations will be taken in hand.

Through the thoughtfulness and generosity of Dr. Miller the College has been provided with a special 'War Library' which contains at present about sixty carefully selected books, dealing with the War in its various phases, and with the imperial and international problems to which it has given rise. In addition to the larger books, Dr. Miller also sent out sets of the Oxford 'Tracts on the War,' which have now been bound in a permanent form. Scarcely a mail arrives without a new volume for the 'War Library,' which it is hoped will be more and more widely used, and prove a source of interest and instruction to the students in general, and especially to those who take an active part in the discussions of the College Societies.

IN Athletics, the College lost a hard-working and enthusiastic leader in Mr. Armstrong, who was succeeded in his place of Secretary of the Athletic Association by Mr. Tait, himself a veteran cricketer,

under whom the various clubs are carrying on their work successfully.

The efforts of the Council to secure better athletic conditions for the students of the College have had to meet with many obstacles. The ground in the People's Park of which mention was made in last Report, after having been cleared and handed over by the Education Department to the College, was almost immediately requisitioned by Government for the purposes of the Madras Exhibition. Since the close of the year, however, Government have been pleased to sanction a grant towards the making up of the Beach ground.

THE College Societies in some cases, observe the College Council, were less active than could have been wished. But two successful joint debates were held in the course of the year, one in January presided over by the Hon'ble Mr. K. R. V. Krishna Rao Bahadur, Zamindar of Pollavaram, and one in November with Mr. Paul Appaswami, Professor of the Madras Law College, in the chair. In the course of the year electric lights and fans were installed in the Societies' Hall, and the Council desire to thank Government for a grant received in aid of this improvement.

AFTER noticing the activities of the College Day Association, duly recorded in these Notes from time to time, the Council observe :— Dr. Miller's annual message to the former students of the College was eagerly looked forward to, and proved to be a continuation of his previous year's message on the Path to India's Future. It will be recognized as a timely contribution to the thought of India at the present time. Though it does not fall within the year under review, it is of interest to note that on the 13th January of the current year Dr. Miller completed the eightieth year of his age. The event was celebrated in the College by a combined meeting of all the Hostels, at which fitting expression was given to the feelings of gratitude and affection with which Dr. Miller is regarded by the present and past students of the College. With all such feelings of regard for Dr. Miller the Council desire to associate themselves, combining with their congratulations and good wishes their appreciation of the deep interest he continues to take in the College, and of the many ways in which, throughout the years of his retirement, he has contributed to its welfare.

IN a report for the year 1917, a year of much significance in the history of India, the Council cannot omit all reference to the conditions under which at the present time the College is carrying on

its work. The students of the Presidency have been deeply stirred, observe the College Council, by the aspiration to take their part in making India a nation. 'It needs no argument to prove that that aspiration has been greatly stimulated by the influences of British Rule, including the varied educational work to which, in spite of all gainsayers, the British Government has committed itself. But believing, as the Council do, "Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it," they feel that there was never more need than there is in the immediate future for such a work as that of the Christian College. Tracing with reverence and gratitude the hand of Almighty God in the development of Britain's history, and recognizing in British rule the providential means of India's awakening, they hear in the present situation the call of a great responsibility. Russia affords to the world at this moment a conspicuous example of the disastrous effects of a liberty uncontrolled by law, and bereft of the guidance which only the spread of education can secure. In Germany are seen the even more terrible results of a national life, and a high degree of education and efficiency, unbalanced by the claims of right and truth. If in the further progress of India towards national life the work of her own children is to be well and wisely done, they themselves need the guidance which can only be found in the wisdom from on high. If they are to build aright, the foundation must be truly laid. In the firm conviction that Christian education is the crying need of this country in her struggles to advance, the Council ask for the fullest measure of support, that the College may be enabled to meet, with increasing energy and completeness, the manifold demands of a work which is at once the service of God and the service of the Indian people.'

OWING to the intercollegiate system by which the Honours English teaching of this College and the Presidency College has been conducted, we have something more than an outside interest in the appointment of Mr. Mark Hunter as Director of Public Instruction for Burmah. While we congratulate Mr. Hunter on his preferment (which is incidentally one more tribute to the strength of the Madras Educational Service) we cannot but regret the loss to Madras of one whose ability and untiring energy have done so much for the advancement of education in this Presidency.

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THE AUTHORITY OF THE BIBLE.

By A. G. Hogg, M.A.

IN a very heart-searching book * entitled *As Tommy Sees Us*, Mr. A. Herbert Gray has unburdened his mind recently of some of the disquieting reflections born or strengthened in him by his experience as a chaplain at the Western front. And one of the many weak points in the Church of to-day on which he lays his finger is neglect to provide a clear, simple, modern statement about the character of the Bible. 'In the billets and huts of France,' he says, 'our men have been grappling with a hundred questions, some profound, and some rather weird, but nearly all of them irrelevant to the heart of Christian truth.' The mystifications to which he refers group themselves around several centres, one of which is the Bible. 'It is now over thirty years,' he continues, 'since brave, devout, and scholarly men began in Scotland the work of our deliverance from mechanical and superstitious views of Scripture, and brought within the reach of the ordinary man the real truth about it, in view of which it is so infinitely more interesting, helpful, and reliable. And yet what may be called the educated view of Scripture has not been passed on through our pulpits, has not dominated our Sunday Schools, and has not become the possession of our youth.' To the possible misunderstanding

* Published by Edward Arnold, London, 1917.

that what Mr. Gray is advocating is an elaborate instruction of the young in the modern critical view of the Bible he replies that it is not a difficult or a complicated thing to give young minds a true view of what the Bible really is. 'It is not natural to man to suppose he must have an infallible book in order to have a reliable religion. The real proof of Christianity will always lie in the lives of Christians. It is no doubt a difficult thing to overcome misconceptions of Scripture, and it may involve a good deal of detailed teaching. But it is quite a simple thing to bring up children in the modern view. They are not shocked if they are told that there are fairy stories in the Bible. They receive it quite naturally when they are told that the ideas of goodness which the Old Testament contains had to be corrected by Christ. They are quite ready to regard the Bible as essentially a book about Christ, and to put all the other things it contains into their proper place. We might deliver them beforehand from most of the mystifications that still afflict the minds of our youth, and that by an education which would not have to be elaborate at all.'

Unfortunately, however, this has not been generally done, and one result is the prevalence, which Mr. Gray has been led to realise among men at the front, of an uneasy sense that nothing in religion is so very certain after all. 'Surely it is pathetic,' he writes, 'that men who would fain rest in the comfort of a Christian faith should to this day be worrying about the parable of Jonah and his annoying whale, or about the historicity of the early chapters in Genesis, or about the quaint idea that there is science in the Old Testament, which ought somehow to be capable of reconciliation with modern science. No theological student has any trouble whatever with such matters, but we have not yet delivered even the rising generation from these futile and irrelevant controversies.'

That 'no theological student has any trouble whatever with such matters' is not too strong an assertion—at any rate as applied to Scotland, which has long enjoyed an educated ministry and where the ideal combination of genuine piety with intellectual fearlessness and sound scholarship has been less unusual than it has been in most other countries of modern Christendom. But it is one thing for a man to have himself

attained an attitude to the Bible which prevents him from having any trouble of mind with matters of the kind alluded to, and it is another thing to be able to express that attitude in a formula which may help other minds to reach the plane of a similar immunity. Mr. Gray probably speaks from experience when he says that it is easy to bring up children in a way that will guarantee them beforehand against entanglement in the more antiquated of the perplexities described. But he admits that where this has not been done, the removal of the misconceptions of the nature of the Bible upon which these perplexities fasten may be a matter of greater difficulty. It therefore behoves those who have outlived the attitude to the Bible which once upon a time compelled them to treat as real difficulties what now they are inclined merely to smile at, to try to express their present attitude in formulæ which may be a help to others who still stand more or less where they themselves stood, and who may not be in a position to carry out that systematic study of the Scriptures on the lines of modern scholarship by which, perhaps, they themselves escaped from the toils.

Very possibly none of the readers of this Magazine is himself troubled by the cruder of the perplexities which Mr. Gray has in mind. But, as has been said, it is one thing to be secured against personal perplexity and quite another thing to be able to formulate in simple terms the attitude that provides this immunity, especially if this attitude has been reached by the insensibly gradual process of a growing familiarity with the facts about the composition of the Scriptures which Biblical scholarship has laboriously established. Hence for the sake of those who, while themselves untroubled by perplexities of faith about the Bible, have to deal with pupils or friends in a less fortunate position, it may not be waste of time and attention to set forth here what appears to the writer to be a simple and appropriate formula. Even those who already possess other formulæ of their own may welcome an additional one, for no one formula will meet and vanquish the perplexities of every troubled enquirer.

For the sake of definiteness I will begin by stating without preface the single formula to which I mean here to confine

myself. It relates to the claim made on behalf of the Bible that, as a revelation of God, it possesses higher authority than can belong to any theoretical conclusions which may conflict with its testimony. And with regard to this claim the formula affirms that this superior authority of the Bible is the same in kind, and is real within the same limits, as the superior authority of direct perception over mere theory.

The essence of the formula lies in substituting for the ambiguous term 'revelation' the better understood term 'perception.' This is only a provisional substitution in the interests of clear thinking, and not an exclusion of the idea of a revelation. For the object of perception is here the character of God, and even in the case of *human* personality there can be no perception of character except in so far as its owner reveals himself by word or deed or gesture or expression. But the term 'revelation' has been so abused by mechanical theories of inspiration that in dealing with perplexities about Biblical authority it is better avoided at the outset. 'Intuition' would be a more fitting term than 'perception,' were it not that a bad philosophical tradition has tended to identify 'intuition' with a supposed inerrant faculty of knowledge, whereas the whole value of the suggested formula turns upon the point that perception may err and yet remain, even in its errors, a source of information more authoritative than mere theory. Accordingly it seems wiser to risk the associations of sense suggested by the word 'perception' rather than the implication of inerrancy too often associated with the term 'intuition.'

God is *not* a being who cannot be directly perceived; that is the fundamental presupposition of my formula. By such direct perception of God I do not mean to refer particularly to such experiences of mystic rapture as come sometimes to specially constituted minds. I refer, rather, to something very common, perhaps indeed universal—something which is more usually denoted to-day by the phrase 'religious experience.' My preference for the phrase 'perception of God' is connected with a growing conviction of the necessity of including in any tenable theory of knowledge a recognition that sense-perception does not exhaust the whole range of perceptual cognition. I am disposed to believe with Bergson that all really fruitful

universal concepts in science and philosophy are arrived at not by an external synthesis of prior concepts but by a flash of insight into, or an intuition or direct perceiving of, the unity of significance hitherto hidden by preconceptions and by the multiplicity of detail, and that this immediacy of vision is mistaken for a process of intellectual synthesis only because, after the new concept has been arrived at, it is found possible, by a little trimming and paring, to fit the old concepts into it as its parts or aspects. The capacity of intuition (or perceptual cognition) of the significance of a mass of facts—or, to express it technically, intuition of universals—is akin to the gift which many people have of quick character-reading. And while this latter gift in a pronounced degree is exeptional, we all have it in some rudimentary guise. For our certainty that in social intercourse we are dealing not with physical automata but with persons is, as Münsterberg has maintained, far too strong to be intelligibly accounted for by an act of mere inference from the movements of the limbs and organs of those bodies which we call human. We *correct* our perceptual cognition of the animating personality by inferences from the actions of the organism, but the cognition which is thus corrected is *founded* on something more immediate, namely, on a direct perception, however vague, of the presence of a personality or animating spirit, a perception which leads us from the first to interpret the activity of the organism as 'behaviour' and not as mere movement. This capacity for directly perceiving the mind or spirit in other men we all possess in measure; and I believe that we also all possess in measure the capacity for directly perceiving the central Mind or Spirit of the universe.

As this contention is central to my whole argument, let me try to expound it more freely. It is difficult to believe that any one who possesses the faculties of man can live in God's universe without sometimes perceiving God. For God is not one being alongside others, so that one might miss Him, so to speak, in the crowd. On the contrary He is *in* all the things that He has created—in them, at least, as their meaning even if in no other way. And because this is so, we can perceive God exactly as we can perceive a man. For a man is not flesh and blood. A man is the meaning that looks out on one from a face. A

man is the thought and purpose that gleams out upon one from an eye. The senses may convey to us the image of the physical countenance, but the thought and will which are the meaning of face and gesture are perceived by a deeper power than sense. In the very same way, gazing at the face of the universe in our ordinary daily experience of it, we may be able to perceive, in the meaning looking out on us from the face of the universe, the mind and will of God. We perceive the spirit which is God, the spirit which is the meaning of the life of the universe, in just the same way as we perceive the spirit which is man, the spirit which is the meaning of the living human body. Yet, although the way of perceiving is the same, the difficulty is immensely greater.

Even in perceiving the spirit of a man we have difficulty whenever the man is either greatly below or greatly above our own level of mental and moral development. We perceive what is before us as not a mere physical body but a spirit or personality, but what in all its individuality this spirit or personality is we have difficulty in perceiving. Is it any wonder, then, if it is only with difficulty that we perceive that infinite spirit which is God? This is not because God is voluntarily hiding Himself, or doing anything else than trying to reveal Himself, but simply because God is so immeasurably above our level. Oftentimes the difficulty is so great that we fail to recognise that what we are so indubitably perceiving is God, and yet men of a clearer vision will be able to assure us that that of which we have caught so vivid a glimpse is really the great Divine Spirit—part of the outline, so to speak, of His mighty personality.

It may be useful to pass in review some of the common instances of the perception of God by man, beginning with those that are most imperfect and gradually proceeding higher. Let us take first a case which might be more easily overlooked than any. The Agnostic believes that God, or whatever is the supreme reality, is beyond the range of all human faculties of knowledge, even the rarest. But what is it that has driven him to this belief? If his Agnosticism is not a mere shallow excuse for avoiding all seriousness of thought and life, if it has been forced upon him as a sorrowful suspense of judgment by his

perception of the way in which reality shatters theory after theory, then what does this mean? It means that he is really having the direct perception of something of that meaning of reality which we Christians know to be God. He is bravely looking the universe straight in the eyes, and perceiving there an inscrutableness, a transcendence, which we, who are more favoured than he, know to be the inscrutableness and transcendence of the God Who is immanent in the universe. For in the spirit which looks out from the eyes of God there indeed are depths which cannot be fathomed. The Christian who has attained the spiritual comfort of an accepted creed may have *knowledge about* the existence of these depths. But does he often enough *perceive* their presence? Is not the tender light which he has learned to distinguish in the eyes of God too apt to blind him to the depths behind? For the honest and undogmatic Agnostic the existence of these depths has been matter of direct, overwhelming perception, and herein he has one compensation for his blindness to the beauty and tenderness that are in God. He has no *knowledge about* God, no degree of theoretical understanding of Him; and he does not know that it is God that he is perceiving. Yet there is one aspect of the great Divine figure that he has perceived; he has seen the depths that lurk in His eyes.

Let us turn to more obvious cases. All real perception of God, just because it is perception of a genuine infinite, fills the soul with a vivid realisation of utter helplessness over against Him. Now, since the real meaning of all facts is God, such a sense of utter helplessness, when it is awakened in a man by the actual meaning which seems to shine out upon him indubitably from facts with which he is face to face, must, unless the seemingly so evident meaning is illusory, imply that in seeing this meaning in the facts the man in question is perceiving something of the spirit which is God, even though he does not recognise that it is God that he is perceiving. It is of utter helplessness that I am here speaking—not helplessness to avert this or that particular calamity, regarded as a disastrous but somehow tolerable event, but the prostrate helplessness of one who is compelled to recognise in himself no power to avert that which he has no capacity to endure, or to preserve

that which he is quite unable to do without. Only a spirit can feel this kind of helplessness, and only the consciousness of an infinite power or will over against him can awaken this feeling. And there is but one infinite power or will, and that is God.

This helplessness which betrays the fact that a man is perceiving God, even though he may not recognise that it is God he is perceiving; may take the form of fear. A thunderstorm, a tempest, even the black veil which night casts over the earth or the incubus which we find sleep about to lay upon our capacity for taking care of ourselves—any of these may be the occasion that gives a man a direct glimpse of God. It is not the lightning or the wind or the darkness or the sleep that we fear, but the possibility which may lurk in any of these that the entire personal consciousness which we call our self or our soul may be extinguished or brought to utter ruin. In this real danger lest these commonplace things, which are so much lower than spirit in the scale of being and potency, may nevertheless be the instruments of the ruin of spirit, we are perceiving the immanence in the commonplace of an infinite power or will, even though we do not recognise it as the power or will of God.

Again the helplessness which implies a direct perception of God may take the form of a sense of utter unfitness to live. When horror at his own guiltiness lays hold of a man, this means that he sees life imperiously demanding of him a standard of moral conduct which he knows that his will is of itself powerless to compass. He may perhaps always have vaguely believed this but now he vividly *sees* it; and to see life making this demand is to perceive the will of God that is immanent in life.

Let us pass on at once to what the Christian finds to be the highest of all the ways open to men of actually perceiving God. The helplessness that implies a direct perception of God may come to a man when he gazes on Jesus Christ. He had taken Him, perhaps, for a merely human figure; but as he studies Him and imitates Him, he finds himself more and more prostrated before the feet of Christ. The mind of Christ exerts upon him an authority which he is no longer able to question but must acknowledge with a surrender that is quite fearless.

The moral demands of Christ search his conscience through and through. The calm purpose of Christ to save those who yield to Him becomes a rock to which he must helplessly cling with all the force of his being. All this, and much more than this, becomes for him an immediate and absorbing experience, and in perceiving Christ so, he is perceiving God's very self—not the depths in the eyes merely, nor the frown which sometimes crosses His face, nor a fragmentary outline of His figure, but something pertaining to the very kernel of that central active meaning of the universe of fact which is God's own consciousness of Himself.

Perhaps enough has now been said to substantiate the assertion that a knowledge of God which, no matter how imperfect, is yet of the nature of direct perception, is not only possible but a common experience. How does such a conclusion help towards formulating the nature and range of the authority of the Bible? In order that its bearing upon that problem may become evident, only one small intervening step needs to be taken in the argument.

Any book which sets forth only what its author has directly observed has a status of its own which renders it in a certain way superior to any work of mere theory. It cannot wholly and at every point overrule the latter in matters where the two conflict, for errors of observation are always possible. Nevertheless it has a higher status in this sense, that observation is that to which theory must ultimately conform, that which theory must endeavour to explain and supplement but to which it must never set itself up as superior.

That which we directly perceive always appears, while we are perceiving it, real and self-certifying. And if it conflicts so violently with what we have hitherto believed as to dispose us, as soon as we reflect upon what we have perceived, to doubt the evidence of our senses, there usually lies to hand a perceptual way of verifying perception, namely, by trying whether under different but essentially corresponding conditions we can perceive the same again. If this perceptual test can be successfully repeated with sufficient care and frequency, theory cannot override the results thus obtained but must accept and make the best of them. In spite of the apparently self-certify-

ing quality of the verdicts of direct perception, errors of perception are, however, possible. There are failures of observation due to untrained or defective faculties and to ignorance as to what to look for. There are also errors of perception due to the influence of preconceived ideas which trammel observation. And further, since it is impossible to describe what one perceives without in some measure interpreting it or clothing it in the rudiments of theory, preconceived ideas do a great deal to diminish the absoluteness of the right of a book which sets forth what the author has perceived to override a careful work of theoretical analysis and construction. Nevertheless, even where such influence of preconceived ideas is suspected, theory cannot set aside wholly the professed results of observation, but must endeavour to discover the disturbing preconceptions, and after eliminating the perversions of perception due to their influence, must accept the residue as facts by which its own constructions are to be determined.

Now in so far as the Bible is a book directly expressing or indirectly reflecting men's immediate perception of God, it must deserve the status just described. It will be subject to the kinds of limitation indicated, but within these limits it will be entitled to override every mere theory about God which runs counter to its representations.

As a transcript from perception or experience its most important value will be its power of enabling other men to perceive God for themselves as the writers have perceived Him, and thereby perceptually to verify or correct the representation they have given. And since all perception of spirit or personality implies, in the perceived person, some activity of self-expression or self-revelation, the Bible will be in an important sense a Divine self-revelation; that is, it will be the result of that activity whereby God has made Himself manifest to the perception of those by whom the Bible was written, and it will also be a Divinely appointed instrument of the revelation or unveiling to man after man, not of mere theoretical truths about God, but of God Himself—the instrument of a direct perception of God by man after man.

While this must ever be the supreme value of the Bible, in so far as it consists of a transcript from perception or experience,

it will also serve a second function of great importance. Besides its main use as a help to other men to gain the direct perception of God Himself, it will also constitute the great quarry of theoretical *truth about God*. But in connection with this second function of the Bible the limiting considerations above noted will inevitably come into play. In religious perception it is no more possible than in sense perception to describe what one sees without in some measure interpreting; and in this interpretation preconceived ideas, partly about God Himself, but more particularly about nature and history and life, will play their part and impair the accuracy of description. There will also be failures of perception, due especially to the imperfect development of the moral faculties. All these features theology, or the theoretical presentation of truth about God, will expect to find in the Bible and will have to allow for. But when all such factors have been carefully discounted, the data of direct religious perception in general, and therefore in a special degree the Bible in particular, must remain for theology the foundation on which its theoretical constructions must be erected and by the character of which the lines of their structure must be determined. Not only in its function of revealing God or conducting man after man to a direct perceptual *knowledge of God*, but also in its character as a quarry of *truth about God*, the Bible with all its inevitable human shortcomings in perception and defects of description necessarily retains, in comparison with any theoretical conclusions that contradict its evidence, the status of superior authority that belongs to direct perception over mere theory.

It will be remembered that this claim has here been established for the Bible only in so far as it is 'a book directly expressing or indirectly reflecting men's immediate perception of God.' Hence it is necessary in conclusion to refer to the qualifications of this claim that result from the fact that the Bible is a collection of books of different value, some of which moreover are very composite documents. No one who knows much about the literary genesis of the Old Testament and about the history of the formation of the Hebrew canon will be disposed to accord to all portions of the Scriptures an equal claim to be the direct expression or indirect reflection of men's

immediate perception of God. Fortunately, however, this fact offers very little practical hindrance to the ordinary reader from finding in the Bible the two values which have been set forth above. For no critical knowledge or subtle literary sense is needed to distinguish in the written word the authentic accent of direct perception or personal experience. The humblest reader can soon tell whether a writer is theorising or speaking with the conviction born of immediate vision. The man who desires devotional stimulus or practical help turns instinctively to the passages that reflect directly or indirectly the writer's personal knowledge of God. And as for readers who are not content with this, and wish to use the entire Bible as a guide in theological construction, they can equip themselves with the tools of literary criticism and historical research.

There may be some who will object that this outcome of our discussion falls far short of being a validation of the view that the Bible is the ultimate authority in religion. That is certainly true if by the Bible is understood the collection of materials which bears that name; and it is well that there should be no lack of frankness in the matter. For the Christian the Bible is not the ultimate authority; the only ultimate authority is Christ, and the contents of the Bible have to be tested by their harmony or otherwise with the mind of Christ. Only if by the Bible is understood the totality of its contents regarded as a unity which provides, in its presentation and reflection of Christ, the test for the correction of its own errors and defects, can it be spoken of as the ultimate religious authority for the Christian. But it seems a simpler way of expressing the same thing to say that for the Christian the ultimate religious authority is not the Bible but Christ. And if any one is made uncomfortable by such an assertion, we may ask him whether his discomfort is not the artificial result of a mistaken tradition; for, in the words of Mr. Gray, already quoted, 'it is not *natural* to man to suppose that he must have an infallible book in order that he may have a reliable religion.' The supposition, where it is firmly held, so far from being native to the human mind, is the result of the unfortunate degree to which the theology of recent centuries has, in a most un-Christian manner, professed to found its regard

for Christ on its belief in the Bible instead of founding its regard for the Bible on its belief in Christ. It was not so in the beginning; it should not be so to-day.

WAR NOTES.

BY A. C. CLAYTON.

Looking back over the weeks ending about the twenty-first of April attention turns at once to the 'peace' made between Russia and Germany, and to the great German offensive begun on March 21st.

At the end of February 'peace' was made between the Bolsheviks who controlled Russia from Petrograd to Moscow. And 'peace' had already been made between Germany and the Ukraine Republic, which is Little Russia, or Russia from Kiev to Odessa. But it was the strangest 'peace' that Europe had heard of. During the negotiations for peace the Russians had had many warnings, had they cared to notice them, that the Germans were not to be trusted. But, so far as we can tell, the leaders of the Russians cherished a foolish belief that if the terms of peace were agreed on the Germans would keep their side of the bargain.

The conditions exacted from the Russians were harsh. Germany secured Russian Poland, Lithuania, Courland, Livonia and Esthonia—a series of provinces from Warsaw almost to Petrograd—and a paramount influence over the whole of Little Russia. On the side of the Russians, so far as we know, the terms of this harsh peace, made while the Germans were telling the world that they intended to make no annexations, were honestly carried out. The Russian army had been shattered by the destruction of discipline caused by Bolshevik teaching. The fragments of that army were now dispersed so that no semblance of an armed force remained to face the Austrians and Germans.

The Germans had proved themselves utterly false when, in spite of their own declarations that they would make no annexations, they had taken thousands of square miles of Rus-

sian territory. Once more they had broken their word, as publicly as they had broken it in Belgium in 1914. When the Russians yielded to the terms of their conquerors the Germans had another opportunity to show whether they could keep faith or not. And once more they broke their word: The signature of the terms of peace by the Russian representatives was disregarded. The ratification of that peace by the powerless and humiliated Assembly that professes to govern what is left of Russia was of no avail. As the Russian army had ceased to exist as a fighting force the Germans continued their advance towards Petrograd, through Pskov towards Moscow, and through the Ukraine to Kharkov and towards the territory of the Don Cossacks north of Caucasia.

About this two or three remarks may be made.

(i) Germany has shown the world once more that so long as the German is not beaten he will not cease to play the robber.

(ii) The action of Germany during and after the peace negotiations is further evidence of the value that the German Government put on their plighted word and the treaties that they have solemnly signed and ratified. No promise of the German Government can be trusted, if that Government feels itself able at any time to break it.

(iii) When the day of reckoning comes Germany will find that she is in the position of a bankrupt liar. No promise, no treaty, can be made with such a Government unless those who make it have, by the complete defeat of the German military machine, taken from Germany the power to break its word.

(iv) We now know clearly what is meant by a 'peace' made by Germany, and the momentary advantage in supplies that Germany has gained by her falsehood to Russia is not worth consideration in comparison with the added suspicion and distrust that Germany will encounter when the day comes that she has to sue to the Allies for peace.

(v) When that day comes, and it is not very far off, Germany will have all the heavier damages to pay. Stolen property will have to be restored. Even Germany may then learn that honesty, for Governments as well as for individuals, is the best policy.

(vi) There are already signs of a reaction against the Germans in Russia. The Russian is proverbial for patience and the Russian people is very ignorant. Had the Germans been ordinarily truthful in their peace negotiations and shown some moderation in their efforts to plunder Russia, the Russians would have been slow to act against them. But the Germans do not understand the minds of other peoples. They take patience for cowardice, and ignorance for stupidity. They have treated Russia with merciless contempt and looted Russian territory and Russian wealth. It is no surprise, then, that General Trotsky should have appealed to the French Military Mission in Russia for five hundred French officers to help to reorganize the Russian army.

For months past the German newspapers have made no secret of the preparation of a German attack on the Western front intended to break through the lines of the British and French and Americans and to hack a way through to Paris. Indeed von Hindenburg, the belauded hero of the German army and the German nation, has been credibly reported to have declared that he would be in Paris by April 1st. The utter break-down of Russia enabled the Germans, contrary to their pledged word, be it remembered, to transfer a million and a half troops and their equipment from the Eastern Front to the Western Front. The first-fruits of that action was the offensive against Italy which drove the Italians back from Trieste almost to Padua and Verona, but came to a standstill in January, giving the Austrians some territory but bringing them no victory over Italy.

But we were soon told that that was not the real offensive. That was to be infinitely more weighty, and when it did come would be overwhelming. It was not to be expected in January, nor in the first weeks of February. The winter conditions prevailing over most of the Western Front prevented any military action on the large scale during those weeks. But it did not come till the month of March was more than half gone. The British, French and Americans waited for it and prepared for it.

It may be asked why the Allies did not strike themselves. The reasons were three at least. First, the enormous increase of the forces of the Central Powers, due to the transfer of troops

from the East, gave the Central Powers a distinct advantage in numbers. Against that, the Allies were receiving thousands of troops from America week by week, in spite of the German submarines. The Allies gained in strength by delay. Second, the Allies knew well that they were in a good position to meet a German offensive, and had good positions behind them, so that if the weight of the enemy's attack pushed them back for a time, they retired to where they could secure reserves and strike back successfully. Third, the Allies knew that the Germans must make an offensive or admit that they could not hold back the advance of the Allies when the Allies made an advance. In fact the Allies wanted the Germans to make an offensive because, judging from their tactics at Verdun in 1916, in any German offensive the German Command would throw away the lives of hundreds of thousands of men in a reckless and desperate endeavour to reach Paris. Now it sounds a terrible thing to say, but in this War the end will come not by any dramatic triumphs but by the killing off of hundreds of thousands of German soldiers, for the German military authorities will only cease to fight when they have not men to fight for them. If, therefore, the German military authorities were determined to make an offensive, the Allies welcomed their determination, because they knew that in a German offensive there would be the best chances of reducing the strength and efficiency of the German army.

Meanwhile the Allies were not idle. They did not content themselves with preparing for a stolid defence. They made ready for a defence which should turn the German offensive into a German defeat. Readers of the newspapers must have noticed how the war in the air between German aeroplanes and the aeroplanes of the Allies had increased. That was because the Allies were using their 'eyes'—for the aeroplane is the eye of the modern army—to find out where the Germans were massing their troops, where they had collected ammunition, where they had laid down lines of railway, or dug trenches, or hidden batteries. The German aeroplanes tried in vain to prevent the Allied airmen from seeing these things. In this and in other ways the Allies knew by the middle of March that the German offensive would soon begin, and that the main weight of the

enemy would be thrown against the British line between Arras and Laon. According to the plan of the German High Command, the Germans were to drive back the Allies some eight kilometres (about four and a half miles) on the first day : on the second they were to drive them back another twelve kilometres (say seven and a half miles), and on the third day they were to make them fly another twenty kilometres (say twelve and a half miles). Such a time-table must have a cheering effect on the officers who see it, if it can be carried out. If not, there is a reaction. And in this case, like the famous time-table by which the Germans started to march through Belgium to Paris, it failed to be carried out from the very first.

It is beyond the power of any writer to describe that battle. It is the most awful battle that has ever been fought. It raged along a sixty mile front, the main attack being made between the River Scarpe and the River Somme, from Arras through Cambrai to St. Quentin, and in the second stage from Ypres to La Bassée as well, with the evident purpose of reaching Amiens, threatening the northern lines of the Allies from their rear, striking at Calais and Boulogne and other ports on the Channel, and endangering Paris itself. It is not yet possible to give the numbers of the combatants but experts consider that ninety-seven divisions of German troops were opposed to the British. In the British army a division numbers about 18,000 men, and the number is about the same in the German army. From this it will appear that more than a million and a half Germans attacked on this sixty-mile front, and on one sector of four and a half miles from Hermies to Lagnicourt the attacking Germans were one hundred and forty men for every ten yards of front.

The advantage in a great offensive is always with the aggressor at the beginning. And no doubt wonderful victories over the British were reported to the German people from March 21st to March 27th. For the first four days the German assault was almost uninterrupted, till it had exhausted itself at the Bapaume Ridge and on the line of the Somme. On Monday, March 25th, that assault was renewed with fresh intensity. The British withdrew their line to a system of defences running from Arras through Roye and Noyon.

The best summary of the whole position as it stood on March 26th was contained in a despatch from Reuter's correspondent at the French headquarters, a skilled and experienced observer. He says:—To-day's news should be read with entire calm and unshaken confidence. That our front would be compelled to recoil under von Hindenburg's hammer blows was inevitable and was fully foreseen by the Allied Staffs, whose counter-measures were prepared in advance and will take effect at the right moment. These first days of battle will probably mark the high water level of the German advance. The enemy still enjoys the advantage of the offensive, being able to select the point at which his blow is to be aimed, while we are obliged to disperse means of defence to cover all points where the blow might fall. That advantage, as the history of the war has taught us, is one that quickly passes. Every hour brings us nearer the moment when the Allied armies' reserves will be ready to intervene, and before that moment comes von Hindenburg must have achieved a decision, or be prepared to see it go against him. Hitherto, with thrice the human material and means employed by the French and British armies in their offensive last year, the enemy has gained proportionately no more than the Allies did in the series of brilliant attacks beginning with Vimy Ridge and ending at Malmaison Fort. All such operations result in gain of ground exactly proportionate to the accumulation of men and material behind the attacking front. As the Germans have been able to accumulate a greater force behind their front than the Allies have ever been able to achieve, their advance has been proportionately swifter and greater than ours, but it will not less certainly be brought to a stop as soon as the initial momentum is absorbed by the exhaustion of battle.

Put briefly, the Germans meant to defeat the Allied armies between Cambrai and St. Quentin and invest Amiens in four days. But after a month they have not defeated the Allies, not even broken their lines, and have only succeeded by sheer weight of numbers in forcing them back some miles. On the other hand the Allies have not begun to make use of their reserves. In the course of their offensive the Germans have lost enormous numbers of men, far more than the Allies, because the Germans persist in attacking in close formation and thus give a target

to our rifles and machine guns and cannon that they cannot possibly miss. It is said that half a million Germans were shot down and killed in the first four weeks of the offensive. And even that price has not bought them victory. General Foch, the general in full command of all the forces of the Allies, is biding his opportunity. The Americans are at last in the fighting line and fighting hard and bravely. As this goes to press on April 22nd, General Foch has given no sign of how he means to use the reserves that he is holding, but his action during the next few weeks, perhaps in the days that elapse between the writing and the printing of these lines, will decide whether the War shall be ended within the year or shall continue yet another year or two years.

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CONDITION OF THE SYRIAN CHRISTIANS IN FORMER TIMES.

BY L. K. ANANTHAKRISHNA AIYER, M.A.

DURING the first few centuries after the death of the Apostle Thomas, the Syrian Christians increased in numerical strength. New colonies appear to have been formed at various intervals. Fresh bands of immigrants made their appearance in the land not long before the granting of each of the Christian charters. According to the tradition of the Church, a company of Christians from seventy-two families, belonging to seven tribes from Bagdad, Nineveh and Jerusalem, under orders from the Catholic Arch-priest at *Urahai* (Edessa) arrived in Cranganore along with a merchant Thomas, known also as Kānāye Thomman or Thomas of Cana in 745 A.D.¹ It is said that he had two wives, and that by each of them he had numerous descendants among whom his property was divided, those by his first wife receiving his northern estates, and those by the second inheriting the southern. These descendants are called the Northists and Southists, respectively. Though in religion they believe the same doctrines, and are ruled by the same bishop, they are

¹ Logan's Manual of Malabar, Vol. II, page 20.

distinct communities with no intermarriage between them. The Southists are fairer in complexion than the Northists, and boast of their descent from the parent church with the genuine Syrian blood in their veins. In 822 A. D. another set of immigrants under Mar Sapor and Mar Peros, two Nestorian Persians, settled in the neighbourhood of Quilon, and they made a deep impression upon the rulers of the land. 'These two immigrants,' says Dr. Milne Rae, 'form the historical ground for the division of the community into Northists and Southists, although the legends which have mingled with the history obscured the facts, and they are probably the last immigrations from the mother Church in High Asia to South India.'²

The Syrian Christians in former times were mostly merchants trading with foreign countries on a large scale, and the rulers of the land conferred on them high privileges which were embodied in two copperplate charters, the date of the grant of one of which, according to Dr. Burnell's calculations, is 774 A. D. It is said to have been made by Vira Rāghava Chakravarthi to Iravi Kōrttan of Cranganore, giving him, as head of the Christian community there, the little principality of Manigrāmam, and elevating him to the position of sovereign merchant of Kerala. The other charter granted by Sthānu Ravi Gupta is supposed to be dated 824 A.D. A more correct reading will give 230 A.D. for the first and 321 A.D. for the second.³ Scholars who have tried to fix the dates differ in their views, and from a discussion of the subject in the *Epigraphica Indica* (Vol. IV, pp. 290-97, 1896-97), it is said that the subjoined inscription is engraved on both sides of a single copperplate which is in the possession of the Syrian Christians at Kottayam. The plate has no seal, but instead a conch is engraved about the middle of the left margin of the second side. This inscription has been previously translated by Dr. Gundert (*Logan's Manual of Malabar*, Vol. II, Appendix XII). Mr. Kookel Kēlu Nayar has also attempted a version of the grant. Dr. Gundert's translation is herein given.

Hari! Prosperity! Adoration to the great Ganapathy!
(On the day of the Nakshatra), Rohini, a Saturday after the

² The Syrian Church in India, pages 163-164.

³ Travancore Manual, Vol. II, page 125.

expiration of the twenty-first (day) of the solar month Mīna of the year during which Jupiter (was) in Makara, while the glorious Vira Rhāghava Chākṛavartin—(of the race) that has been wielding the sceptre for several hundred thousands of years in regular succession from the glorious king of kings, the glorious Vira Kērala Chakravartin—was ruling prosperously.

While (we were) pleased to reside in the great palace, we conferred the title of Mani Grāmam on Iravi Kōrttan *alias* Sēramāntokapperum Chetti of Magodaiyarpattanam.

We (also) give (him the right of) festive clothing, house pillars, the income that accrues from the export trade, monopoly of trade, (the right of proclamation) fore-runners, the five musical instruments, a conch, a lamp in day time, a cloth spread (in front to walk on), a palanquin, the royal parasol, the Telugu drum, a gateway with an ornamental arch and monopoly of trade in four quarters.

We also (give) the oilmongers and the five (classes of) artisans as his slaves.

We (also) give with a libation of water—having (caused it to be) written on a copperplate—to Iravi-Kōrttan, who is the lord of the city, the brokerage on (articles) that may be measured with a parah weighed by the balance or measured with the tape that may be counted or weighed, and on all other (articles) that are intermediate, including salt, sugar, musk and lamp-oil—and also the customs levied on all these (articles) between the river-mouth of Kodungallur and the gate (gōpura)—chiefly between the four temples (tali) and the village adjacent to each temple.

We give (this) as property to Sēramanpperumpatty *alias* Iravi Kōrttan, and his children's children in due succession.

The (witnesses) who know this (are):—We gave it with the knowledge of the villagers of Panniyur and the villagers of Sogiram (Chovaram.)

We gave (it) with the knowledge (of the authorities) of Venādu and Oḍanādu.

We gave (it) with the knowledge of the authorities of Ernādu and Valluvanādu. We gave (it) with the knowledge (of) the authorities of Ernādu and Valluvanādu. We gave (it) for the time that the Moon and the Sun shall exist.

The handwriting of Sēraman Lokapperumdattan Nambi Sadayam, who wrote (this) copperplate with the knowledge of these (witnesses).

Mr. Venkayya adds that it was supposed by Dr. Burnell (Ind. Ant. III, 1874) that the plate of Vīra Raghava created the principality of Manigrāmam, and the Cochin plates that of Anjuvanam. The Cochin plates did not create Anjuvanam, but conferred the honours and privileges connected therewith on a Jew named Rābban. Similarly the rights and privileges associated with the other corporation, Manigrāmam, were bestowed at a later period on Ravikkōran. It is just possible that Ravikkōran was a Christian by religion. But his name and title give no clue in this direction, and there is nothing Christian in this document except its possession by the present owners. On this name Dr. Gundert first said: 'Iravi Corttan must be a Nazarāni name, though none of the Syrian priests whom I saw could explain it or had ever heard of it.' Subsequently he added: 'I had indeed been startled by the Iravi Corttān, which does not look at all like the appellation of a Syrian Christian; still I thought myself justified in calling Manigrāmam a Christian principality whatever their Christianity may have consisted in on the ground that, from Menezé's time, these grants had been regarded as given to the Syrian Colonists. Mr. Kookel Kēlu Nayar considered Iravikkōrttan a mere title, in which no shadow of a Syrian name is to be traced.'⁴ The second charter was granted in 824 A.D. to the Christians of St. Thomas with the sanction of the palace-major or commissioner of King Sthānu Ravi-Gupta, who is believed to be Chēraman Perumal. 'It is a legal instrument which confers a plot of ground in the vicinity of Quilon with several families of heathen castes on Maruvan Sapor Iso, who transfers the same with due legal formality to Terasa Church and community.'⁵

The two charters throw a good deal of light on the social condition of the Syrian Christians during the seventh and the eighth centuries. The Christians like the Jews were incorporated into the Malayali nation, and the position assigned to

⁴ Castes and Tribes of Southern India, Vol. VI, pages 415-418.

⁵ Syrian Church in India, pages 155-56.

them and the Jews was that of a practical equality with the Nayars of the 'Six hundred of the nād' in respect of the two characteristic functions and privileges of protectors and superiors, a share of the produce of the land in compensation for their services. The duties of the Jewish and Syrian communities were also to protect the town of the Palliyur or church people in union with the six hundred of the nād, and the church people had to render to them and the king trustworthy accounts of the shares of the produce of the land due to them. Let them (Anjuvanam and Manigrāmam) act both with the Church and the land, according to the manner detailed in the copper-deed for the times that the Earth, Moon and Sun exist.

Thus the Syrian Christians were a flourishing community on the West Coast of Southern India, and were numbered among 'the nobler races of Malabar.' They were preferred to the Nayars and enjoyed the privilege of being called by no other name than that of the 'sons of kings.' They were permitted to wear golden tresses in the hairlocks in marriage feasts, to ride on elephants and to decorate the floor with carpets (History of the Malabar Church by Jo Fe Cundus Raulin, Chapter II). They were entrusted with the protection of the artisan classes. Their servants had the charge of cocoa-nut plantations; and if they were molested by anyone, or if their occupation was otherwise interfered with, they appealed to the Christians who protected them and redressed their grievances. The Christians were directly under the king, and were not subject to local chiefs. A Hindu doing violence to a Christian had his crime pardoned only in the case of his offering to the church a hand either of gold or silver according to the seriousness of the offence, as otherwise the crime was expiated by his own blood. They never saluted anyone below their own rank, because it was dishonourable to their status. While they walked along the road, they saluted others at a distance, and if anybody refused to reciprocate it, he was put to death. The Nayars who were of the military clan regarded them as brethren, and loved them exceedingly. All communities had special men-at-arms called *Amouchi* who were bound on oath to safeguard the people or places under their protection even at the cost of their lives. They were loving, faithful and diligent. They

respected the Christians before whom they never ventured to sit unless invited to do so. They were very strong and powerful, and their bishops were respected and feared like kings. To erect a play-house (*frascati*) was the privilege of the Brahmans, and the same privilege was given to the Christians also. They were given seats by the side of kings and their chief officers. Sitting on carpets, a privilege enjoyed by the ambassadors, was also conceded to them.

‘There was,’ says Dr. Milne Rae, ‘a political necessity for this remarkable promotion of the Christian community in Malabar.’ At the respective dates of the two Christian charters the Perumals had to fortify themselves against external enemies. They had to avail themselves of every resource by which their seats on the throne might be preserved. There were fears of invasions (1) by the Rāstrakutas who had subjugated the Pallava dynasty of Kanchi or Conjeevaram, and (2) by the Gangas or other feudatories of the Rāstrakutas from the East *via* the Palghat gap. At such times the Perumals may have been in need of large sums of money either to bribe or fight with the invaders, and it would be an improper inference to judge from these facts that the trading foreigners might have met the Perumals’ wishes and secured for themselves a higher standing in the land of their adoption.⁶

One other interesting incident connected with the early history of the Syrian Christians is that they still cherish the tradition of having attained to the dignity of possessing a king of their own at Villiarvattam near Udayamperūr, and that at the death of the last king, without issue, the kingdom lapsed to the Cochin Royal family. Ever since that time the Christians of St. Thomas became the loyal subjects of Cochin and Travancore. It is not possible to mention who the rulers were, and how long the kingdom lasted. When the Portuguese landed in India, the Syrians, observing their conquests and their zeal for the propagation of their faith, desired to make alliance with them, and offered them, with many demonstrations of fidelity, a red staff mounted with gold and three silver bells of their last Christian ruler as marks of submission to them,

⁶ The Syrian Church in India, pages 161-62.

but as they received from them no compensation, they continued the old form of government and lived in great union, scattered though they were in distinct communities all over the land.

NOTES OF THE MONTH.

ACCORDING to the announcement which Hindenburg is said to have made, the Germans were to have reached Paris on the 1st April, that date being fixed most likely because it was the birthday of Prince Bismarck. At the beginning of June the Germans are still far from having carried out their plan. They have not even taken Amiens, and they have failed to break through and reach the French Coast. In the last week of April the Germans made another great thrust in the neighbourhood of Ypres and succeeded in capturing Mont Kemmel, an important position, and we were warned that Ypres might have to be evacuated. So far that has not been found to be necessary, and an attempt a fortnight later to capture the rest of the ridge, of which Mont Kemmel forms a part, was repulsed with very heavy loss to the Germans. Since then there has been a lull in the fighting, but it is expected that the German offensive will soon be renewed, for every week thousands of American troops are reaching France and time is on the side of the Allies. The Germans are doubtless collecting every available man for a decisive blow, but it seems probable that they will not be able to withdraw all their troops from the Eastern front. The peace with Russia and with the Ukraine seems to be a real German peace, and therefore necessitates the maintenance of a strong military force in these unfortunate countries.

IN the latter part of April and the early part of May two daring naval raids were made upon the ports of Ostend and Zeebrugge. These two Belgian towns are the harbours from which German submarines sally forth to prey upon the merchant ships of the Allies and the neutral powers. In the first raid both Ostend and Zeebrugge were attacked and the accounts of the fighting recall the stories of the cutting-out expeditions of the days of Nelson. The object of the raids was to block the harbours by sinking ships full of concrete. At Zeebrugge the operations were carried out successfully and in spite of a murderous fire the British sailors and marines landed on the mole and blew up part of it. At Ostend they were not so successful, but a fortnight later another attempt

was made there and an obsolete cruiser full of cement was sunk between the piers. The blocking or even the partial blocking up of these nests of pirates for a time is extremely useful, and the exhibition of self-sacrificing courage which the raids have afforded should silence once for all the incorrigible and unimaginative grumblers who ask what the Navy is doing.

THE value of what the Navy is doing has been well brought out by the accounts that have been recently published of the exploits of the German raider *Wolf*. It is surprising that so few raiders have managed to escape the vigilance of the British patrols, and the mischief that one raider can do shows how great a work the Navy is doing. The *Wolf* is of special interest to people in India, for it was that raider which supplied the mines that were sown along the west coast of India and in the Gulf of Aden a year ago. We are now told that the *Wolf* captured a British steamer called the *Turritella*, put a prize crew and mines on board, and despatched her to the coast of India. Fortunately she was captured ultimately, but not before she had successfully accomplished part of her nefarious death-dealing work.

SIR ERIC GEDDES, the First Lord of the Admiralty, made an interesting statement lately with regard to the submarine menace.

The policy of unrestricted submarining, which was adopted by Germany early in 1917, and which had the result of finally determining the United States to enter the war, was specially directed against Great Britain, and was expected by the German people to make Great Britain sue for peace before the summer was ended. The figures given by Sir Eric Geddes show how vain was this hope. At the beginning of the War the Allies and neutral powers possessed thirty-three million tons of shipping, of which Great Britain owned eighteen millions. As a result of the war there has been a net reduction in the world's tonnage of 2,500,000 tons or 8 per cent. In the case of Great Britain, the chief object of attack, the percentage of loss has been much higher, the net reduction being 3,500,000 tons or 20 per cent. During 1917 the Germans sank 6,000,000 tons, but claimed to have sunk over 9,500,000. Here as elsewhere it is found that when things are not going satisfactorily the German Government lies deliberately—for political reasons, no doubt, as was explained after the Battle of Jutland. During the earlier years of the War the building of merchant ships was made secondary to the providing of munitions and men-of-war: hence the net loss was much greater than it would have been in ordinary times, as ships were not

being built rapidly enough to take the place of those lost. Since the unrestricted submarining began this has been altered, and now the construction of merchant ships is being hurried on. At the same time the number of ships sunk is now only half of what it was this time last year. In the last quarter of 1917 the British lost tonnage amounting to 783,000 tons, while the output of the ship-building yards rose to 420,000 tons. This output can, and of course will, be largely increased. The Americans are now building with great activity and it seems likely that, unless anything unforeseen happens, the Allies will soon be producing monthly more than enough tonnage to replace losses brought about by all causes. To quote Sir Eric Geddes—'The net result of maritime risk and enemy action—whether surface, air, or submarine craft—from the commencement of the War until the end of last year, is a net reduction of two and a half million tons of shipping, and that for the last quarter of last year the Allies and neutrals are replacing 75 per cent. of the lost tonnage or only 100,000 tons a month below losses from all causes. It is well within the capacity of the Allied yards—yes, before very long—with the proper supply of material and man-power, to entirely make good the world losses on present-day figures.'

AN historical document has recently become public which has excited much interest both amongst the Allies and in Germany. It is a memorandum written by Prince Lichnowsky, who was German Ambassador in London at the time when war began in August, 1914. Two years ago Prince Lichnowsky, for his own satisfaction, drew up a memorandum expressing his views on German foreign policy and in particular dealing with his own mission to London and with his experiences as Ambassador there. He showed the memorandum in strict confidence to some friends, and somehow its contents became public property. Lord Bryce, who has written an article on the memorandum, describes it as the most complete vindication of Great Britain's attitude in the war, and naturally such a document has excited the greatest anger in Germany. Prince Lichnowsky describes the pacific and even friendly attitude of Great Britain towards Germany, and thereby dissipates the myth so sedulously propagated in Germany during recent years. He refers in it to the now famous war council which took place at Potsdam on 5th July, 1914, at which it was practically decided to have war. The Prince's revelations have been met in the usual German way by flat denials and personal abuse. His vanity, it is said, has made him hate German statesmen while he shows 'a striking veneration for foreign diplomatists, especially the British.' It seems not improbable that the Prince will be prosecuted,

for his memorandum is a most awkward document for the German Government and will take a great deal of explaining away.

ANOTHER document the publication of which has caused a sensation is the letter which the Emperor of Austria wrote a year ago to his connexion Prince Sixte Bourbon. Written just after the Russian Revolution had begun and while it was still thought that the overthrow of Tsarism would lead to a stronger offensive on the part of the Russian armies, Kaiser Karl's letter is on the face of it an attempt on the part of Austria-Hungary to make a separate peace. The letter, which was to be shown to the French ministers, expressed sympathy with the French demand for the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine and offered Austrian support of the French claims if other questions were not raised at the peace conference. It was in short an attempt to get France to betray her Allies, especially Italy, but the attempt proved unsuccessful. This document, which the French ministers found it necessary to publish, has also required a good deal of explaining away, and has led to the fall of the Austrian minister, Count Czernin. Whether it really expressed the feelings of the Austrian Emperor may be doubted. It was probably simply an attempt to divide the Allies by pretending to bribe France.

MOST people who have studied the subject have long ago come to the conclusion that there can be no peace for Europe so long as the Hapsburg monarchy remains in its present condition of unstable equilibrium. There has been in Great Britain a certain amount of sentimental dislike to the idea of the break-up of Austria. The Austrian has been more popular of late than the Prussian, and round the Hungarian name there still lingers some of the glamour produced by the Magyar struggle for independence. Now, however, that it is becoming more clearly understood that Hungarian liberty has meant largely the opportunity to enslave and oppress all the non-Magyar nationalities in the kingdom of Hungary, feeling has changed a great deal. The alliance between Germany and Hungary is like the alliance between Germany and Turkey, valued for the opportunity it gives of suppressing the subject nationalities. The only hope for these unfortunate peoples is the victory of the Allies, and Austria-Hungary must be reconstructed unless Prussian militarism is to be supreme in the future throughout Central and Eastern Europe. Austria-Hungary would doubtless willingly make peace on the condition of a return to the *Status quo ante*, but, as it is, she is bound hand and foot to Germany, for the Allies could not consent to a peace with her which would leave the political situation unchanged. Nearly forty

years ago Mr. Gladstone was vigorously censured for saying in a speech that Austria had been an evil influence wherever she had gone. The remark may have been injudicious, but it was true all the same, and though the Austrian may be a pleasanter person to meet than the Prussian the record of the Hapsburg is little inferior to that of the Hohenzollern in unscrupulousness and frightfulness. They are both Huns.

ONE of the striking features throughout the War has been the emphatic clearness with which the exponents of all that is best in civilisation have pronounced in favour of the Allies. There was a deep significance in the late Henry James's prompt decision to become naturalised as an Englishman. Art and letters have recognised that the very air they breathe would vanish if Germany proved victorious. One of our greatest living writers, Mr. Rudyard Kipling, has recently given a trenchant pronouncement on the significance of the world-struggle. In a striking figure, he compares the Germans to the once notorious Thugs; but, he adds, 'by the present standard of crime those Thugs were inefficient amateurs.' And just as Thuggee could only be repressed by organized coercion, so with Germany.

At the present time all the Powers in the world who have not been bribed or bullied to keep out of it have been forced to join in one international department to make an end of German international Thuggee, for the reason that if it is not ended life on this planet will become insupportable for human beings.

And until the Germans have been made to realise that their evil courses do not pay, it is impossible to make peace with them.

If, for any reason whatever, we fall short of victory—and there is no half-way house between victory and defeat—what happens to us is this: Every relation, every understanding, every decency upon which civilisation has been so anxiously built will go, will be washed out, because it will have been proved unable to endure. The whole idea of democracy—which at the bottom is what the Hun fights against—will be dismissed from men's minds, because it will have been shown incapable of maintaining itself, together with every belief and practice that is based upon it. The Hun ideal, the Hun's root notions of life, will take its place throughout the world.

Under that dispensation man will become once more the natural prey, body and soul, of his better-armed neighbour; woman will be the mere instrument for continuing the breed, the vessel of man's lust and man's cruelty; and labour will become a thing to be knocked on the head if it dares to give trouble, and worked to death if it does not. And from this order of life there will be no appeal, no possibility of any escape. This is what the Hun means when he says he intends to impose German Kultur—which is the German religion—upon the world. This is precisely what the world has banded itself together to resist. It will take every ounce in us. It will try us out to the naked soul. But be sure of this: Nothing—

nothing we may have to endure now—will weigh one featherweight compared with what we shall most certainly have to suffer if for any cause we fail of victory.

We commend this clear-sighted indictment to the thoughtful consideration of our readers. In the prolonged agony of the War, one is tempted to wonder—Could not our statesmen find a way to peace, if they would? Sober reflection shows that there is only one way to anything that can be called peace—the decisive defeat of Germany. When the spirit of so many begins to flag under the strain, it is well that our leaders, in unfaltering accents, should recall us to these elemental issues.

CORRESPONDENCE.

TO THE EDITOR,

The Madras Christian College Magazine.

DEAR SIR,

I have read with interest your account (in the March number) of the juristic origin of the well-worn phrase, 'the exception proves the rule,' and I feel sure there will be general sympathy with your protest against the frequently meaningless use of a saying which through such unintelligent application has become not merely well worn but almost worn out. Nevertheless I think your condemnation is a little too unsparing. One might suppose from your attitude that you recognise no legitimate application for this catchword except when it is used precisely in the sense of the Latin original which it so misleadingly renders. To me, on the other hand, it seems that through the very fact of being a mistranslation, the English phrase acquires a range of permissible employment not open to its Latin progenitor. By its paradoxical character the phrase early arrested my attention, and I successively noted three intelligible applications, to which your account of the precise original Latin significance has now added a fourth.

You say that the average Englishman 'usually takes refuge in the inane excuse that "the exception proves the rule."' Now this stricture of yours, if it were applied to what I take to be the commonest of the intelligent ways of using this catchword, would exhibit a deplorable lack of humour. For the point of this commonest of the intelligent usages of the phrase lies just in its conscious or intentional inanity. In this usage it appeals to somewhat the same sense of humour as does

the 'Irish bull.' The major premise on which it relies is, 'Every rule has an exception.' You have made some general assertion. Your conversational antagonist overwhelms you with a convincing negative instance. Whereupon you jestingly cover your retreat by claiming that, since every rule has an exception, no saying to which a negative instance could not be opposed could possibly be a genuine rule, and that consequently in seeming to overwhelm you with a convincing negative instance your opponent has really made your case for you. The point of the jest consists in the intentional absurdity of the defence, whether that absurdity be conceived as lying in the ridiculousness of the implication that the more exceptions you discover, the more do you establish the rule, or in the paradox of alleging the statement, 'Every rule has an exception,' as itself a rule without any exception. Or, in the case of a man who is acquainted with the correct usage of the Latin original, the point of the jest might lie in his recognition of the effective way in which that Latin usage is parodied in the usage just described. Such is, I think, the commonest of the intelligent ways of using the phrase under discussion. I do not say it is the commonest of all the ways, for in that commonest of all ways the only amusing feature of the inanity is its unconsciousness.

A second way in which the catchword may be intelligently applied came under my notice in a book of Cardinal Newman's. It was so many years ago that I cannot give the reference, nor am I even sure of the exact context. The point of his use of the phrase, however, was this. By way of defending a certain statement against Protestant opponents he alleged that they all sought to controvert it by citing in disproof of his view the same single fact. Accordingly he claimed that here the exception proved the rule, meaning—or so I understood him—that if his statement had not been a good generalisation, the exceptions would have been numerous, whereas in fact his opponents were all reduced to citing the same negative instance.

A third natural and permissible use of the phrase is when, in saying, 'this is an exception which proves the rule,' one means that, whereas it is the nature of any genuine exception to overthrow a rule, this is a seeming exception which turns out upon analysis to be no genuine exception but rather an instance where the working of the rule is disguised by the presence of other factors and yet is required, along with them, to account for the features of the seeming exception. The force of the phrase here is psychological rather than logical. A disguised instance is not a better proof of the validity of a rule than an obvious instance, but it is more effectual in creating conviction; for it suggests the idea that one need not be deterred from

believing in the rule by the remaining exceptions, since an apparently very conclusive one has turned out to be imaginary.

I am, Sir, Yours truly,

A. G. HOGG.

LITERARY NOTICES AND NOTES.

Some Tracts for English Readers. Madras; The Christian Literature Society. Each 6 pies per copy, or 100 for Re. 1-8.

WE have received three of these tracts or pamphlets, which we would commend to the attention of thoughtful readers. A brief note will indicate the special features of each.

(1) *Secret Disciples* develops, from the cases of Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathaea, the loss to themselves and to others incurred by those who try to follow Jesus without open confession. Especially we would stress the point that the secret disciple, by his very secrecy, is debarred from making Jesus known to others as Saviour and Lord.

(2) *Qadiani Commentary on the Qur'an.* This is a trenchant criticism, by Canon Sell, of a professedly up-to-date commentary published in the interests of the Qadiani sect of Muslims. 'Instead of a scholarly commentary, which all oriental scholars would have welcomed with delight, we have a sectarian book, evidently composed to spread and enforce the claims of a modern sect which all good Muslims must repudiate.'

(3) *The New India and Its Leaders*, by J. Sinclair Stevenson, is a forceful appeal to educated young men to play their part aright in shaping the new India to which we all look forward. An effective illustration is drawn from the Officers' Training Corps in England. The University graduates or undergraduates learn to be officers not by being officers but 'by having to do all the hard and unpleasant and tiring things that the ordinary soldiers have to do, to endure hardship and discomfort, to go hungry, and to do what they don't like because they are ordered to.'

The C. L. S. Telugu Readers. *Vidya Malika Series*, Fifth Book. Pp. 121; illustrated. Madras; The Christian Literature Society for India. Price Annas 6.

THE subject matter of the lessons is well chosen, and for the most part tends toward the practical. The vocabulary is varied, but

here and there rather difficult—too difficult for a Fifth Form pupil. A stricter attention to the rhythm in printing the poetical selections would improve the book, as would illustrations in colour and better binding. But this is war time, and all these things would enhance the cost. We commend the book to the public and hope that the next edition will be made more attractive.

Ancient Rome. By the Rev. James Baikie, F. R. A. S. (Peeps at Many Lands.) London; A. and C. Black, Ltd. Price, 2s. nett.

SOME of the 'Peeps at Many Lands' have been noticed from time to time in these pages. They are charmingly got up, and brightly written. In the book before us, the interest is definitely limited to Ancient Rome. Mr. Baikie's gifts in the popular presentation of ancient history are a sufficient guarantee for the matter included. Besides the usual brilliant colour-pictures of the series, and some good photographic prints in black and white, there are plans (inside the covers) of the ancient city and of the Forum Romanum. The book should prove attractive, especially to boys, simply as a story-book; it is also worthy of attention as an aid to the student of Roman History, old or young.

Some Nursery Rhymes of Belgium, France and Russia. London; A. and C. Black, Ltd.

THIS is a delightful collection, selected and rhymed into English by L. Edna Walter, B. Sc., and beautifully printed and illustrated. There are eight rhymes for each country. The Belgian ones, so the Preface tells us, were the most difficult to collect, as there is apparently no book of nursery rhymes for Belgian children, and those in this book were obtained direct from refugees in England. The airs (for all these rhymes are set to music) have been harmonised by Miss Lucy Broadwood, and the drawings were done by a Belgian artist, M. Bastien, while in the trenches.

The French rhymes are, on the whole, the prettiest in the book, and they gain much by the incomparable illustrations of the late M. de Monvel.

English children have for long had their own native nursery rhymes set out for them in attractive collections, with music and illustrations, and it is a happy thought to put before them now some of the songs of 'allied' children.

LITERARY NOTES.

It seems strange that a leading firm of publishers should be unable to get a person competent to compile an index for such a book as Viscount Morley's *Recollections*. Macaulay, as his biographer informs us, was very justly dissatisfied with the performance of a person whom his publishers employed to compile an index for the 1858 edition of the *History*. The letter he wrote to his publishers after seeing a specimen of the index-maker's work is worth quoting, as it shows how the work should be done. 'I am very unwilling to seem captious about such a work as an index. By all means let Mr.—— go on. But offer him, with all delicacy and courtesy, from me this suggestion. I would advise him to have very few heads except proper names. A few there must be, such as Convocation, Non-jurors, Bank of England, National Debt. These are heads to which readers who wish for information on those subjects will naturally turn. But I think that Mr.—— will on consideration perceive that such heads as Priestcraft, Priesthood, Party Spirit, Insurrection, War, Bible, Crown, Controversies, Dissent, are quite useless. Nobody will ever look at them; and if every passage in which party spirit, dissent, the art of war, and the power of the Crown are mentioned, is to be noticed in the index, the size of the volumes will be doubled. The best rule is to keep close to proper names, and never to deviate from that rule without some special occasion.'

VISCOUNT MORLEY'S publishers have employed a person whose qualifications for the task of index-making seem to be decidedly inferior to those of the person who failed to satisfy Macaulay. By disregarding the common sense rule which Macaulay gave, he has swollen the index to portentous length—77 pages of index to 765 pages of text. Yet the excessive length of the index is a small matter in comparison with the absurdity or futility of most of the entries. The reader's curiosity is aroused by an entry *Burke, the slider*, following an entry *Burke, Edmund*. It seems to point to the existence of a Burke hitherto unknown to him. If he turns up the reference, however, all he will find is a mention of the fact that in the House of Commons on 27th July, 1893, the committee stage of the Home Rule Bill was ended by the guillotine. 'The fall of the accursed slider, Burke's name for the guillotine, provoked the most violent scenes beheld within those venerable walls since the Civil Wars.' So much for *Burke, the slider*! Another entry, *Anglicans at Oxford*, strikes the judicious reader much as if he had found *Coals at Newcastle*. It seems to suggest that the index-maker fancied that the

Anglican is a new species which recently made its appearance at Oxford like Rhodes Scholars. On turning up the reference, one finds that John Morley as he then was dined at the Athenaeum Club in August, 1891, with his old Oxford tutor, T. Fowler, and noted in his diary that one of the topics of conversation was *Lux Mundi*.

A CURIOUS instance of the index-maker's inability to seize the drift of a passage occurs on the very first page, where we find *Adonais* (Shelley), *high place of*. The reference is to a discussion of Matthew Arnold's poetry, and the chief point is Swinburne's preference of *Thyrsis* to *Adonais*. In the chapter on eminent contemporaries, Viscount Morley speaks with great admiration of Henry Sidgwick, and incidentally quotes Bishop Westcott's tribute to Sidgwick. This appears in the index as *Westcott, Bishop, on the Seeker of the Truth*. A large proportion of the entries are neither more nor less futile than this taken from the first page—*Action, Sham in*. The entry has no conceivable meaning, and could not be of service to any reader. The passage referred to is a criticism of Carlyle quoted by Viscount Morley from his book on Cromwell. He blames Carlyle for his impatience with the slow methods of persuasion and for his readiness to applaud the strong man who forces his own ideas upon others. Viscount Morley in some rather biting phrases suggests that there may be as little of Carlyle's 'veracity' in the resolute action of the hero as in the windbag.

THE index-maker is perhaps at his best when he has to deal with the letters written by Viscount Morley as Secretary of State to Lord Minto as Viceroy, or rather with the passages in those letters where the Secretary of State writes in a playful vein. Referring to the appointment of Sir Theodore Morison to the India Council, he tells Lord Minto—'I have known him all his life, so I gave him a strong preachment on the duties of a Member of Council—not at all like Lord Chesterfield's *Letters to his Son*, but a most unctuous discourse on the Virtues of Red Tape.' This is solemnly chronicled in the Index as follows:—*Red Tape, Virtues of*. Sydney Smith and Charles Lamb would have had no hesitation in inferring the index-maker's nationality from this last entry, but they were not scientific inquirers. In the interests of science, it is highly desirable that the publishers should furnish the necessary data for some disciple of Sir Francis Galton who shall investigate this branch of the great question of heredity.

THE following notice of *Beyond the Rhine: Memories of Art and Life in Germany before the War* (Constable, 6s. 6d. nett), is

taken from the *Scotsman*. The author is a Frenchman, M. Marc Henry, who spent nearly twenty years in Germany, chiefly in Munich, and during that time attained a position of considerable eminence in literary and artistic circles. From the humble task of imparting a knowledge of French to aspiring Teutons he rose to be a lecturer on literature, a writer and producer of plays and the pioneer of a movement for a Germano-French intellectual *rapprochement*. It is rather pathetic at this time of day to reflect on the futility of his earnest efforts in the last-named sphere. The author discourses most entertainingly on many aspects of German social life, and his book may be cordially recommended to those who seek for enlightenment on the mentality of our enemies. One has not read many pages before he has received an illuminating insight into the deeper causes of the tragedy into which the world was plunged in August, 1914. M. Henry's pictures are those of a literature and art in a state of decadence, of a society corrupted by a mad pursuit of wealth, of a militarism reckless in its arrogance, of a mass of toilers chafing under restraints and presenting a problem to their rulers which the latter imagined could be solved by the old diversion of a foreign war. He does not attempt to fill the rôle of the philosophic historian by dwelling on those symptoms of disease in the body politic. They are revealed almost incidentally as he describes his own experiences, which he does in a light and witty style characteristically French.

A BOOK that should be of interest in India, if one may judge from favourable notices in English papers, is *The Awakening of India*, by Mr. De Witt Mackenzie, an American newspaper correspondent (Hodder and Stoughton, 2s. 6d. nett). The book is based on the author's interviews with prominent public men, and it aims at giving American readers a notion of the effect the war has had on Indian aspirations. Lieut.-Col. Sir Francis Younghusband writes a preface recommending the book.

SCIENCE NOTES.

MR. E. S. GOODRICH in a recent number of the *Quarterly Journal of Microscopical Science* deals with the very interesting problem of the relations of the coelomic spaces in the various groups of the animal kingdom. Long ago Bateson suggested that the proboscis pores of

Balanoglossus are homologous with the water pores of Echinoderms and with the opening of Hatschek's pit in Amphioxus. In this view he is followed by the writer. However the anterior coelomic spaces of Amphioxus (one of which is metamorphosed into the pit of Hatschek) are homologous with the premandibular somites of the Craniata. The proboscis pore of lower forms is developed into the tubular connection between these cavities and the hypophysis, which itself can be identified with the ciliated 'wheel-organ' in the buccal cavity of Amphioxus.

A GREAT deal has been written in books of travel and of natural history on the 'fascination' of birds by snakes. Of late years this supposed 'fascination' has been greatly doubted, and Professor Poulton of Oxford University has given in the pages of *Nature* the experiences he has obtained from naturalist friends on this subject. All these men have travelled widely in the Tropics both East and West and none can remember from their wide experience a single authentic case of snake fascination.

The current belief for long was that a snake had the power, when sighting a victim, of keeping its gaze fixed upon the creature, which was hypnotised, mesmerised, paralysed, fascinated (call it that you will), and tremblingly awaited its fate without any attempt to escape. Travellers have recorded how snakes in this manner have been able to bring down to earth birds while on the wing.

Dr. G. A. K. Marshall of the Imperial Bureau of Entomology relates an incident which he witnessed in Natal. He happened to see a snake bite a frog, which immediately hopped off at a great speed, while the snake followed quite leisurely and, on coming up with its victim, swallowed it with hardly any resistance on its part. May not the supposed 'fascination'—for the snake regarded the frog quite a time before devouring it—merely be the effect of the poison introduced at the first bite—the trembling and inability of the victim to escape being directly due to the action of the venom injected?

At the present time the botany and physical geography of Palestine are of special interest, and the *Gardener's Chronicle* for last December has an article on this subject which is well illustrated. The area of the Holy Land is quite small, but the flora is comparatively very rich, owing to the diverse physical features of the region. Exclusive of the lower forms of plant life, some 4,000 species are known and have been described by Boissier, Hooker and Hanbury. The Jordan Valley and the southern deserts contain subtropical forms not known further west. There is the flora of the rich,

loamy, coastal plains as well as the Highlands of Lebanon, which rise to an altitude of 10,000 ft. without any of the familiar arctic-alpine plants found on the Caucasus, which also extend to the Himalayas and the mountains of Central Asia. The abnormal formation of the Jordan Valley and the Dead Sea, deeply excavated below sea level, constitutes the most interesting feature. Indeed Palestine combines in a remarkable way in its botany the characters of the East and of the West.

THE first butter substitute was prepared during the Franco-Prussian War by Mège-Mouriès who digested animal fat in the presence of pepsin, the product being afterwards churned with 10 per cent. of cow's milk and water containing macerated cow's udder. In these days the fat is no longer digested with pepsin, while animal fat is more and more being replaced by vegetable oils, *e.g.*, cocoanut, palm kernel, cotton seed, arachis, soya bean, sesame, kapok, maize and wheat, and by hardened or hydrogenated oil. Milk is used for two reasons in the preparation of margarine, for flavouring and for emulsifying. The milk is pasteurised by heating at 82°C ., cooled to 10°C . and delivered into souring tanks, where it is inoculated with lactic acid bacilli and the temperature raised to enable the lactic fermentation to proceed. When a rapid precipitation of curd takes place the temperature is lowered and the mixture of vegetable and animal fats and oils added at 25° — 35°C . The mixture is now in a churn and emulsification takes place by the action of revolving baffle plates. The emulsion flows down a slanting shoot where it meets a spray of ice-cold water which causes immediate solidification and a breaking up of the mass into yellow granules which are then drained and matured. When mature the product is kneaded into a butter-like mass, then blended, and after the addition of 0.5 per cent. boric acid is put on the market.

IN order to combat the German machine guns on the Western Front, the French have introduced a new quick-firing cannon which can be readily carried forward by attacking infantry. This new French '37' is a fitting companion to the famous '75,' and the new, smaller weapon has every feature of its big brother, including quick-firing breech mechanism, accurate sights and automatic recoil. Lying out on open ground two men can fire accurately thirty-five high-explosive shells per minute. The shells measure about one and a half inches in diameter and the gun has a range for accurate shooting of well over a mile. The whole gun is portable; the pieces can readily be taken apart and carried by six men. This is a most workmanlike

piece of armament and in the present offensive must be giving a good account of itself.

RECENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

FROM THE QUARTERLIES.

THE Quarterly Review for January contains a very fine article called 'From Waterloo to the Marne' by George Macaulay Trevelyan. It is a review of an Italian book 'Gli ultimi cento anni di Storia Universale, 1815—1915,' by Pietro Orsi. The reviewer begins by recalling how Lord Acton, whom Gladstone made Professor of History at Cambridge, declared that the Middle Ages were dull, that history began to be interesting with Luther; the reason he gave being that 'in Luther's movement we had the first true revolution, a revolution being defined as a political change carried out as the consequence of an idea. With the Reformation the struggle for power which is called politics ceased to be a selfish struggle between persons and institutions representing themselves alone, and became a struggle of persons and parties representing ideas; and only among the clash of rival ideas is liberty born, liberty without which, to Acton as to Shelley, "truth" itself were "a sacred lie."' "

This is the explanation why the first volume of Pietro Orsi's history of the world since Waterloo, which covers events from 1815—1870, is enthralling, while the second volume, 1871—1915, is often wearisome; it is due to no fault of the writer's, it is simply that while 1815—1870 was an age of revolution for 'ideas,' 1871—1915 was a time of 'struggling material interests' only. Orsi fully realises this, and he attributes it largely to the fact that the success of the German arms and policy in 1870 had so dazzled the world that it proceeded to set up material force and unscrupulous diplomacy on a pinnacle and worship them. 'Great ideals had yielded place to the conception of immediate profits. The current of material interest prevails absolutely in human affairs.' This book of Orsi's is one which ought to be in our libraries, the kind of book we ought all to study; for, as we said in a recent number of this Magazine on the subject of Turkey, how can we have a sound policy with regard to any country if we know nothing of its history? And as the nation must be responsible for British foreign policy, the nation ought to be taught modern history. We of the British Empire have been far too much absorbed in our own concerns and far too prone to neglect the history and policy of other nations. Mr. Trevelyan maintains that

'the mistakes of our policy in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have come much more often from ignorance than from ill-will; and our successes have always been the result of good-will guided by knowledge.' He illustrates this by the consummate skill with which we helped Italy in 1860 contrasted with the way our ignorant statesmen bungled in their dealings with America and Turkey. The whole history of our diplomacy in the Balkans 'is one long story of the penalties that attend on national ignorance.' Surely we dare not take up our leading part in the League of Nations at the close of this war clinging to these traditions of ignorance and indifference.

Referring to the history of Europe, we see that in 1815 the cause of freedom seemed to have received its death-blow. England, in freeing Europe from the despotism of Napoleon, had delivered it over to a tyranny far worse, to the iron rule of the reactionary Central Powers, giving them scope to develop their crushing ideals of military absolutism, and, with Russia's help, to impose them on the greater part of Europe. England had no choice, could not have acted otherwise than as she did; Waterloo was necessary for the world's peace, but it was a tragedy none the less. 'Waterloo was a necessity, but it was a bitter necessity. It gave a necessary peace to the world, and remains our eternal glory, but it is tinged with eternal sadness. For it transferred political supremacy in Europe from France to the Eastern powers of darkness. France had proved herself impossible as the mistress of Europe; but her successors in the hegemony have had more than all the defects of the victors of Marengo and Austerlitz, and none of their incomparable merits.'

England and France still stood for liberty, and in 1860 both helped to bring Italy into being as a third Liberal Power; but, though strong in moral prestige, they were too weak militarily to make any stand against the anti-liberal powers. Since 1815, military despotism had been the dominant force in Europe, but after 1870 it became an active ideal; 'with the genius and prestige of Bismarck military despotism became an active principle, which, under the title of *realpolitik*, rivalled and supplanted English and French ideals of liberty in the world of thought itself.' Till 1870, even though force lay with the powers of darkness, England and France were still the moral and intellectual leaders of Europe. The ethical attitude to politics, and the belief that liberty and progress must ultimately triumph, were everywhere accepted by serious thinkers, not in England and France alone. And so these years were in Lord Acton's sense an age of Revolution, for the conflict was between parties representing ideas.

Mr. Trevelyan names some of the problems which Europe failed to solve between 1870 and 1915—German liberty, Russian liberty,

the Polish question, the Turkish and Balkan questions, the race questions of Austria-Hungary; and, added to these, the miserable problem of armaments. Because none of these could be solved in what he calls 'the post-Bismarckian atmosphere' of Europe the present war became inevitable. England herself was for a time affected by the Bismarckian gospel, but to a far less extent than other countries, and she had shaken herself free of it long before the great war broke upon her. The period since 1870 has been in England a time of progress towards freedom and democracy; and though at one time we were in danger of adopting Bismarckian principles in our British Imperialism, we were saved from that, and our Empire emerged and remains a Liberal Empire which stands for freedom all over the world. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century German influence was strong in England; German methods and German scholarship were greatly admired and had been allowed to acquire an undue influence over various branches of thought. Then came the Boer War. We entered on it in an arrogant Bismarckian spirit; but before its close we had learnt much, and from that time on till the beginning of the present war Prussian ideals had no place in our conception of Empire; England had many faults, but generous and liberal ideals were the basis of her creed. General Smuts, 'who seems the best interpreter of the soul of our Empire,' thus sums up the effect of the Boer War:—

The world required this shock to wake it up. England herself was slipping from the track. Under Disraeli she thought that she must be a military nation bent upon Imperialism. She went in for it, and the trial came finally in South Africa. The British victory over the Boers was a great test. A cheap and easy victory would have strengthened what were then the strong Imperial tendencies of England and the British. But that tremendously exhausting struggle, maintained by one of the world's smallest peoples, taught the British that the Boers were fighting, in some measure, for Britain's own traditional ideals. That meant that, when the British won the military victory, so great a change was found to have been brought about in their morale that not only the two small Republics, but that which needed to be conquered in Great Britain, all three had met defeat. The Boer war forced anew upon the British people the realisation of those fine ideals for which at bottom they invariably feel sympathy.

But on the Continent there was no such happy reaction, and by the time 1914 dawned 'the moral condition of Europe and the distribution of material power were so hopeless that any effective remedy must have been violent.' No one will deny that the remedy has been violent; it has been terrible beyond anything we could have imagined; but at least we are once more in an age of revolution, of heroic struggle for ideals; liberty, free-will, the possibility of a moral attitude to international affairs, are coming back to us.

The end of the war will bring us face to face with great and dangerous problems, but we may go forward with courage, for Prussian ideals will be discredited, and Europe will be freed from the strangling clutch of military despotism. The nations will at last be alive to the awful perils of isolation, mutual ignorance, and egoism, and England and America must shoulder their common burden and lead the nations of the world into ways of liberty and peace.

THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

THE March number is on the whole rather heavy. It opens with an article entitled 'The Greatest Reform Act,' by the Right Hon. Sir W. H. Dickinson. The passing of 'the Representation of the People Act, 1918,' he says, has furnished an opportunity of complying with demands for electoral reform that during the last century have been continually knocking at the door of Parliament. Of these, the most insistent and the most clamant was the demand for the enfranchisement of women. It is not part of his purpose to describe in detail the history of the movement for the enfranchisement of women, but he gives a brief retrospect of previous attempts at legislation on the question. He also indicates the chief provisions of the new act, recalls some of the difficulties which had to be overcome before it could be placed on the Statute Book, and dwells on some of its merits as a measure of franchise reform. The Act in his opinion is generous and far-reaching. It doubles the electorate of the British nation.

The great Reform Act of 1832 added half a million to the then existing list of 440,000 electors, and the Act of 1867 raised the electorate from 1,100,000 to 2,400,000, but the new Act increases the number from eight millions to sixteen millions. And by including women, soldiers and sailors, by simplifying the franchise, and by providing in various ways for the easier exercise of political rights, it constitutes in itself a great revolution—a revolution brought about solely by a general acceptance of the fundamental principle of democracy, that the government of the people must rest upon the willing consent of all the people. Before the war the chances that such an important piece of legislation would be placed on the Statute Book within three and a half years appeared to be very small, but in this matter the war has operated very differently from what many people expected.

In an article entitled 'Super-Nationalism' Sir John Macdonell makes some suggestions for the future international organization

of the world. In making these he relies on certain truths which he says are fairly well established. These are that social needs widely and strongly experienced always find expression somehow, and, if they are permanent, in the end create organs for their satisfaction; that if the internal government of states is democratized, so ultimately will be their international relations; that certain results are inseparable from such democratization; and that if certain ideals are constantly and clearly present to the minds of multitudes they will not be wholly barren. The last of these truths is the one on which Sir John Macdonell lays stress. The new world will be shaped by men's ideals or by men's appetites. And at present, he thinks, there are signs of the presence of new ideals, of a break with narrow, aggressive Nationalism and of aspirations for something above it, and of an end to the theory that states should live in cages by themselves and that if the bars are removed they will devour each other.

Coming to the cardinal question regarding international organization: Can there be an inter-State Parliament or some body equivalent thereto in permanent session and attended by representatives of all the chief States? Sir John Macdonell is not hopeful that even as regards Europe this is yet practicable. So long as there is no federation of Europe—and of this he thinks there is no likelihood for many years—there can be no true legislative body for Europe. Can there, then, be any substitute for such a body? As a beginning Sir John Macdonell suggests that each State should have a Foreign Affairs Committee, free to enter into relations with other similar Committees, cognisant of all negotiations and claiming the right to be heard upon them and to obtain full information. If a League of Nations is established, there must be some body, representative of the common interest of its members, which must discuss matters openly. In regard to the question of an international judiciary he thinks it would be difficult at the present time to find men—jurists and conciliators of European reputation—to whom the States would, with confidence, commit the settlement of issues of the first importance. In regard to an international executive he thinks that will come of itself provided some form of international legislature and judiciary can be established.

In conclusion he emphasises the opinion that for the success of any scheme of international organization reconstruction must proceed from within the individual states. There must be less idolatry of the State, new ideals stretching beyond its frontiers, the realisation of new duties, a wider outlook, and more regard to Society as something larger than the State. He does not think that anything profitable in the way of international organization can be done while Europe is an armed camp. Without effective measures of disarmament, carried out all round,

all pacific schemes are at best 'regulations as to the use of open lights in powder factories.' It is important, therefore, that Britain should proceed to formulate some scheme of disarmament. If she does not, some other nation will, perhaps to her disadvantage.

'Holland during the War' is part of a lecture delivered at the National Liberal Club by Dr. P. Geyl, the London Correspondent of a Dutch newspaper. It has been said that Holland has done very well by keeping out of the war, but Dr. Geyl shows that this is very far from being true, that in fact Holland has suffered very much from the war. There has been scarcity of food—especially bread—coal, oil, and innumerable other articles. Owing to lack of coal and raw materials factories have had to be closed down, with consequent unemployment and hardship to many. There have been war profiteers in Holland, but their day has long gone by. Holland's difficulties have been due largely to the very peculiar way in which she is situated in regard to Germany. She produces a surplus of vegetables and potatoes, dairy produce and meat, but she produces comparatively little wheat or coal, and no timber to speak of or iron. For coal, iron, timber, and other raw materials she is chiefly dependent on Germany, and in exchange for these articles she has to export agricultural and garden produce. With the restriction of imports imposed by the Allies on the one side and the pressure which Germany can exercise on the other she is in a most unenviable position, and Dr. Geyl proves that the Dutch Government have tried manfully and on the whole successfully to keep the independence and the strict neutrality of the country inviolate, in economic as well as in political questions. He says the compulsory measures taken by the Allies have not always strengthened their hands against Germany. Nevertheless, the Dutch people affect the whole anti-German and have all along been so. They are a democratic people and have no love for Prussianism, militarism or autocracy.

The Ven. Archdeacon Cunningham contributes an article on 'The Reconstruction of the Universities and the Nation.' There has been much discussion in Cambridge lately regarding the reconstruction which will be necessary in University studies after the war, and conflicting opinions are held regarding the relative importance of scholarship, as it has hitherto been understood, and merely technical and bread-winning studies. Amid all this, the principle seems to be gradually emerging that the University should endeavour to train men to be useful members of the community and to be ready to do their best in national service. Great changes were made in the Cambridge system some seventy years ago; but

the difference between the reformers of those days and those of the present day is that while the latter look upon a liberal education as an influence to be brought to bear on the nation as a whole, the former regarded it as a sectional privilege and took no account of training for the service of the community as a guiding principle in the organization of studies. Dr. Cunningham is in full sympathy with the more democratic view: at the same time, he says, it must be borne in mind that one of the most useful services to the community which the University can discharge is that of maintaining a high standard of scholarship and of testifying to the standard which particular students have attained. In the course of his article he has a good deal to say on examinations and the part which they have played in connexion with reform in the University of Cambridge.

Mr. F. S. Marvin discusses the place of History in education, and Mr. Hugh A. Law pleads for greater attention to the study of Irish history. Dr. R. W. Seton-Watson writes on Austria-Hungary and the Federal Solution. He apparently thinks the federal solution is not meantime in favour with either the Magyars or the Germans. Mr. R. R. Tatlock calls attention to some aspects of the tragic history of Russia since the war began and to the work which is being done among the famine-stricken refugees and peasants by the Society of Friends; and there is an anonymous article on 'The Repercussion of Bolshevism in Asia.' Mr. P. H. S. Kempton writes on the importance of nitrogen and methods of its fixation. There are two or three articles which we need not specify, and the number ends with the usual reviews of books.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

THE place of honour in the March issue is accorded to an article by Mr. Leslie Urquhart on 'British Policy in Russia.' The fact, most important to grasp, is that the countries of Russia which are in the food-producing belt are fighting against Bolshevik rule. The Bolsheviks desire, indeed, to convert the world to their creed, but before everything else they want food. Hence the necessity which has forced them to qualify their adhesion to the principle of the 'self-determination of peoples.' 'They soon saw that in practice it meant that the districts which had the food set up as independent states and left the starving Bolshevik regions even worse off than they were before. It was therefore proclaimed from Petrograd that these new states could not be recognised unless the Bolsheviks approved the form of government which they had adopted, unless,

in short, they turned Bolshevik themselves, submitted to Bolshevik influence, and were willing to release their food to fill Bolshevik stomachs.' Through all the bewildering spasms of action or inaction of the Bolshevik Government the central clue, the controlling motive, has been the search for food. But although so many separate countries and districts in the food-belt have declared their autonomy, it has been in order to carry on a fight with the Bolsheviks and the demoralised disbanded soldiers, and to bring peace within their own borders. It is unthinkable that such a disintegration of Russia can be final. It was the Great Russians, the people of the North and Central regions, that founded the Russian Empire; they cannot do without the countries in the food-belt and without the coal and iron of the South, and when they return to sanity there is none of the peoples at present separated that will not gladly return to the fold. Meantime, unless the Allies render assistance, the patriotic national movement against Bolshevism and Germany in the Caucasus, the Ukraine, the South-Eastern Federation and Siberia cannot be blessed with full success, partly because there is an almost entire absence of financial resources, and partly because the sane and patriotic elements in Northern and Central Russia, who would zealously assist any movement which might be organized in the South and East for the suppression of Bolshevism, are not in one compact body but scattered over the country. Mr. Urquhart urges that Britain and the Allies, besides helping financially by openly issuing Russian rouble currency guaranteed by these Powers to be exchangeable into Russian State currency when stable Government has been re-established, should hold Vladivostok and thereby gradually control the Siberian Railway as far as the Urals. This should be done by an Allied Siberian Mission under the auspices and with the co-operation of the anti-Bolshevist patriotic Russian elements, and supported by from 25,000 to 30,000 well-equipped Allied troops, of whom 10,000 should be men from the Engineering Corps able to handle the railways and rolling-stock.

'The Peril of Socialism' is mainly a hostile criticism by Lord Sydenham of the Report on Reconstruction prepared for submission to the Labour Conference at Nottingham. According to Lord Sydenham it bears internal evidence of having been 'written by a Fabian doctrinaire and perhaps touched up here and there by a Labour leader in order to adapt it to the manual workers' point of view.' In 'The Threatened Suicide of British Democracy' Mr. Harold F. Wyatt exhibits a somewhat hysterical nervousness lest the Allied statesmen should contemplate the possibility of a peace by negotiation, and harps upon a danger lest the attempts by President Wilson and

others to formulate the Allied war aims should, by diverting attention to collateral purposes, less intelligible and appealing to the man in the street than the simple objective of 'smashing the Kaiser,' lessen the unanimity of our resolve to win the war.

Much more interesting than either of these articles is Mr. G. W. T. Omond's historical comparison of 'Our War Aims in 1814 and To-day,' with its excerpts from secret Cabinet memoranda of the instructions under which Lord Castlereagh was to act in discussions with the Allies regarding the terms on which they would be prepared to conclude peace with Napoleon. But the article which is more calculated than any other in the issue to awaken keen, and doubtless often hostile, interest is one on 'The Church's Self-Government,' by the Bishop of Zanzibar, in which he submits a draft by himself of a Bill for the disestablishment of the Church of England as well as a draft of a constitution for the Church when thus disestablished. His guiding principles are that, while the Church is a spiritual society linking together in the New Man, Christ Jesus, such members of the State as have realised the true end of human society, union in God, she is not an earthly organization set over against the State, but a private and spiritual association of certain citizens for a particular end, and has no right to any recognition by, or privileges from, the State other than belong, in natural justice, to private associations of citizens. 'On the earthly level she has the same rights, neither more nor less, as the M. C. O., the Society of Antiquaries, or the British Association. On the spiritual level she is the universal kingdom of mankind, the realm of the Lord Jesus Christ: but as such she is "not of this world," and cannot rightly claim recognition from any but those individuals who are her members.' Another fundamental point in the Bishop's view is that the real unit of Church life is the Diocese. 'Local interest flourishes just so long as it can see the society at work, and feel the movement. And larger areas of government mean assemblies of governors too remote from the people governed, with the consequent danger of clashing with State bodies, local or central.'

Articles of literary interest are Mr. A. P. Sinnett's 'The Occultism in Tennyson's Poetry,' and 'A Friend of Sir Thomas More,' under which title Professor Foster Watson writes a sketch of Juan Luis Vives, or Valentinus, More's Spanish literary friend and younger contemporary. In the 'Confessions of a Peacemaker' Sir William Ramsay gives a most interesting and informing account of the stages by which he passed from being a warm admirer of Germany, and a disbeliever in her aggressive designs, to a convinced perception, as early as 1912, of the tremendous danger of the situation. Mr. J. H.

Balfour-Browne writes on 'The Past and the Future of Railways,' and argues not for the nationalisation of the railway undertakings but for State purchase of the railroads, that is, the arteries of railway traffic and all structures that are useful in the working of the railway service, the use of these structures and lines to be thereafter leased to the railway companies. Mr. W. H. Mallock writes on 'Capital and General Progress,' and the other articles of the issue are entitled: 'The Elementary School-child's Mother,' 'The German Conference Trick,' '"Jargon" in the Great War,' 'The Fight against Venereal Infection,' and 'How Germany makes Peace.'

THE FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.

MR. J. A. R. MARRIOTT, who is now M. P. for Oxford, gives us some interesting information in an article on 'The New Electorate and the New Legislature.' After giving the history of Reform Acts in the nineteenth century, he describes the new Reform Act. It differs from most of those in representing an agreement between the parties. The most important feature is the enfranchisement of women who are thirty years of age and who are either 'local government electors' or the wives of these. Over proportional representation there was a good deal of controversy, the Lords being strongly in favour of it; it is to be tried in constituencies returning 100 members. In future an elector may have two votes, one by residence, and another by business premises or for a University member. Conscientious objectors of the more thorough sort are to be disfranchised for a limited period. The register is to be made up half-yearly instead of yearly, which will throw a heavier burden on the party organizations. At elections, however, the State is to pay returning officers' expenses; at a general election, all polls are to be held on the same day; absent voters may vote by proxy or by post.

The Act also deals with the question of redistribution. The ideal aimed at is the same population for each member. We take leave to doubt whether this is satisfactory. It is admitted that the interests of the country districts have been neglected, and an appreciable diminution in the proportion of members they return is a poor way of setting up improved conditions for the future. It has to be remembered that it is much easier for the four or six members returned by a city or a group of towns to combine for common action, and easier, also, since the Tory party has disappeared, for them to influence others. There will, no doubt, be some representation of their interests in the reformed House of Lords; but that House is not

likely to take the initiative in everyday affairs. The proposal is to make the standard in Britain 70,000 of a population per member. This will disfranchise in whole or in part fifty-four boroughs, including Canterbury, Winchester and Chester; but those with 50,000 will be allowed to retain their members. On the whole, the urban population gains thirty-six members, the new Universities six, while the counties lose five. The bulk of this increase will disappear, no doubt, when the establishment of an Irish Parliament permits the reduction of Ireland's representation below the 103 fixed by the Act of Union.

The article closes with a surmise that the next agitation for reform will be for something called 'direct action.' This tendency, which we see in Syndicalism, and the shop-stewards' movement that is shaking orthodox trade-unionism, appears to mean something of the nature of the 'initiative' but quicker and more positive in its action.

Mr. Archibald Hurd writes on 'The Armies and the Nations: the Last Phase.' His main theme is that Britain is endangered now through weakness at sea. This weakness is due partly to misconception and lack of forethought, partly to the over-growth of our armies. This overgrowth is due largely to consideration for the sentiments of our Allies, misled as they have been by the self-depreciation habitual to the nation, but in this case most unfortunate. At the same time better arrangements would have enabled us to do as much with fewer men. The balance were required for the production of food, of munitions, and in particular of merchant ships. The shortage of food will not be ended with the coming of peace.

Auditor Tantum contributes 'A View from the Lords' Gallery.' Over the Representation of the People Bill, the Lords performed their function as a revising chamber and so won back some of their lost prestige. On subjects like India and the wider problems of the Empire, they exhibit more strength and knowledge than does the Lower House. To their honour the sitting members have ignored the opinions of the backwoodsmen and they have yielded because they felt it was time to yield. They can congratulate themselves that the revolution, for a revolution it is, has been an orderly one.

Lord Lansdowne has lost the position he retained for so long, and, wonderful to relate, finds his chief support in Lord Loreburn. The mystery of his letter to the *Daily Telegraph* has not yet been solved; it showed traces of the work of other hands. *Auditor Tantum* condemns the attacks on him in the popular press, but as his action (or rather its equivalent) would have put him in the Tower in earlier days, we fail to see the point in denouncing the manner of

these papers when they are right, seeing that there is abundance of opportunity when they are wrong. He says the attacks are forgotten: perhaps, but Lord Lansdowne will never be trusted again by the country at large. On Proportional Representation he showed himself to be once more the true exponent of the views of the House.

Lord Curzon has now been the leader of the House for more than a year; he is the best speaker, since Lord Rosebery adheres to his vow of silence. In choice and arrangement of matter his sense is as accurate as Mr. Asquith's. With the other leaders of his party his views do not carry decisive weight; and on the Suffrage Bill, the divergence of opinions deprived his leading of dignity.

Lord Lytton, who represents the Admiralty, is a finished speaker, and his reputation will grow, as he seems made for a National party. Lord Derby 'says what has to be said and gets it over with a sense of duty done.' Lord Milner is a cold and repellent speaker.

The Front Opposition Bench displays plenty of ability and is about equally divided into two sections. Lord Halsbury still derives enjoyment from his ability in mischief. Lord Selborne is 'a competent statesman with a strong sense of duty who, when once he has made up his mind, allows nothing to turn him from his purpose. He was one of the most convincing advocates of Women's Suffrage, and he built up the case for Proportional Representation on broad and secure foundations, which its opponents made no attempt to demolish.' Lord Salisbury, however, claims to be leader of the Unionist Peers on the Opposition side, a position for which his excitability unfits him, and Lord Middleton shares the defect.

Among the Liberals, Lord Crewe is too fair to the other side to be a good party man. Lord Harcourt is the reverse, an open and unashamed wirepuller, a cynic who just misses being epigrammatic. Lord Buckmaster is not at home in the House of Lords; his deposition from the Woolsack has left him querulous, and he is likely to prove one of the most dangerous opponents of a strong Second Chamber. Lord Haldane remains under a cloud. Among those who occupy the cross-benches Lord Courtney is a regular attender, but speaks seldom; Lord Morley seldom appears, and Viscount Grey is a persistent absentee. The Bishops gave a solid vote for Woman's Suffrage.

The article closes with a kindly but severe account of Lord Chaplin and his loquacity.

Mr. E. H. Wilcox describes for us Lenin and Bolshevism. At the 1903 Conference of the Russian Social Democrats, they split, and N. Lenin, whose name is Vladimir Ilitch Gulianoff, led the left wing,

to which most of the party leaders came over, and which accordingly gained the name Bolsheviki, or 'Majorityites,' while the other group were Mensheviki or 'Minorityites.' As the Bolsheviki stood for no compromise it was natural that even in Russia the origin of the words was forgotten and they acquired much the same meaning as Maximalists and Minimalists, which, however, are the divisions of the Social Revolutionary party; but the distinction is too delicate to explain. Plehanoff, the principal founder of Social Democracy in Russia, is strong for the prosecution of the War.

Lenin is not a Jew, but a member of the aristocracy. He is 47 years of age and the son of a director of elementary schools at Simbinsk on the Volga. His brother was hanged for plotting the murder of Alexander III, and he himself was expelled from Kazan University for preaching socialism. He devoted himself to revolutionary propaganda, and in 1895 founded the Union for the Struggle for the Liberation of the Artisan Class, which developed into the Social Democratic Party; but apparently he came little into contact with the masses. He was banished to Siberia after two years in prison, but even thence he guided the party. When his term of exile expired, he left Russia and conducted periodicals which denounced all compromise. In 1905 he returned to Russia, and was one of the most active promoters of the revolutionary movement, his lieutenant then as now being Braunstein (Trotzki). In 1907 he had once more to flee, but maintained his hold over the party press, which the political police fostered for their own purposes, some of the chief members being their creatures. The 'fighting section' had as its head Azeff, who belonged to the police.

At the outbreak of the War, Lenin was in Austria, and was again favoured by the police. In Switzerland, he embarked on a violent campaign for the defeat of Russia. He got little support in Russia at the beginning, and even Trotzki indignantly rejected 'the emancipating aid which German Imperialism is sending us in Krupp's shell-cases, with the blessing of its Social Democracy.' Yet five of the Duma deputies were banished to Siberia: this action when an amnesty might have been expected turned the Russian urban masses against the war.

Lenin made use of German aid, though for his own purposes. His opinion was that 'permanent peace and happiness can be established only by a victory of the proletariat over its "oppressors" and the nationalisation of all the means of production, distribution, and exchange.' 'Abstract ideas of morality, liberty, and justice seem to play no part whatever in his system.' The domination of the masses is to be expressed and executed by Soviets. Soviet means

council, and applies to any board or committee. There is a hierarchy of Soviets, and any delegate who grows distasteful can be at once recalled. The revolutionary courts which try all crimes are given a free hand, which probably means that the decision depends mostly on the temper of the public attending the court.

COLLEGE NOTES.

WE have to record with deep regret the death, on 19th April, of the Rev. J. M. Russell, D.D., for many years Professor of English and Bursar of the College. A fuller obituary notice will appear in the next number of the *Magazine*.

IN reviewing the report of the College Council for 1917 in last month's issue our attention was confined to the College Department. But former students who, having studied in the School classes, cherish a tender regard for the place in which they received their early education would certainly like to know what the Council say about the Christian College School.

The few changes in the staff were caused by the resignation of two Christian graduates and the sudden death of Mr. G. Govindarajulu Chetty, about whom the Council record the following testimony:— 'At the time of his death he had served the School for the long period of thirty-one years. As a teacher he gained the esteem and respect of his boys and the confidence and trust of all who knew him. He had a wide interest in the affairs of the School, especially in all the outside activities of his pupils, and he was always noted for his freshness and vigour of mind.'

THE average number on the roll was 893 and the percentage of absentees was 6.6. An analysis of those who completed their Secondary School Leaving Certificates shows that 75 per cent. of the pupils continued their studies further, including the 25 per cent. who entered the Madras Christian College. A few changes were made in the syllabus of the Fifth and Sixth Forms. More attention was given to vernacular study, and the two subjects of the History of India and

Geography were replaced by the single subject of the History and Geography of the British Empire. An attempt was made to teach Elementary Science by means of a magic lantern, the slides for which were prepared by the pupils of the Sixth Form. It is hoped to extend this method to other subjects. In the Fourth Form an opportunity for practical work in Science was given to every boy.

IN spite of the fact that the School has no playing field of its own, it did well in the various outside school games, and holds at present a very high place. In the Inter-School football tournament it was successful for the first time in gaining the Lodd Govindas Cup, while in the Inter-College tournament it won the Henderson Cup. The annual Sports were held in February and were well attended. After the death of Mr. Govindarajulu, the organizing and control of sports matters was taken over by Mr. Gnanamuthu. A beginning was also made during the year with the Boy Scout movement. A Scout Master is now in training and will begin his work shortly. The intention is to start a troop of Boy Scouts connected with the School.

THE Lower School Hall was greatly improved by new flooring and by the fitting up round its walls of a School Museum, the specimens for which were all collected by the boys themselves and have been neatly arranged. The separation of the School from the College library affords additional facilities to the pupils of the School, of which it is hoped they will take full advantage. The number of books added to the School library in 1917 was 264 and the number of books consulted by the pupils was 1946. The Inspector of Schools who visited the School in November last expressed himself as satisfied with its general condition and remarked that the efficiency continued to be satisfactory. There was a noticeable increase in the social activities of the School. Besides the usual Sixth Form gathering there were social gatherings in almost all the other forms. This is a phase of social life which is worthy of record because of its value for the pupils. 'The Council note with pleasure the many activities of the School, the place which it holds as a preparation for life, the standard which it maintains and the hearty co-operation of the staff in all its interests.'

THE satisfactory working of the School, the social life among the pupils, their distinction in sports, the introduction of the Boy Scout movement among them and the contemplated separation of the School from the College buildings all suggest the possibility of deve-

loping among the youth who receive their school training in our institution a form of school life calculated to breed in them a spirit of joyful obedience to ideals and rules of conduct which will enable them to ward off every attempt to seduce them from paths of duty; of loyalty and of honour. The *Highway*, the organ of the Workers' Educational Association, London, publishes a description of an experiment in education in the direction above indicated. Coming events cast their shadows before, and who knows that the Madras Christian College, which has done pioneering educational work in so many directions, will not show the way how Indian boys can be trained into self-respecting and self-regulated persons able in time to guide the communities to which they belong along paths of noble and efficient progress? The idea of befitting the Indian people for true self-government has always been one of the inspiring motives of Dr. Miller and others who have co-operated with him in building up this institution, and the hostels of the College already possess a constitution which is calculated to give and does in some measure give to our students a training at least in the elements of the practical art of self-government. That it is possible to introduce the germinating ideas of self-discipline and self-management earlier in the education of a boy is shown in the article to which we have just referred and which we extract below:—

'What do you think of this new proposal?' said one Indian to another when the Marquis of Ripon first put forward the idea of admitting the natives to some share of their own government.

'It seems to me,' was the reply, 'that this is a new dodge of the Raj to make us do the work he ought to do himself.'

The Hindoo's idea was that it is the business of the English to rule and his own business to be ruled. This idea is, in fact, the greatest hindrance to the progress of self-government in India. But no such hindrance presents itself when we come to deal with British boys. Dealing with them the way lies open for any amount of progressive experiment, and of such an experiment this book tells the story. Mr. J. H. Simpson is a pioneer.*

The public schools boast of their training in self-government, but when we analyse the grounds on which that boast rests, they prove to be somewhat slender. True, the Sixth Form are made responsible for the maintenance of order in the boarding-houses and at school assemblies; they manage the games and the athletic sports; they run school societies, edit the school magazine, and are in effect leaders of school life. This dates from Arnold, who had the statesman's eye to see that wherever there is influence it should be invested with responsibility. (Would that our politicians had shown as much insight in dealing with Ireland; the leaders of

**An Adventure in Education*. By J. H. Simpson. (Sidgwick and Jackson, 2/6.)

the Irish have never been trusted with the responsibilities of government.) But little further progress, if indeed any, has been made since Arnold on the lines which Arnold laid down, and there are two serious limitations to the boasted self-government in public schools. One is that it does not apply to more than a comparatively small section; the great majority leave before they reach the Sixth. Yet these, too, become citizens, and they, too, need training in the active functions of citizenship quite as much as the Sixth Form boys. All the public school teaches them is the passive functions of submission and doing as they are told. Again, even in the case of the Sixth, self-government, when you examine it more closely, is wholly executive. The Sixth Form boy is a sort of special constable who maintains order and punishes offences; he organizes certain definite activities allotted to him and gets real training in the management of men and the handling of affairs. But the Sixth is not consulted on the larger questions of school policy. In these matters the Head Master's power is absolute. *Sic volo, sic jubeo*. He may, if he likes, give reasons: he may take the school into his confidence and tell them what is in his mind before he launches his reforms, and in this way he may secure a co-operation which is all the heartier because it is according to intelligence. Most Head Masters govern more or less by consent. But such co-operative spirit is not part of the distinctive public school tradition, and in any case it does not constitute a training in self-government. It is patriarchal, not democratic. It takes account of public opinion, it does not organize the expression of public opinion for the self-determination of the communal life by the community itself.

In matters of discipline, at any rate, the Head Master acts on his sole responsibility. He is like Rhadamanthus; both judge and executioner. He is a terror to evildoers. He giveth punishments like wool. No boy can stand against his wrath. No wonder that in this matter boys take the attitude of the Hindoo. 'It is the Head's business to stop mischief. If he doesn't know or winks both eyes, that's his look-out, not mine.' But it is not specially the Head's look-out, it is everybody's. We are going to realise that in a school as in every other community, right feeling and right action can only be secured by the co-operative effort of all. In a smoking-room a man may tell dirty stories because a smoking-room has no corporate feeling which puts an immediate stopper on such things. A scout troop has its court of honour which brings home to every boy in the troop his definite share of responsibility for the observance of the Scout's Law in the troop generally as well as in his own personal conduct. Should not a school have some organization also for making the community itself answerable for its own moral tone?

Most schoolmasters would argue that patriarchal government was, as a matter of fact, the best for immature men, like boys, but the experience of Mr. Homer Lane's Little Commonwealth shows that in this respect boys are not so immature as masters suppose. It was the Little Commonwealth which gave Mr. J. H. Simpson the starting point for his adventure and the faith in its rightness. It was the Little Commonwealth, if I mistake not, which made

Mr. Simpson's Head Master—who must be 'a broad-gauge man'—sanction Mr. Simpson's proposal. It is ignorance of the Little Commonwealth which explains those colleagues who 'felt it necessary to preserve a tremendous frown of disapproval' and could see no sane object 'in wasting time over all this nonsense.' These are the pagans who, having been suckled in a creed outworn, are not weaned even at the age of fifty. They are the barbed-wire entanglements and pill-boxes which prevent us from being too sanguine about the results of our forward push in education.

But, apart from colleagues 'with the tremendous frown,' Mr. Simpson's venture is full of hope. It was carried out under the most adverse conditions conceivable. Mr. Simpson is, or rather was, a form-master—he began with his own Form. The right unit would have been the House, for public school life is organized on the basis of the House—in many public schools house-feeling is stronger than school-feeling. A form is made up of boys drawn promiscuously from all houses. Moreover its membership changes every term. Twelve weeks give but short time for a novel institution to take root and get to work, especially in so conservative an environment. That the experiment should have been so eminently successful with so much against it demonstrates convincingly that it was based on right principles and was worked on right lines.

Mr. Simpson tells the whole story with utter frankness, how first of all he got his Form to elect a court to deal with misdemeanours, taking his own place as a member of the community on the same footing as any other. Having secured the communal spirit and set it to work on matters of behaviour, he proceeded to make it effective also in raising the standard of school work, and we have an exciting adventure in collective marking. From the first the boys play up well, they are considerate and just, they season justice with mercy. Mr. Simpson has some mistakes to chronicle on his own part, but none on theirs. Cross-grained citizens crop up; that is only natural, but they never get control.

The fullness and frankness of the record make it invaluable to any who set out to experiment on the same lines. The way in which Mr. Simpson has thought the whole thing out will save his followers many a pitfall. Might I suggest from my own experience that a holiday camp party would be a first rate opportunity for making a start? Nowhere is the communal feeling so strong as at camp, and nowhere will a master be more unwilling to play the rôle of the traditional disciplinarian.

J. L. PATON.

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IN MEMORIAM: J. M. RUSSELL.

MANY of his former students and other friends in India will have heard with sorrow of the death of Dr. Russell, which took place on the 19th April at Edinburgh, after a short illness of three days. Dr. Russell had not been altogether in his usual health, but was beginning to feel better, when he was suddenly attacked by the illness which proved fatal. To readers of the *Magazine* it is hardly necessary to recapitulate the facts of his connection with the College; how he came out in 1887 as Professor of English, and continued to discharge the duties of that post with distinction throughout the whole of his service; how later, as Bursar, he was mainly instrumental in carrying through that large extension of the College buildings of which his successors now enjoy the advantage; and how at last he was compelled by enfeebled health to resign his post and seek rest and retirement in his Scottish home. As a member of the Governing Board of the College in Edinburgh, Dr. Russell retained an official connection with the College, and was always foremost in seeking to advance its interests. A well-deserved honour came to him in 1913, when the degree of D.D. was conferred on him by his own University of Edinburgh, in recognition of his services to the Church and to education in South India. It is difficult for one who was his colleague to speak of those more intimate impressions of Dr. Russell's character which were received in the course of almost daily intercourse throughout long years. His students remember his benignant presence, his just and kindly dealing, his honest and telling speech in public and in private. But perhaps none but

his colleagues know the deep religious earnestness that underlay the many activities of his life, or the soundness of judgement and strength of character that he brought to bear on every aspect of the work of the College. A chaste and facile writer, he was a frequent contributor to the pages of the *Magazine*, and as a preacher he displayed a power which made many of his utterances in College Church memorable for their clear grasp and statement of Christian truth and of the hopes and responsibilities of the Christian life. He died in his sixty-second year, not having reached the allotted span of human life. But 'honourable age is not that which standeth in length of time, nor that is measured by number of years. Wisdom is the gray hair unto men, and an unspotted life is old age.' To his mother, aged ninety, to Dr. Miller, who has lost in him a dear friend, and to all his relatives, we venture to convey the respectful sympathy not only of the College, but of all who knew and loved Dr. Russell in South India.

W. S.

A. B. DAVIDSON.*

BY E. MONTEITH MACPHAIL, B.D.

FEW men of the past generation have better deserved that their biographies should be written than Professor A. B. Davidson, who, from 1863 to 1902, held the chair of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis in the New College, Edinburgh—yet not because his life was one of sensational happenings or that he appeared to most people to take a prominent place in the public life of his time. A scholar of a reserved and shy nature he shrank from self-advertisement and was one but little known outside a comparatively restricted circle, and yet it may be predicted with safety that when the history of the religious and theological thought of Scotland—or indeed one may venture to say of all English-speaking lands—during the latter half of the nineteenth century comes to be written, it will be recognised that

* *Andrew Bruce Davidson, D.D., LL.D., D. Litt.*, by James Strahan, D.D. Hodder and Stoughton: London, New York, Toronto, 1917; pp. 326. Price 6s. nett.

few men of that time have done a greater service to the Christian Church than Andrew Bruce Davidson.

It may seem strange to write thus of a professor of Hebrew in a small theological college who published comparatively little, but the testimony of many witnesses which appear in the pages of Professor Strahan's delightful book bear out the truth of what may seem to some to be an extravagant statement. Davidson's influence was exerted not so much by his writings, most valuable though these were, as in the class-room, and those who knew A. B. D., as his students affectionately called him, can understand how great that influence was. There is an idea among Indian students that the intercourse between professor and student is much greater in Europe than it is in India. This is a mistaken idea, so far at least as the average student is concerned. I am of course speaking chiefly of Scotland and of Scotland thirty or forty years ago. In those days, even in the small New College, students saw but little of their professors outside the class-room and never dreamt of making the demand on the time and society of their teachers that is usual here. I mention this merely to indicate that it was the influence of the personality of Dr. Davidson in the class-room and of the lectures he delivered there that influenced the mass of his students. There were a few who enjoyed his special intimacy, but many of those who idolised their teacher and were much influenced by him had perhaps hardly ever spoken to him outside the class-room. Dr. Strahan, who is now Professor of Hebrew in Londonderry, was one of those admitted to the master's intimacy and he was therefore eminently well qualified for the pious work of writing his biography, but the claims he makes for his master will be felt by all the less distinguished rank and file of Davidson's students to be no less than the truth.

The two great services that Davidson rendered to the Church are connected respectively with the two subjects he taught. He was, as has been mentioned, Professor of Hebrew and of Old Testament Exegesis, that is, of the exposition of the Old Testament. For exposition a sound knowledge of a language is required, but a man may be great in linguistics and yet have little power of expounding or interpreting the documents he handles. Davidson was great both as a grammarian

and as an exegete, and when he became a professor he wrought a marvellous change in Scotland. In Scotland all theological students have to study Hebrew, but when in 1863 Davidson became professor, Hebrew scholarship in Scotland was in a very backward state. He could say with almost perfect truth, as he did in one of his early lectures, that there was not a single Scotsman who was distinguished as an Orientalist. He himself was the outstanding exception and he brought about a great change. Davidson was a magnificent teacher, and he insisted that young men who were expected to study Hebrew should really do so, and shy and gentle though he was he could deal most effectually with shirkers—for even Divinity students sometimes have no love for real hard work at what seems to them to be an uninteresting subject. Davidson was able to impart to many of his students his own enthusiasm for Hebrew studies, and as a result during the past forty years many of the most distinguished Hebraists have been Scotsmen—Davidson's students—who in their turn have handed on the torch of Hebrew learning which their master had lighted.

But the study of Hebrew is but a means to an end—the better understanding of the Old Testament, and it is specially in connexion with his work as an Old Testament critic that Davidson has earned the gratitude of the Christian Church. The second half of the nineteenth century—and especially the earlier part of that period—during which Davidson did his work, was a time of great intellectual ferment if not upheaval. During these years the influence of the theory of evolution was becoming increasingly manifest in all regions of thought, and the comparative method was beginning to be applied all round. It was impossible that the new ideas and methods should not be applied also in the sphere of religious and theological thought. Historical criticism, which was being applied to all ancient writings, was certain to be applied also to the Bible. It was of the greatest importance for the future how Christian men would deal with the new problems. It was easy to take up a position of dogmatic hostility, and to warn off as sacrilegious any attempts to touch with profane hands the sacred writings. But what if the new methods and new ideas had in them a large or even a small element of

truth? All truth is of God and preconceived ideas as to how God should have revealed Himself must give way before what is seen to be the truth, and hence an earnest seeker after truth like Davidson found himself compelled to take part in the new movement. He became one of the pioneers of Old Testament criticism in Great Britain. In the latest edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* his commentary on *Job* published in 1863 is described as 'the first really scientific commentary on the Old Testament in the English Language.' But the great service that Davidson rendered was that while he saw the need of reconstruction and of modifying old theories of inspiration he held firmly to his faith in the fact of the divine revelation, and by his immense influence on the generations of students whom he taught he produced men to follow in his footsteps, men who while Hebrew scholars and Biblical critics of the first rank remained earnest believers in God's revelation of Himself to the world, in other words devout Christians.

It is not surprising that in some quarters Davidson and his influence were regarded with profound suspicion. Many good people were, and in some cases still are, very suspicious of what is called 'The Higher Criticism.' Higher criticism sounds rather a presumptuous expression, but it was so named merely to distinguish it from the 'lower criticism' or textual criticism which by a comparison of manuscripts tries to determine what the original text actually was. The higher or historical criticism takes into consideration the substance of a writing and seeks to get at all the historical facts connected with it so as to arrive at a decision with regard to the date and origin of the writing. The objection felt to the application to the Bible of this kind of criticism is twofold. First, it certainly does away with the old theory of verbal inspiration. Secondly, it has often been influenced by an animus against, or at least a disbelief in, the supernatural. The results of what used to be called 'rationalism' in Germany were certainly disquieting, and when it was found that many of the views of the German higher critics were being accepted by British scholars it is not surprising that many devout Christians were seriously perturbed and inclined to look with dread upon their appearance in the writings and teaching of professors in theological colleges.

But the idea that Davidson's teaching had a dangerous influence was the very opposite of the truth. He had indeed an extraordinary influence over the minds of the young men he taught. I remember well that, when I became a student in the New College in 1883 and joined the Theological Society, I found myself in a realm of new ideas. When in my second year I listened to Professor Davidson's lectures on the Old Testament I saw where these ideas had come from. As one listened to these marvellous lectures the Old Testament became a new book—no longer merely a collection of picturesque stories, devotional passages and comforting texts—but the record of the gradual self-revelation of God in the history of a remarkable, if often unattractive, race. The good people who regarded Professor Davidson's teaching as a danger little knew what a danger to faith the old conception of the Old Testament was, and, as one often finds, still is. His influence was conservative in the highest sense of the word, for he preserved the faith of many a young man perplexed by doubts with regard to the history of God's dealings with men, and gave him a firmer grasp of the truth of revelation.

In yet another way Davidson did a service in connection with Old Testament criticism. When new movements take place in human thought theories of a tentative nature have often to be put forward which ultimately subsequent investigation may make it necessary to discard. There is a danger that this fact may be lost sight of alike by the advocates and the opponents of new views. It is no argument against the truth of a new theory that its supporters once held a different view, but it may be an argument against the value of the judgement of those who have changed their minds. Now in the higher criticism, historical though it aims at being, there is often a good deal that is purely subjective. Further, critics often become enamoured of a theory because of its novelty especially if it is a child of their own fancy. Hence the higher criticism with reference both to the Bible and other writings has often displayed a very unscientific dogmatism and has built up very large superstructures on very inadequate foundations, and has thus brought discredit upon itself. This, as might be expected, has specially been the case in Germany, where professorial dogmatism is a

thing to marvel at, but it has been not unknown in Great Britain. Now Davidson was eminently cautious and judicial by nature, and he had a reverent soul which felt the serious nature of the change of view with which he was in sympathy. His caution sometimes made other critics impatient with him, but yet it was that very caution, that judicial hesitation to accept every new position, which made him a safe and valued guide.

It may be of interest in this connection to quote the words of Professor A. H. Sayce, the eminent Assyriologist, who took part along with Professor Davidson during the years 1870—1884 in the important work of producing the Revised Version of the Old Testament. Speaking of Davidson, he says: 'As a member of the Old Testament Revision Committee, he was slow to speak or pronounce a definite opinion upon a disputed point, but when he did so it was accepted on all sides as the final pronouncement of mature scholarship. Robertson Smith and myself were the representatives of what may be called the Radical party among the Revisionists, and we sometimes thought that Dr. Davidson, as he was usually called, was inclined to be too cautious and not sufficiently outspoken upon one side. Unless the evidence was quite clear upon one side or the other, he would not commit himself to a dogmatic opinion. . . . But on matters of Hebrew scholarship we all accepted his conclusions, whenever he gave them, without hesitation; if he considered that an Old Testament passage admitted of only such and such a translation, there was no more to be said.'—One cannot help feeling that probably Dr. Davidson's conservatism, coupled with his fine literary sense and poetical nature, helped not a little to make the Revised Version of the Old Testament so much more satisfactory than the Revised Version of the New Testament has proved to be.

It will be seen from Professor Sayce's remarks that though, as has been said, Davidson was but little known outside a comparatively restricted circle, inside that circle his greatness as a scholar was fully recognised. At an early stage in his career his own University conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws; a few weeks later, Edinburgh University gave him the degree of Doctor of Divinity; Glasgow University gave him the same degree in 1901 and he received the degree of Litt.

Doctor from the University of Cambridge in June, 1900. His own church conferred on him the highest honour it possessed when he was chosen to be Moderator of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland—an honour which unfortunately the state of his health prevented him from accepting. Thus Davidson, though in a very real sense a prophet, was even in his life-time not without honour in his own country.

Turning now to Davidson's biography we may trace briefly the chief events in his early life. The history of Professor Davidson's youth is not unlike that of many other Scotsmen who have distinguished themselves in later life. He was born in Aberdeenshire in the district of Buchan on 25th April, 1831. His father was a quarry-man who, owing to an accident, had become a small farmer. Andrew, who was the youngest of six, was early seen to be a clever boy, and like many other Scottish parents in humble circumstances his parents decided to give him a University education. Professor Strahan, who is himself an Aberdonian, with justifiable pride gives a quotation from Mr. Watt's *County History of Aberdeen and Banff* which is worthy of reproduction. He says that a Royal Commission in 1875 found that in these counties 'eighty-five per cent. of the teachers were Masters of Arts, while elsewhere not one in fifty was a graduate; that there were few schools in which the higher branches of education were not taught; and that thus the steady flow of youthful ability from the country schools into the University, and from the University into the learned professions, had been greatly promoted. The ambition for University education was more widely prevalent in the north-east than elsewhere, and the means of giving effect to it existed in the parish schools and bursary system which was more fully developed in Aberdeen than at other seats of learning. In the University of Aberdeen the bursaries scholarships and prizes, exclusive of ordinary class prizes, number over 350, their annual value being nearly £8,000. Education may, accordingly, be regarded as the most distinctive of the industries of Aberdeen, and the yearly output of disciplined minds as the most important of its products. And thus it is true to-day, as it was five or six generations ago, that the "natural ingenuity" of the inhabitants is improved by education, at once accessible and effective, along the whole

line from the elementary to the higher academic stages ; and the shires of Aberdeen and Banff continue to send far more than their proportionate number of men into the learned professions, and the higher grades of the public service throughout the Empire.'

It should be added that the educational ladder referred to by Mr. Watt was set up by the people themselves and not by the State, and that those who availed themselves of it for their promising sons had often to make many sacrifices. One illustration of this latter fact may be given from Davidson's life. While he was at school and College in Aberdeen 'Andrew received a fortnightly box or hamper from home, containing provisions from the farm—cakes, butter, eggs, potatoes, ham, cheese, and so forth—along with his clean linen. In general it would be brought in to him by the carrier, but his mother, always eager to see him, often went with it herself in the stage-coach, and it is a tradition cherished not only in the family but in the whole country side, that the brave little woman would sometimes take a creel (basket) on her back and walk the whole way to town—nearly twenty miles—and hand her son the coach fare which she had saved.' Truly such a mother deserved the best that a son could give her, and well did Andrew Bruce Davidson repay his mother's self-sacrificing love.

Andrew went like all the boys and girls of the country side to the parish school. In the mornings he had to herd the cattle, and it is perhaps not surprising to learn that his father found him rather a poor cowherd for, as he said, 'while he is thinking of his books the cattle are sure to be eating the corn.' At the age of fourteen he went to the Grammar School in Aberdeen, the school which Lord Byron attended for a short time, and from it a year later he passed to the University. He distinguished himself in his classes and graduated with honours in Mathematics at the early age of eighteen in 1849. He then became a teacher in the Free Church School of his native parish of Ellon where he remained for three years. His salary, it may be of interest to mention, was £60 a year and a free house. In October, 1852, when he was twenty-one years of age, he became a divinity student in the New College, the theological college of the Free Church in Edinburgh, in which he was afterwards to be a professor. There he remained for the

usual four years' course and in 1856 was licensed by the Presbytery of Edinburgh to preach the Gospel, or, to use the English term, took Holy Orders. During one of his long vacations he went, as many Scottish students used to do, to Germany, and studied in Göttingen under the famous Hanoverian Professor Ewald, who later had to suffer for venturing to denounce Bismarck and Prussian methods. It is very probable that Ewald, who was one of the greatest Old Testament scholars of his day, influenced Davidson not a little in determining his future career. Though he became a probationer, as it is called, of the Free Church of Scotland, Davidson never became a minister of one of its congregations, for while he was still acting as an assistant to older men he was invited to become Hebrew Tutor in the New College. The chair of Hebrew was at that time held by a remarkable if somewhat eccentric professor, Dr. Duncan, popularly known as Rabbi Duncan. He was equally famous for three things—his great learning, his remarkable conversational powers, and his absent-mindedness. Professors are proverbially absent-minded, and Professor Duncan's actions certainly gave some ground for the popular belief. On the occasion of his marriage, he failed for a time to put in an appearance and was found by his friends slumbering peacefully. He had gone to put on his wedding garments, and undressing had suggested going to bed. He had been known to occupy most of the lecture hour with the opening prayer, and to delight his students by using the chalk towel instead of his handkerchief to wipe his face. He was profoundly learned in theology and in Hebrew but it can be guessed that in his class while students may have learned many other things they learnt but little Hebrew. Dr. Duncan, who was one of the humblest of men, was conscious of his own limitations and, as Professor Strahan says, 'he knew a scholar when he met one, and his spirit was never touched to finer issues than when he summoned to his aid the finest Hebraist that Scotland has ever produced.' Accordingly in 1858 Davidson became Hebrew Tutor in the New College, and a few years later, in 1863, he was unanimously appointed by the General Assembly to be colleague and successor to Dr. Duncan.

For nearly forty years Professor Davidson held the office to

which he was ordained in November, 1863, and how well he discharged its duties and how he justified the wisdom of the General Assembly in appointing him we have already seen. Without disrespect to his colleagues it may truly be said that he became the glory of the New College, and continued to be so till his death in February, 1902. Though for some years he had suffered from heart trouble he continued in harness till the end. 'On Friday, February 22nd, he lectured to his classes. . . . On Saturday he spent the morning hours correcting the last proofs of Isaiah (notes and introduction for the volume of Isaiah in the *Temple Bible*). At eight next morning he rose and dressed, being—who can doubt?—in the spirit on the Lord's Day. Suddenly he complained of a pain in his back, and put his hand to his side, as he had so often done, in days long past. And in a moment, in a twinkling of an eye, he was changed. He was absent from the body, and present with the Lord.'

No sketch of Professor Davidson would be complete which did not refer to him as a preacher. I remember that when as a boy I first heard of him, he was mentioned as one whose sermons though few in number were very remarkable in quality. When later in life I had the opportunity of hearing him preach I felt he was one of the greatest preachers, and better critics than I were of the same opinion. There was nothing of the conventional pulpit orator about him. He was in fact if anything handicapped by his unassuming appearance and his thin somewhat high voice, and yet, just as in his classroom, in the pulpit his thought, his language, his intensity, his personality, gripped one. Characteristically he never preached in large, fashionable churches, but whenever it was seen in the advertisements that Professor Davidson was to preach in some out-of-the-way or small church there was sure to be a number of those present who loved good preaching. And if, when the text was given out, it proved that the sermon was an old friend, so far from feeling dissatisfied one felt a thrill of satisfaction that one was once again to hear the great sermon on Saul or Elijah or some other masterpiece. It is difficult to describe the effect on one of Davidson's preaching, but I may quote a paragraph from Professor Strahan's book giving the testimony of one who, alas! is no longer with

us. 'Professor John Mackenzie of Madras, a mathematician and physicist who died young, used to say that when listening to Davidson he had the greatest difficulty in preventing himself from rising and crying out. He accounted for this by saying that it was the highest conceivable form of energy which was making its impact upon the mind of the hearer, and almost demanding physical response.' There was imagination in Davidson's preaching and a poetical vein which is not always characteristic of the inhabitants of the north-east corner of Scotland, but this was always combined with accurate exegesis. He did not care for the style of preaching in which, as he said, 'You might make the text say anything you like.'—When I was a student in the New College I had the privilege of hearing him give an address to our Missionary Society which he called 'Some Remarks on Preaching.' It is a great pity that it has not been published, for it was masterly and helpful. Professor Strahan has given some extracts from it, If, as may be hoped will be the case, a second edition of his book is called for, it would be a useful addition to it if the whole of the address were given as an appendix.

Though Davidson wrote a great deal it is again characteristic of him that he left few large books behind him. His Hebrew Grammar was for long the standard grammar in English. His commentaries are chiefly small books in Bible handbook series, and most of his writings are to be found in articles and reviews in magazines and encyclopædias. After his death several volumes of his lectures were published, but unfortunately, as Professor Strahan complains, in these volumes old lectures containing views which Davidson had given up are mixed up with his later, more mature work. The most valuable of his posthumous works is a volume of his sermons, the title of which is '*The Called of God.*'

One chapter to which 'the goodly fellowship of all New College men,' to whom the book is dedicated, will turn with interest is that headed 'the Master.' In most places of learning there gathers round certain teachers a store of anecdotes—sometimes partly apocryphal—which are told sometimes at the expense of the teacher, sometimes at that of the taught. Davidson was the centre of such a collection in the New College, and

it is noteworthy that in his case it was the student and not the teacher that was scored off. To others perhaps some of the sayings of A. B. D. will have little interest, but those who have sat on the benches of the Hebrew class-room will be glad to recall the scenes which they call up to memory.

Professor Strahan is to be congratulated on the success with which he has performed a task that was by no means easy. There were no great stirring events in Davidson's life, and, as has been indicated, his reserved nature kept him from seeking to play a prominent part in public life. Even in the great Higher Criticism controversy associated with the name of Professor Robertson Smith—his most famous pupil—he took but little part, and his voice was hardly ever heard in the Church Courts. He had his own work to do and he went steadily on with it. Professor Strahan therefore had to make his book a study of his great teacher under different aspects rather than a chronicle of important events in which Davidson took part. To do this requires literary skill as well as knowledge and appreciation of the subject of the biography and Professor Strahan possesses both of these requisites. It was fitting that he should write Davidson's life. Some time ago he published a book of charming studies of Old Testament characters, and Davidson was as has often been said 'an Old Testament Saint.' Those who listened to his lectures on the Hebrew Prophets often felt that he was himself a prophet, so complete was his understanding and sympathy with the prophetic spirit. The greatest compliment that can be paid to Professor Strahan is to say that he has so understood his master that he has been able to give a picture of him which those who knew and admired and loved A. B. D. regard as adequate.

VILLAGE GOVERNMENT.*

BY GILBERT SLATER, M.A., D.Sc.

OUR welcome of this work, by an old student and tutor of the College, is hearty if belated. It appears as No. 48 of the series published by the London School of Economics and Political

* *Village Government in British India*, by John Matthai.

Science, with a preface by Sidney Webb, the historian of English Local Government. Mr. Matthai's book may be regarded as the first fruit resulting from the contact between India and the school of sociological research established in Clare Market, a contact that is likely to become closer and more fertile in the future. In all probability this book would never have been written if the author had stayed in India instead of going to London to study; and yet it is somewhat anomalous, and in some ways unfortunate, that this should be so. Mr. Matthai in London could mix with a body of people full of the spirit of scientific research, eager to ascertain and present the actual truth irrespective of the political uses to which it might be put; he could also avail himself of vast collections of documentary material in the India Office, far more complete and accessible than any in India, and the excellent use he made of these advantages has enabled him to produce a valuable book. On the other hand the fact that he had to leave India to gain these advantages carried with it the disadvantage that he had to sever himself from the other necessary source of information and illumination, direct observation of the very Indian villages which form his subject. There is an inevitable loss of vividness and life in consequence. One reads the book, recognises that it is a careful collection of facts drawn from District Manuals, official reports, and other documentary sources, carefully and intelligently arranged, but we find it difficult to combine the facts presented so as to form a mental picture. For myself, I was worried by the question whether the author, instead of gathering together facts from all India relating to village government, and classifying them according to functions of local government, under Education, Poor Relief, Sanitation, Public Works, Watch and Ward, and Administration of Justice, would not have done better to deal separately with village government of different localities. No doubt this latter course was impracticable under the conditions. Nevertheless there is such a wide divergence between, let us say, (1) a village of Brahmin Mirasdars and Pariah padiyals in North Arcot, (2) a village of Shanars in the palmyra tract of Tinnevely, and (3) a Malabar desam—all within the southern half of the Madras Presidency—that a collection of facts with regard to, say, village schools in Madras and Bengal,

Gujerat and Burmah, massed together in one chapter, leaves a very confused effect upon the mind. To say this is not to depreciate the value of Mr. Matthai's work; but it is a fair inference that the field is still open for other workers following a different plan.

Mr. Matthai is content to present his facts, and to let his readers draw their own conclusions, or, failing that, to obtain general impressions. The general impression made most forcibly upon the mind of a reader familiar with the history of local government in Great Britain is that in Indian villages the spirit of co-operation and mutual help, which naturally expresses itself in the building up of local activities, is very feeble. The positive achievements are slight and ineffective, and the wide diffusion and importance of village usurers and blackmailing criminal tribes indicate a corresponding failure to deal with the problems of mutual help and protection in a co-operative spirit. The question arises, how far this impression is a true one, and how far it springs from deficiencies and omissions in the record.

Now Mr. Matthai, it must be noticed, omits three classes of facts from his purview. The first of these is the class that relates to land administration. To this omission he draws attention and explains his reasons. The other two he makes in silence. They are the facts relating to religious celebrations and to recreation. It is doubtful whether a true picture of village government can be presented when these aspects of village life are ignored. Certainly no true conception of parochial government in England can be obtained if one ignores the fact that the Parish is the district from which the congregation of a church is drawn, and that the Vestry is the chamber in which the priest puts on and takes off his priestly vestments. It may be otherwise with India, and I note that Mr. Matthai lays stress upon the purely secular character of Hindu village schools. But I doubt. Certainly if I can take the cases of villages of which I have information as typical, I should say that in those villages of South India in which a common village fund is regularly collected to be spent for common purposes, the greater part of the money is spent on festivals and temples. This expenditure may come under Mr. Matthai's heads either of 'Sanitation' or 'Public Works.' According to the circum-

stances a festival to Gangamma, in which many buffaloes, goats and cocks are sacrificed, may be a preventive measure against small-pox or cholera, or a means of securing water for the crops, locally considered equally efficacious with the repair of the village tank. Obviously also the expenditure of the necessary organized effort and material resources upon this particular method of securing sanitary and economic well-being has a two-fold effect upon all other efforts for similar common aims. For the time being it exhausts wholly or partially the power of making such efforts; but it also establishes, more or less effectively, a habit of voluntary contributions and voluntary co-operation, which may persist when faith in Gangamma's craving for the blood of animals has decayed.

But whatever allowance we may make for omissions of pertinent facts, it is probably true that the spirit of village association is relatively feeble in India. Mr. Webb, in his preface, remarks, and I think truly, 'The Indian social order does not seem to be, in the European understanding of the phrase, either on its good or on its bad side, essentially one of villagers.' Mr. Matthai says that while caste organization is based on the tie of common occupation, that of the tribe (and, of course, family), on the tie of kindred, village organization is based on the tie of neighbourhood. The fundamental difference between Indian and European social structure is the relative strength in India of the ties of occupation and kinship, and the consequent relative weakness of the tie of neighbourhood. Nevertheless it may well be that the social and economic progress of India depends on the strengthening of that tie.

We can draw two inferences, I think, with safety, from the facts as Mr. Matthai presents them. In the first place that there is a great field for research and inquiry for Indian students in the collection and *interpretation* of the facts relating to the social and economic structure and life of the Indian villages. In the second place, we have the much more important inference that there is an enormous field for truly patriotic and self-denying service for any man of intelligence and education who will settle down in a rural village and actively encourage and foster the spirit of co-operative effort for the common good. In actual numbers there are already many such men, and more honour

is due to them than they receive. But relatively to the hundreds of thousands of villages their numbers are deplorably few. This field of work may seem a humble one, but it is one in which persistent effort will surely reap its reward.

One of the great political questions of the day is what measures the Government of India ought to take to promote the healthy and vigorous development on natural lines of village local government. This question Mr. Matthai touches upon, but he does not enter into its discussion. But he supplies *some* of the material which the inquirer needs.

WAR NOTES.

BY A. C. CLAYTON.

THE fourth year of the War is ending. The burden of the War lies on the whole world and becomes heavier day by day. And every day the desire for peace grows. But the 'peace' that Germany seeks and the 'peace' that the Allies are fighting for are very different. When some people speak of 'peace' they only mean cessation of fighting. That is the 'peace' that Germany wants. The German military authorities would do much and even give much to secure such a peace at once. And they would at once begin—as we have been told again and again by German papers—to reorganize the German army, to pile up vast new stores of munitions, and to prepare for more determined assault on the liberties and possessions of other nations than that which they began in 1914. Such a 'peace' would only be a truce, and the nation that did not use that peace-time to spend all its resources on armaments would be foredoomed to defeat and slavery when the strife began again in a few years' time. Such a 'peace' would be of no advantage to us or to the next generation.

The only peace that can be of any value to mankind is the cessation of fighting that will come when the wrong-doer is unable to continue longer in his course of wrong-doing and when so far as may be, the wrong-doing is undone and justice is established so firmly that it shall not again be within the power of

any single nation or group of nations to commence another war. Such a peace as this, a peace that means an end of warfare between the nations now at war, will be no passing respite from combat, and no mere re-establishment of the condition of things in Europe in 1914; it will be the beginning of a new order of things in which the welfare of peoples and not the ambition of militarist despots shall be the only consideration. A glance at the conditions of the struggle to-day as compared with the conditions four years ago will show that the Allies are coming nearer to the day when they will inaugurate that peace.

The conditions in which the War is being waged to-day are not the same as in 1914. The great Russian autocracy which was opposed in principle to all freedom of peoples was then, strangely enough and not very sincerely, on the side of the Allies. That autocracy has gone, and the Tsar has been succeeded by a Republic and the Republic by a host of republics and anarchy. There was, a few weeks ago, at the end of April, talk of a new Tsar being proclaimed, but nothing came of the rumour. Imperial Russia was supposed to be able to put an army of seven million men into the field. Republican Russia might have done so had she been faithful to the Allies. Instead, defeated Russia is under the feet of the Germans and Russian wheat and Russian minerals are helping to feed and munition the German army. Roumania, crippled by her own unwise generalship when she first joined the Allies, and deliberately betrayed by the Russian governments, Imperial and Republican, has in sheer helplessness had to make peace with Germany also. The Russia we relied on in 1914 and the Roumania that we welcomed as a comrade in August, 1916, have ceased to be.

On the other hand, the United States of America have joined the Allies and have already sent a million men across the Atlantic to France, where they stand side by side with British, French, Italians, Belgians and Portuguese in the strong stand against the great German Offensive.

Along with the United States there have come such states as Brazil which have by their action shown that it is not Europe alone but the growing nations of the New World as well who will not have their destinies ruined by the arrogant doctrine of 'Pan-Germanism'—the theory that the German has the right to dominate the whole world. Germany has undoubtedly gained by

her victory over Russia. But since the beginning of 1917 so many Republics in the American continents have joined the Allies, providing immense supplies of men and materials, that the Allies have gained far more than Germany has, and Germany has at last to some extent begun to understand that the Central Powers have cut themselves off from practically all other nations. In this way the position of the Allies is far more favourable than it was in March, 1917.

In another way the position is very different from what it was in 1914. In that year the Allies were in deadly peril. It was by the mercy of God that they were not cut off in the efficiently organized attack that Germany made on them through Belgium. Very slowly did they learn how to meet that attack. The year 1915 was a year of long effort by the Allies to secure a supply of munitions sufficient barely to hold their positions. In 1916 there came the turn of the tide. By a determination and skilled organization which make the history of the industrial development of the year marvellous the Allies not only equalled but surpassed the Central Powers in equipment and munitions of all sorts. From the beginning of 1917 the advantage has been increasingly with the Allies. It also has become more and more evident that the Central Powers are approaching the end of their reserves of men. Among the dead and the prisoners taken by the Allies in the German Offensive in March and April, 1918, were many boys of seventeen. Now no military authority would put boys of seventeen into the fighting-line unless there was a dearth of full-grown men. The Allies are not in need of any such immature recruits, and in man-power as well as in munitions are thus evidently superior.

On the sea the superiority of the Allies is now definitely established. In the whole course of the War the German fleet has struck no decisive blow. By means of under-sea craft it has sunk a few of the Allies' war-ships, many merchant-vessels and fishing-craft, hundreds of neutral vessels and hospital ships—a cowardly record—but it has fought out no action, and won no victory. In 1914 the whole German nation believed that the German Navy with its submarines would be able to wipe out the British fleet and land an invading force in England within a day or two of the outbreak of hostilities. When the German Navy did not do that—because it could

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not—then Germany put its faith in the power of the German submarine to prevent any supplies from reaching Britain, to cripple the transport of troops and munitions and food from America to Britain and France, and to prevent traffic between one part of the British Empire and another. Much harm has been done by the German submarines. We may frankly admit that. But they have never been able to accomplish any of the purposes for which they were built and sent out. After four years' experience of the submarine menace, the Allies are still masters of the seas and in no danger of being starved out by the German submarine blockade.

According to the original programme the armies of the Central Powers were to have conquered France and Britain and Russia within a few weeks. The end of 1914 was to have seen the extension of German despotism throughout Europe. That plan has failed. In 1918, in spite of their triumph over a disunited Russia, the Central Powers have lost all their colonies, have called to the battle-line every available man and boy, have made the most terrible attack on the Allies' forces all along the western front, and have failed entirely to win a way either to Paris or to Calais. That Offensive was begun on March 21st. By it the Germans have advanced their front a few miles in nine weeks.* But they have lost hundreds of thousands of men. They have thrown into the fighting immense masses of their reserves. In the desperate venture the German High Command has given no heed to the wastage of life. And it has all been in vain. The Allies' line is unbroken. It is welded together as never before into one united fighting machine. Its reserves have scarcely been called to the front, and are waiting ready to strike where Generalissimo Foch decides.

But the Allies have not yet struck back, and some impatient and short-sighted critics express surprise. Yet the reasons why the Allies should delay their counter-offensive are clear enough. In the series of battles that have made up the German Offensive, as at Verdun in 1916, the Germans have won nothing worth having and have lost men and munitions almost beyond reckoning. So long as the Germans come to be shot down, there is no advantage to the Allies in going out to meet them. Undoubtedly

* This is written on May 21.

the Allies have lost heavily by the German Offensive. But they have not lost as heavily as the Germans have, and they have been able to make good their losses immediately with mature trained soldiers, not boys like those that the Germans are now calling to the colours. And curiously enough, while the Germans are declaring that they are winning, they are again trying through neutral nations to persuade the Allies to make peace with them.

There are a number of pro-Germans in neutral countries who ask why the Allies cannot make peace with the Central Powers when the Central Powers are good enough to indicate that in spite of the victories they are winning, they are kind enough to wish to stop fighting if the Allies will give up fighting also. WHY cannot this be done? Why cannot the Allies make peace with the Central Powers? Above all, why cannot they make peace with Germany? Because in none of the German overtures for peace has there been the least intimation that Germany is willing to set right, so far as she can, the evil that she has done.

It is worth while to remind ourselves that we are not fighting merely for the sake of fighting, nor because the Germans began it, nor to destroy German commerce, nor to seize German colonies, nor to give a death-blow to Austro-Hungarian tyranny, nor to take Constantinople from Turkey, nor to become masters of Baghdad and Jerusalem. We are not fighting for aggression, but because the Central Powers, and particularly Germany, sought to loot and enslave all Europe. The War began for the defence and recovery of Serbia and Belgium. It began for the delivery of small nations from the injustice of German militarism. It has developed into a great and a decisive conflict between the Central Powers as representing the forces of despotic and irresponsible military arrogance and the Allies as representatives of the rights of all nations to security and liberty. It is the latest and we may hope the last stage in the contest between armed dynasties and peaceful democracies. And the end must be the defeat of the armed dynasties or else there will be no more freedom for the peace-loving democracies.

The atlas will show what is involved in the strife. Germany has enslaved and devastated Belgium. If the Allies win, Belgium will be restored; Germany will be compelled to repair the damage that she has wrought in Belgian towns and

provinces and to Belgian people, and to set Belgium free. Serbia, Montenegro, and parts of France, Italy and Roumania are now occupied by the troops of the Central Powers. They are drained of their wealth. Multitudes of the inhabitants, women and girls as well as men, have been forced into slavery. Only the victory of the Allies will end this pillage and misrule of the Central Powers. Germany robbed France of the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine in 1871, simply because Germany coveted them and France was powerless to defend them. That wrong must be put right. Only the victory of the Allies can compel Germany to right that wrong. An independent Poland, ruled by Poles, delivered from the terrors of Russian, Austrian and German overlordship, is essential to the health and peace of Europe. The Central Powers will only agree to such a new state if the victory of the Allies compels them. The cruelty and violence of Turkey must be ended. Arabia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine must be for ever released from that bondage. History has shown that no mere treaties or agreements can do this. The last few years have revealed how Germany has backed up some of the worst excesses of Turkish officials and Turkish soldiery. Only the defeat of Germany can bring about a better state of things. Reparation must be made for the ships sunk by German raiders and submarines, and compensation given for the lives that have been crippled or lost through the 'unrestricted submarinism' of the German navy. Nothing but the decisive victory of the Allies will ever compel Germany to make such reparation.

The Central Powers have often spoken of peace; they are talking of it now. But no peace that they have ever offered has offered justice to the nations that they have ruined and oppressed. There has been no willingness to put right any of the evil done. There has been no guarantee of security from new attacks if their offers were accepted. They have posed as magnanimous victors seeking no advantage, merely defending themselves from the wicked aggression of the Allies, content to repel that aggression without asking for indemnities or making annexations. And at the very same time they have stolen province after province from Russia and Roumania. Their action has contradicted their most solemn words. They have shown us what a 'German peace' will be. The 'German peace' in Warsaw, in Riga, in Kieff, in Odessa, in Bukharest,

in Jassy, is proof of what Europe may expect if it makes peace on Germany's terms. It is because the Allies can accept no such peace that they must go on fighting. The day is coming, and is coming rapidly, when the Central Powers will sue for the just and lasting peace to which alone the Allies can consent. Till then, if it were only for their own self-preservation, the armies and warships of the Allies, their aeroplanes and tanks, and their great guns and their bombs, must continue to teach Germans the lesson which they are so slow to learn, that the free peoples of the world will not have any 'German peace.'

II

As the close of the fourth year of the War comes near, it is well to look back. Not that in these paragraphs it will be at all possible to sketch the story of all that has happened in those crowded years, but to try to note some of the events that have been of first importance, or have marked the openings of new chapters.

Germany could have invaded France either from the direction of Metz or through Belgium. The way from Metz into France is however strongly barred by such fortresses as Belfort, Toul and Verdun. And much of the country is mountainous and difficult for the passage of heavy guns. So Germany broke her repeated promise to respect the neutrality of Belgium and marched her armies across the Belgian frontier expecting to pass through Belgium as rapidly as motor car and troop train could convey German soldiers. The first day of the War gave Belgium the opportunity to play the hero or to crouch in humble submission before the faithless Kaiser and his generals. It had not occurred to the Kaiser and his advisers that Belgium could dare to oppose him. And the decision of the Belgian King and of the Belgian people to try to save Belgium from being overwhelmed by the power of Germany upset the plans of the German General Staff. Belgium was able to do little, and had to suffer much, but the few days of delay enabled the French to bring some of their troops into position in Flanders and gave the British time to convey the Expeditionary Force across the Channel to take its stand by the side of the French in a desperate attempt to stem the tide of German invasion. The daring of Belgium at the very outset was a decisive advantage to the Allies.

The entry of Britain into the fight was another most important fact in those early days. Germans believed that Britain was too timid, too unprepared, too slothful and too mindful of her money-bags to enter into any war. It was this belief that made them utterly careless of the protests of Belgium. To some extent the Germans were right. Britain was not prepared nor did she wish for war, and she knew well that war meant enormous expense. But the insolence with which Germany trampled on the rights of Belgium was a menace to the liberty of all Europe that could not be misunderstood. To the intense surprise and unbounded anger of Germany Britain refused to be passive and with her fleet and her Expeditionary Force so altered the balance of resistance to Germany that the German triumphal march to Paris after the German armies had 'hacked their way' through Belgium was faced by a new and unexpected obstacle. The entry of Britain into the conflict as an ally of France and Belgium was a second decisive factor against Germany.

For the moment however it seemed as if Germany would sweep this obstacle away and arrive in Paris after all, though a little later than had been expected by the Kaiser. Day after day in August, 1914, the Germans advanced through Belgium, and day after day the British and the French were pushed back in a retreat that only just saved them from being destroyed. There was one day, August 26th, when the German General Von Kluck sent a telegram to Berlin saying that he had surrounded the British and all Berlin was decorated with flags in honour of the victory. But though the British were sorely tested that day, and though the Germans broke a great gap between one part of the British force and another, they did no more. It is said that they ran short of ammunition, or that the British retired more rapidly than had been expected. Whatever the reason, the opportunity was missed, and in the providence of God the British army was able to pull itself together again and the greatest peril of the War was past. The failure of the Germans to destroy French's 'contemptible little army' on 26th August, 1914, was the third of the decisive events of those early days.

But the German rush on to Paris was not stopped, but only delayed, for another ten days. Then Von Kluck, who was commanding the German army that was striking at the heart of France, and had all but reached Paris, made a mistake. He

thought, apparently, that he had put the British out of action and could neglect them, and did not know of the presence of the new 'Sixth' French army which had hitherto been held in reserve, and he turned southwards in a direction that left his flank exposed to both British and French. It was the opportunity for the Allies and they struck hard in the Battle of the Marne (6th—10th September, 1914) and swept the Germans back to their prepared positions along the Aisne. The mistake of Von Kluck saved Paris.

The Second Battle of Ypres began in April, 1915. It was the aim of the Germans to force a way to Calais and so secure a place from which to strike at England and Paris. Ypres is the main gate to Calais on the road from Belgium. Consequently it was vitally important that the Allies, though with fewer troops and insufficient equipment and munitions, should hold Ypres. They did hold it by sheer doggedness. But there were a few hours when it seemed as if they had given way. It was on 22nd April that for the first time the Germans discharged poison gas and so began one of the most terribly cruel practices of modern warfare. The Allied line broke where the gas came, for the men were not protected with masks and were unable to face the poison. But just as in the retreat from Mons, the Germans failed to make use of the opportunity to enter the Allied lines where the gap had been made. And when they did come on, the Allies were just able to hold them back. Never again did the Germans come so near to success. Their failure to do what they might have done in those few hours gave the Allies just time to bolt the door to Calais, and shut the Germans off from the Channel ports that they coveted.

While the Second Battle of Ypres was being fought out, on 7th May, 1915, a German submarine torpedoed and sank the *Lusitania* off the coast of Ireland. Germany struck medals in honour of the deed. Children in the German schools were given a holiday. German newspapers vaunted the prowess and power of the submarine and we were told that England would soon be cut off from all the rest of her Allies, that her merchant shipping would all be sunk, and that she would be starved into surrender to triumphant Germany. Undoubtedly the submarines of Germany have sunk some thousands of ships, large and small, British and neutral, and—never let this be forgotten—some hospital ships carrying wounded men also. But the German

submarine never caused anything approaching to scarcity in England, never seriously interrupted the lines of communication, could not prevent America from sending a million men across to Europe. By May, 1918, the Allied naval forces were destroying German submarines faster than the enemy could build them, and were building ships faster than the enemy could sink them. And, beyond all else, it was the sinking of the *Lusitania* and similar callous deeds of the German submarine that made America understand that Germany was the head of a league against the peace and security of all free nations, and so brought America into the Alliance against Germany, nearly two years later.

Italy joined the Allies on 25th May, 1915. It was a plucky thing to do just then, for though the military critics say that Germany was really defeated when Von Kluck was turned back from Paris, the actual fighting force of Germany and Austria was enormous, and in May, 1915, it was by no means clear that Britain and France and Russia put together could make up for their unpreparedness for war in 1914 without almost impossible efforts and national sacrifice. But the British and French rose to the occasion, and for a time it seemed as if Russia would do so also, and the three, together with Italy, showed the Central Powers that the objects that they had set out to secure when they caused the War would never be attained by them. The coming of Italy into the contest and on the side of the Allies was proof that the great civilised nations of the world had weighed the justice of the cause and had given their verdict against the Central Powers. That Bulgaria of all states should join the Central Powers in October, 1915, was almost as complete a condemnation of the cause of the Central Powers as that cause could have.

The year 1916 was for the Allies 'the year of the turn of the tide.' It was this year that at last saw the Allies provided to some extent sufficiently with munitions. But beyond all else it was the year of the great German attack on Verdun. The German High Command appeared to have determined that as they could not get to Calais they would get to Paris through Verdun, and at all costs. The assault on Verdun lasted from February to November. And at the end Verdun still remained unshaken, a fortress that the Germans could not take, while the armies that they had sent against it were broken, and hundreds of

thousands of their best troops were dead before its trenches and outworks. Had the Germans been able to take Verdun they would have penetrated the main lines of the defence of France. That they failed proved for the first time on a large scale that the Allies were their superiors in fighting and in military science.

It is impossible to mention all the great events of the War. But the entry of the British into Baghdad on 11th March, 1917, was noteworthy for what it meant. It is probable that in Asia and in India much more importance had been ascribed than elsewhere to the defeat of the ill-considered British expedition at Kut-al-Amara in April, 1916, and it is possible that the importance of the capture of Baghdad has been exaggerated in India. But it certainly was the decisive answer of the Allies to the German attempt to reach the Indian Ocean and so menace the great trade routes from Europe to the East via the Suez Canal.

So far the events referred to have been in favour of the Allies, indicating in various ways how the course of the conflict has gone in their favour increasingly. And that is the general impression of the years up to the end of 1916. Had the Allies remained as they were in 1916 there is good reason to believe that by this time Germany would have been decisively defeated by a combined attack from the Russians on the East and the other Allies on the West and South. But that combined attack could not take place because the Revolution in Russia gave the Central Powers advantages more valuable than any that they could have wrung from Russia by force of arms. The Tsar abdicated on 14th March, 1917, and though for a time it seemed as if Russia would continue loyal to the Allies, it was soon seen that there was an end of all authority and discipline in the Russian army and throughout all the Russian territories. To-day Germany holds wide stretches of what was part of Russia, and has thrown far-reaching lines of troops as far as Sevastopol. As a help to the Allies Russia is utterly useless. Whether Germany can for a time terrorise and plunder South-Western Russia as she pillaged Belgium is doubtful, though German commanders are doing their brutal best. But the ruin of Russia assuredly made it possible for the Central Powers to move a million and a half of men from the Eastern frontier to the Western, enabled Austria to strike at Italy in the latter part of October, 1917, and Germany to begin the Great Offensive on the Western Front on 23rd March, 1918.

That offensive was the most desperate effort that the Germans have made so far, and by reckless expenditure of life they have gained not a little ground back from the Allies. But gains of ground count for little in this War. Unless the ground gained enabled the Germans to overlook the lines of the Allies or gave them good platforms for their batteries, it would be of no service to them to have retaken so many square miles of land. So far nothing that the Germans have done has interfered with the plans of the Allies. And though the Germans have inflicted severe losses on the Allies, the Allies have killed so many Germans since March that even the German High Command had to hesitate before making another attack. There was thus a lull in the German attack in the latter half of May. It may have been due to the excessive number of Germans slain, and to the growing success of the raids of the Allied airmen on various important military positions and on the lines of communication by which the Germans were bringing up their reserves and their ammunition. But no one expected it to last more than a few days. Indeed, unless the Germans knew that they were beaten, they had to attack again, for every day brought larger and larger reinforcements to the Allies from America. On May 27th, the Great Offensive was renewed. This time the German forces struck at the section of the French line covering Soissons and Rheims. The blow was so heavy that they were able to take Soissons. But by June 3rd the attack was repulsed. About June 7th the Offensive began again, towards Compiègne, to be held up after five days. The pause lasted till the time these Notes were sent to press (June 23rd), but it is believed that the Germans are preparing to strike once more. That the Germans have hitherto failed to effect their purpose is another decisive fact against them.

The United States of America declared war on Germany on 6th April, 1917. There is no need to write at length on the significance of that event. From a moral point of view it was the final assertion of the justice of the cause of the Allies, for had that cause not been essentially righteous there are no arguments that could have induced the United States of America to enter such a conflict that must entail sacrifice and effort incalculable. It was also the guarantee that just when Russia had failed, and just as the Russian army ceased to exist as a fighting force, the Allied cause would receive new armies,

counted by hundreds of thousands and even millions, of troops of the highest quality. The accession of the United States was belittled by Germany. But every day that passes teaches the Germans that the insolence and folly of the provocation by which they turned the United States into a comrade of the Allies has once more made the decision against themselves certain, if delayed for some months.

At the beginning of December, 1917, German East Africa was completely clear of Germans. On 9th December, 1917, General Allenby entered Jerusalem. In any other war than this either of these events would have been chronicled as an event of first importance. The one marked the end of the German colonial empire, the other the downfall of the Turkish despotism over half of Palestine. Like the fall of Baghdad the fall of Jerusalem showed how little Germany was able to help Turkey.

All the while, in the darkest days of the retreat from Mons, in the long months when the Allies could not hit back with force because they had not got munitions, in the evacuation of Gallipoli, right through the peril of 'unrestricted submarinism,' the navies of the Allies have kept the main naval force of Germany prisoner. By this silent, constant vigilance the Allies have been able to keep themselves fed and armed, to carry troops hither and thither, and ultimately to cripple even the lawless, cowardly and cruel German submarine. By their ships, and most of all by the British Navy, the Allies have won a victory over Germany every day of the past four years. Perhaps chief among the decisive factors of the War has been the dauntless and tireless gallantry, the readiness and efficiency, of the navies of the Allies.

NOTES OF THE MONTH.

DURING the last few weeks, the interest of all the reading public in India has been largely absorbed by one topic—the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. We do not propose, especially at this early date, to embark on a critical exposition of that Report, or (by anticipation) of the legislation to which it may lead. Already a good deal of criticism (to use the term in its too common depreciatory sense) has appeared from diverse quarters. The *Magazine* does not aspire to shape the policy of governments, and has therefore no motive for rushing in to point

out defects or to suggest improvements. But it may not be out of place to put before our readers, on whom will fall some measure of responsibility for the working of any reforms, an aspect of the case that appeals to us. The classical adage, *Solvitur ambulando*, or its homely English counterpart, 'The proof of the pudding is in the eating,' has a bearing on political life which we are apt to forget. Politicians are prone to speak as if everything depended on a people's institutions. A sober historian will tell you that very much more depends on a people's temper. The British Constitution is a curious tangle of makeshifts, fictions, and anachronisms, which reduces the logical mind to desperation. (De Tocqueville's pungent epigram, *Elle n'existe point*, It simply does not exist, is a commonplace of the text-books.) Nevertheless, it has been conspicuously successful in its actual working: why else should all the world try to imitate it? Its success can only be explained by the practical genius of the British nation. Lord Bryce, in his classic account of *The American Commonwealth*, describes the same quality in the American people. After reviewing some of the glaring defects of the Constitution, as it has appeared in the light of history, he concludes (in a paragraph we would fain quote in full)—'The defects of the tools are the glory of the workman. The more completely self-acting is the machine, the smaller is the intelligence needed to work it; the more liable it is to derangement, so much greater must be the skill and care applied by one who tends it. . . . the American people have a practical aptitude for politics, a clearness of vision and capacity for self-control never equalled by any other nation. . . . Romans could not have been more energetic in their sense of civic duty, nor more trustful to their magistrates. When the emergency had passed away the torrent which had overspread the plain fell back at once into its safe and well-worn channel. . . . only four years after the power of the executive had reached its highest point in the hands of President Lincoln it was reduced to its lowest point in those of President Johnson. Such a people can work any Constitution.'

The same high quality characterized the ancient Romans, whose constitution is the only serious rival to the English for its distressing absence of scientific construction and for its amazing practical success.

What is the moral we would urge? To Indians and English alike, we would say—When the new Constitution appears, let it be your first aim to make it a success. Much depends on the temper in which it is worked. It might be flawless in appearance, proof against the attack of the critic: yet, if handled in an unwilling spirit, it might break down in practice. But we can afford to disregard the critics, if we make the machine a practical success.

It is often suggested that the people of India, for all their brilliant gifts in other directions, are wanting in political capacity. In our judgement, that thesis has yet to be demonstrated. History suggests a different conclusion. The Indian Empire as it stands is one of the greatest political achievements in history. Much must be credited to the political genius of the rulers, already referred to. But surely even the British nation could not have achieved such a measure of success had not India also been endowed with great political possibilities. It is for India herself to clinch the argument by showing (whatever the critics may say) that her next political advance is a practical success.

DURING most of the month of May there was a lull in the fighting on the Western Front. As was mentioned in the Notes in our last issue, the Germans, after their success at Mont Kemmel, tried to capture the rest of the important chain of small hills in Flanders which lies between them and the coast, but failed. In the end of May, however, an important new offensive was begun by the Germans, which has led to a struggle that is still going on. The objective of this new offensive apparently was Paris. A glance at the map will show that the part of the German line that was nearest to Paris was that which lay parallel with the River Aisne on the high ground above Soissons. Last year by dint of hard fighting the French pushed the Germans back and secured the crest of the ridge lying along a road called the Chemin des Dames. On Monday, the 27th May, the Germans began a violent offensive on the thirty-mile sector between Soissons and Rheims. At the same time by way of diversion a small offensive began in Flanders which, however, came to nothing. The attack in the south, however, proved successful. The Allies were forced to retire from the heights of the Aisne and across that river, evacuating Soissons. Fortunately the attacks at the two extremities of that sector were defeated, but the Germans were able to push on as far as the Marne at Chateau Thierry before they were held, thus forming a large salient in the Allies' line. The fighting went on all through June and in the middle of July the Germans made another desperate effort to capture Rheims and to get across the Marne. So far this offensive has met with but little success, and at the time of writing the Allies are counter-attacking and have already driven the Germans back from a good deal of the territory they had gained in June. It may be hoped that this counter-attack is merely the beginning of things for the Allies. American troops are pouring into France by the hundred

thousand, and the Allies may soon have sufficient reserves to enable them to take the offensive in other sectors.

ANOTHER success for the Allies during the past weeks has been the failure of the long-looked-for Austrian offensive in Italy. In the latter part of June a great attack was made all along the line of the Piave. At some points the Austrians forced their way across but most of the line held. Ultimately the Austrians were driven back by the Allies with great losses both of men and guns. It is said, and there is likely to be some truth in it, that the long delay in the offensive was caused by the internal condition of the Dual Monarchy, and that it was undertaken at last only because of pressure from Germany.

IT may be feared that when the veil which at present hangs over Russia is lifted it will be found that the horrors committed by the Bolsheviks exceed even those of the French Revolution. In one way they will have less excuse, for some of the atrocities committed by the French Revolutionaries were perpetrated in a panic of patriotism, for they fancied that they were striking down those who were in league with the enemies that were attacking France.

The Bolsheviks have no such excuse. They have deserted their country's Allies and have betrayed Russia to Germany, and for the execution of the unfortunate ex-Emperor they have not even the poor excuse which the French Jacobins could plead for the execution of Louis XVI. It was almost certain that they would not rest till they had crowned their work with regicide, and the expected has happened. It is unnecessary here to discuss the question as to how far a king or emperor should be held personally responsible for the evils connected with his government, but history might have taught the Bolsheviks, if they have ever read history, that the worst way to deal with a deposed monarch is to execute him. Charles the First, when dead, was a far greater danger to his opponents than he was when living, and the sympathy which will be felt for the amiable if weak Nicholas may yet make the Bolsheviks repent bitterly of their cruel deed of blood.

AN interesting telegram appeared lately in the newspapers to the effect that the Germans were compelling the small proprietors of Courland to sell portions of their land. It is interesting as throwing a good deal of light on the methods of Germany in the countries it has conquered, and as illustrating what 'self-determination' means. Courland is one of the three Baltic Provinces of what was once Russia—the other two being Livonia and Esthonia. All of these provinces have

been separated from Russia and are to enjoy the privilege of self-determination. In each of these provinces the upper classes are Germans and most of the land is owned by them. Historically they came into existence much as Prussia did. Just as the Teutonic Knights created Prussia by conquering the Lithuanian tribes there, so the Knights of the Sword who had their headquarters at Riga conquered the Letts, Livonians and Esths who inhabited Courland, Livonia, and Esthonia. They did not succeed, however, in Germanising the whole population as successfully as it was done in East Prussia, and at the present day the German element in these provinces is somewhere between five and ten per cent. of the total population. There has been little love lost between the German landholders and the Lettish and Esthonian peasants, and in past years the Russian Government has sometimes exploited that hostility to the injury of the Germans. Now, however, that the provinces are 'free' and that the blessed word 'self-determination' has been spoken, all is changed. These 'German' provinces have hastened, through the mouths of the upper classes, to express their attachment to Germany, and the fact mentioned in the telegram referred to above is evidently one of the first boons that the Fatherland is to confer on its long lost children. It is evidently felt that there are not enough Germans in Courland and so the same policy is to be followed there that has been tried in Polish Prussia, where Polish landlords were compelled to part with their ancestral lands for the benefit of German settlers. But in Courland the great landholders are Germans, so it is the small land-owners who are Letts and not the large land-owners who are Germans who are to be expropriated for the benefit of colonists from Germany.

THE heterogeneous character of the population that inhabited what used to be called Russia was perhaps hardly realised by most people before the War. Every one probably knew of the existence of Poland and Finland, but few realised what a large number of different races the Russian Empire contained. Many must have felt perplexed by the breaking off last year of a large part of Southern Russia and the establishment of an independent republic known as the Ukraine. Yet the creation of the republic is largely due to a real racial difference between the peoples of Northern and Southern Russia and is an illustration of the way in which, when a strong central government breaks down, centrifugal nationalistic tendencies begin at once to appear. Most of the people in Central and Northern Russia belong to the Great Russian race, while most of the inhabitants of Southern Russia are by race Little Russians. Though closely related their languages are differ-

ent, and they have different national characteristics, the Great Russians having probably mingled to a very considerable extent with the Finnish tribes whom they conquered and absorbed. The Great Russians number about 55,000,000 while there are about 22,000,000 Little Russians. Closely connected with the Little Russians of the Ukraine are the Ruthenians who form a large part of the population of Galicia or Austrian Poland. Even before the War the Austrian Government was trying to stir up trouble for the Russian Government in the Ukraine. With that enthusiasm for oppressed nationalities which the Germanic Powers have exhibited so evidently during the War, the Austrians emphasised the oneness of the Ruthenians with the Little Russians of the Ukraine and tried to induce the Ukrainians to look towards Vienna rather than Petrograd for the realisation of their national ideals. When the Russians entered Galicia in 1914 they were guilty of the inconceivable stupidity of trying to suppress the national life of the Ruthenians, insisting that they were Russians. This cannot fail to have stimulated the separatist tendency of the Little Russians, and to have given an opportunity in the Ukraine for the successful intrigues of the Austrians and Germans. We know little of what has happened in the Ukraine since the separate peace with the Central Powers was signed. But we have learnt enough to know that the Ukraine is under the heel of Germany. Some weeks ago German soldiers entered the Ukrainian parliament and arrested some of the Ministers who had not been subservient enough to their new masters. It is not surprising that the Allies have declared that they do not recognise as binding any of the treaties that have been forced upon the unfortunate peoples of Eastern Europe.

MANY of our readers may have been struck (as we were) by the ingenuity of Mr. Hogg's attempted defence of the common use (or misuse) of the saying. The exception proves the rule. To much of what he says we should be prepared to give a certain assent: but it leaves the heart of our own argument untouched. Incidentally, as a painful endeavour of a philosophic mind to secure a satisfactory meaning for what is on the face of it nonsense, Mr. Hogg's letter confirms the justice of our strictures. If any one cares to read Mr. Hogg's letter again in the light of the following remarks, he will find that it furnishes no defence against our condemnation of the ordinary laxity of thought.

Summarily, Mr. Hogg's interpretations all mean that your rule is not a rule in the strict sense, it is only an approximation, a useful generalisation, a valuable practical guide, but has nothing absolute or

final about it. All this we grant. With our imperfect knowledge, our faulty instruments, we must often be content with such a partial statement. But, given such a 'rule,' what is the effect of an exception? It shows us that once more we have failed to achieve finality, that our 'rule,' like other human devices, is imperfect, partial, tentative, that it cannot claim to cover all possible cases. The exception may serve to keep you from a false conceit of knowledge, as a reminder that after all your 'rule' is not truly a rule. Since your 'rule' is confessedly imperfect it may not be invalidated by a 'contradictory instance.' If I say—'Nine men out of ten are superstitious,' and you answer, 'I am not,' you do not overthrow my dictum: I have been careful not to express it as a universal. But the fact that you, the tenth man, are not superstitious, certainly does not *prove* that the other nine are! A 'rule' of this tentative character may be able to ignore exceptions: it does not owe to them any measure of cogency it possesses.

A special word must be given to the case cited from Newman. In his argument, the whole point lies in the fact that again and again men recur to one and the same example. Here, it is neither the fact of exception nor the thing excepted (the *exceptio* nor the *exceptum*) that lends any support to the 'rule.' It is the *uniformity* of the exception that is important. For a working principle, a 'rule' that may be adopted as a convenient (though not absolute) generalisation, this is invaluable. If all opponents quote the same isolated exception, it shows that your 'rule' will seldom break down. It leaves untouched the severe logical principle that a universal proposition is rebutted by a *single* contradictory instance.

We stand to our original contention. The historic interpretation of the phrase, in its juristic sense, or something analogous to it, gives it an intelligible meaning, a legitimate application: the popular perversion of it is at bottom absurd.

IN common with other periodicals, the *Magazine* has felt the financial pressure of the War in the greatly increased cost of production. The Editorial Committee has therefore been forced to face the necessity of retrenchment. The July number, which is the first of a new volume, will consist of forty pages only instead of fifty-six. Readers are asked to regard this as a temporary measure, a War economy, adopted with reluctance. No essential feature of the *Magazine* will be dropped: it simply means that the processes of selection and compression must be more rigorously carried out by the editors. We trust, therefore, that all our subscribers will stand by us, and endeavour, if possible, to promote the stability

of the *Magazine* by enlisting new subscribers. Then we can all look forward cheerfully to the day when it will be possible for us once more to expand.

LITERARY NOTICES AND NOTES.

A Short History of English Literature in the Nineteenth Century.
By W. H. Hudson. London; G. Bell and Sons, Ltd. Price 3s.

THIS is a well-planned and well-executed account of its subject. The leading writers are very fully treated, and a considerable number of minor writers are noticed. Mr. Hudson divides the century into three periods, 1798—1830, 1830—1872, and 1872—1900.

In Chapter V there is an admirable account of the *Waverley Novels*, preceded by an interesting sketch of the novelists of the last decade of the eighteenth century. In assigning the date of the action of *Guy Mannering* to 1765 and the *Bride of Lammermoor* to 1695, Mr. Hudson ignores plain evidence. There are several passages in *Guy Mannering* which imply that the War of American Independence had been going on for some years and point to a date not earlier than 1780. In the *Bride of Lammermoor*, we learn from the early chapters that the Act of Union (1707) has been passed. Soon after we hear that a political revolution is at hand, and when it takes place we find that it is Queen Anne's dismissal of the Whig Ministers in 1710.

Most of the leading writers are treated in masterly style. The least satisfactory portions are Mr. Hudson's sketches of Macaulay and M. Arnold. No treatment of Macaulay's writings can be called satisfactory which does not distinguish his hastily written contributions to the *Edinburgh Review* from the *History* to which he gave the last eighteen years of his life. It is not fair to Macaulay to treat the *History* which he wrote at leisure after the most painstaking research as if it were in the same category as the essay on Warren Hastings for which he made no research at all, but simply took his facts from James Mill. Mr. Hudson must surely have forgotten Macaulay's letter to Macvey Napier in 1842 in which he says that he is most unwilling to republish his *Edinburgh Review* articles, because he would thereby challenge comparison with the works of great historians, but adds that he hopes if he lives 'twelve or fifteen' years longer to produce something that may take rank with works of enduring merit. The late Lord Acton, possibly the highest authority on the subject, rated Macaulay's *History* very high, though he had a very

low opinion of the *Essays*. Mr. Hudson condemns both as equally untrustworthy.

It is hardly accurate to say, as Mr. Hudson does, that Macaulay was appointed Legal Member of the Governor-General's Council 'as a reward for his services' in passing the Reform Bill. When Macaulay made his mark in the House of Commons, he was appointed a Commissioner of the Board of Control, and in the eighteen months or so that he spent at the Board of Control he took an important part in shaping the act of 1833 which renewed the East India Company's Charter. The statesmanlike grasp of Indian questions he displayed in framing the measure and in defending it in Parliament and his capacity for business marked him out as the right man for the post of Legal Member. James Mill, who had no love for Whigs, and whose treatise *On Government* had been severely handled by Macaulay a few years before, admitted that a better appointment could not have been made.

Mr. Hudson is in error when he states that Macaulay made a definite start with the *History* when he lost his seat at Edinburgh in 1847. It is clear from Macaulay's letters to Macvey Napier that he made a start in 1841 when he went out of office with the Whig Ministry. Mr. Hudson says immediately afterwards that the first and second volumes of the *History* came out in 1848. From the two statements his readers might infer that the *History* was written as quickly and with as little research as an *Edinburgh Review* article.

Many of the statements about Matthew Arnold suggest that Mr. Hudson has not recently dipped into his writings. On page 134 it is said that the thesis of Arnold's inaugural lecture at Oxford is 'the supreme claims of classicism.' If the reader turns to Arnold's inaugural lecture, he will search in vain for such a thesis. Here and there Mr. Hudson seems to take Arnold's banter rather too seriously. It always had a serious purpose, but it is not to be taken as a full and complete statement of Arnold's opinion of his fellow-countrymen. When he spoke of his own country as 'the native home of intellectual eccentricity of all kinds,' or rather when he professed to detect such an innuendo in a sentence he quoted from Renan, he certainly meant to disturb the complacency of the great British public, but it may be doubted whether he really thought that his countrymen were less distinguished for sobriety in speculation than other European nations. And so, when Mr. Hudson tells his readers that Arnold prescribed the study of French authors as a cure for 'the vagaries and extravagances to which the English mind is prone,' his words would certainly mislead a reader unfamiliar with Arnold's writings. The *Saturday Review* fifty years ago occasionally fell into the same error, and angrily

declared that it was 'indecent' on Arnold's part to say such things of his countrymen. The statement on page 201 that Arnold was 'a determined opponent of the comfortable self-satisfied materialistic spirit of his age' is wide of the mark. Arnold did not call the middle classes 'materialistic.' He had a much keener eye for their real shortcomings. He directed his ridicule chiefly at 'our English habit of adopting a conventional account of things, satisfying our own minds with it, and then imagining that it will satisfy other people's minds also, and may really be relied on.' It may be remarked in passing that the lavish use of the word 'materialism' throughout Mr. Hudson's book leads one to suspect that he is occasionally governed by phrases and fails to get to the reality of things.

On page 201, Mr. Hudson tells us that Arnold shared Ruskin's 'contempt for Macaulay.' It is true that Arnold not long after Macaulay's death 'when the vogue of Macaulay was excessive' called him 'the great apostle of the Philistines,' but, if Mr. Hudson will refer to Arnold's preface to the volume which he edited as an introduction to the study of English Literature, *Johnson's Six Lives, with Macaulay's Life of Johnson*, he will see that Arnold had for Macaulay a feeling very far removed from contempt. Finally, Mr. Hudson applies the epithet 'academic' to Arnold's work. The word seems singularly inappropriate, for his tone is uniformly that of a seeker for truth. In a short note prefixed to his inaugural lecture when it was first published in *Macmillan's Magazine* in 1869, eleven years after it was delivered, he says that the style of the lecture 'which is that of the doctor rather than the explorer, is a style which I have long since learnt to abandon.'

At the risk of being censured as 'academic,' one is forced to confess that the phrase 'precipitated an upheaval' (page 112) seems a contradiction in terms, and 'new wine shaping new bottles for itself' (page 70) an infelicitous variation of a familiar phrase. However, the book is throughout clearly and often brilliantly written by a master of his subject.

L'Ami Fritz. Erckmann-Chatrian. (Siepmann's French Series: Advanced.) London; Macmillan and Co., Ltd. Price, 3s.

THE general features of this series—notes on idiom and grammar, lists of words and phrases, and exercises in translation—are familiar, and the teaching world will know how to turn M. Siepmann's labours to good account. It was a happy thought to include in the series this charming and delicate idyl of Alsatian life. The work of Erckmann-Chatrian (long supposed to be a single author) was a triumph

of collaboration. Nowhere was it more successful than in this attractive little story.

LITERARY NOTES.

THE beautiful anthology published by the Poet Laureate at the beginning of the War is marked, as some of our readers may have noticed, by a curious and challenging omission: it does not include so much as a single line of Browning. So far as we know, the omission roused but little attention, and has received no explanation. *The Spirit of Man* might have been expected to bank heavily on the writings of one who, more than any other except Shakespeare among the English poets, has sounded the whole gamut of the human spirit. The oft-quoted *Epilogue to Asolando*, *A Grammarian's Funeral*, *Karshish*, *Saul*, *Rabbi Ben Ezra*—to name only a few—express some of the noblest aspirations of the heart of man, while the 'dedication' of *The Ring and the Book* is among the most beautiful things in the whole range of English poetry. Why then did Mr. Bridges thus pointedly ignore Browning? Can it be that by one of those curious tricks of literary taste he has no use for Browning? (Palgrave, in his second *Golden Treasury*, showed a strange disregard for Landor, printing one poem only, and that not his best.) Or is it rather that he felt, as many of us would have felt, that if he once began to let Browning in, he would soon crowd everybody else out? He gives us no clue. We leave it to our readers. But, whatever the reason, it makes *The Spirit of Man* for many readers something like a house with half its windows darkened.

A RECENT work of fiction, *Cross Currents*, is reviewed in amusing fashion in a home paper. The novel, says the reviewer, answers so well to its title that the reader never seems to get anywhere. The currents eddy around a cable plot so intricate and far-spread that we never rightly understand it. In compensation, we have a surprise of some kind waiting round the corner on every other page. Few of the chapters fail to end in a sensational situation, in which the hero or somebody else has a revolver pointed at his head, or is seized and gagged and thrust through a trap-door, or encounters some equally exciting and unpleasant experience.

How many of our readers have read *The Green Curve*? The publishers describe it as 'Modern War from within.' Reading it now, you would take it for granted that it sprang from the present War, to which it gives a more vivid reality than any but the best of the

'War books.' And then you look at the dates when the stories were first published—1906, 1907, 1909—all before the War began! It is a rare triumph of literary genius, reversing the feat achieved by Stephen Crane in *The Red Badge of Courage*. When that appeared, it was said at once, The writer must himself have gone through the War he describes (the American Civil War). And then it came out that the War was over years before the writer was born.

ALL who read *My Four Years in Germany* will note with interest the publication of Ambassador Gerard's further reminiscences, *Face to Face with Kaiserism* (Hodder and Houghton, 7s. 6d. nett). By the way, can any of our readers tell us why *The Times* persistently refers to the ex-Ambassador of the U. S. A. at the Court of Berlin as 'Sir James Gerard'?

SCIENCE NOTES.

SPECIAL REPORT No. 11 dealing with 'The Causation and Prevention of Trinitrotoluene Poisoning' and written by Dr. B. Moore has just been issued by the Medical Research Committee. T. N. T., as the explosive is popularly called, has long been known to cause serious results to the workers handling it. In this report it is shown that the only important avenue of entrance into the body is through the skin. Individuals differ very much in the property of their skins to absorb the poison but all those who are highly susceptible should be put to other work. As gloves are of no use in protecting the hands they should be discarded and hands and arms should be covered with a casein varnish. The amount of T. N. T. taken in as vapour or as dust is innocuous.

The result of the poison is to reduce the amount of oxygen in the blood, the haemoglobin of which is prevented from taking up the quantity of oxygen required to sustain health. The first noticeable sign of poisoning is cyanosis, a blueness of the skin and lips due to the deficiency of oxygen, from which various other results follow, chiefly degeneration of the liver with accompanying jaundice. Fresh vegetables and fruit are recommended as a cure because the glucuronic acid there present counteracts the hydroxylamino-derivative of the poison formed by reduction, probably in the liver.

MUCH is being done at present in American museums in order to popularise the study of anthropology and so render museums

capable of instructing the masses instead of generally being merely the resort of experts. Primitive man is always a study of great interest, and recently the American Museum of Natural History has set up reproductions of aboriginal and primitive life in which sculptor and mural painter have combined to produce wonderfully realistic groups of Indian tribes at work and at play.

Wherever possible in the restorations of primitive man, the actual remains have been made full use of. In the scenery and grouping imagination has naturally had full play.

In the *American Journal of Science* Professor Lull says—'My conception of *Homo Primogenius* is that of a man of low stature, standing only three feet five inches in height, but of great physical prowess, as indicated by the shortness of the limb bones and especially of their articular ends. The great paunch of the higher anthropoid apes, which are almost exclusively vegetarians, is lacking and in its place is shown the clean-cut athletic form of torso such as one sees in the typical North American Indians, for I imagine food conditions were about the same. . . . The "man of Spy" (Belgium), while showing more pithecoïd characters than his successors, was nevertheless eminently human, representing as he does the type just preceding modern man and one far removed from a true ape-like ancestry. In the popular conception "pre-historic man" should be gorilloïd, or at any rate distinctly simian. Against this misconception the model stands as silent protest.'

A BULLETIN on 'The Inheritance of Stature' has recently been issued from the Eugenics Record Office, New York. In it Dr. C. B. Davenport has collected a great mass of data relating to human stature and analysed them by modern methods of studying heredity. Nutrition is not important in determining stature, temporary starvation having little or no effect on the final result. Similarly overfeeding, however much it may affect weight, does not touch stature unless in that it may hasten growth. Of great importance however are the internal secretions of the gonads, thyroid, pituitary and other endocrine glands. 'Experience points strongly to the conclusion that internal constitutional factors are more important than the ordinary environmental differences.' Shortness seems to be due to various inhibiting factors which prevent the growth of various parts, but there is such a large degree of variability of the four segments of stature, *viz.*, head and neck, torso, thigh and lower leg, that it is quite impossible to state any simple Mendelian laws of the inheritance of stature as a whole. In all cases of dwarfing there are possibly present multiple, dominant, inhibiting factors, while the factors for tallness are

mostly recessive. Before the whole question can be settled the entire subject must be put to further analysis with even larger bodies of facts (data). For Dr. Davenport himself admits the provisional character of his investigation.

IN the *Engineer* of 15th March last there is an interesting account of arrangements for marine lighting in unattended light-ships and light-houses and also in unattended fog signals. Some five years ago an automatic acetylene fog gun was introduced at Dhuheartach light-house. This gun has great advantages over the ordinary tonite signal. It is entirely automatic, firing as many as four times per minute, whereas the tonite apparatus fires only about once every five minutes and requires constant attention. Two acetylene fog guns have been installed on the Clyde at Roseneath Beacon and at Fort Matilda Pier, the operating station being at Gourock Pier. Wireless methods of operation are employed. Whenever fog appears, an aerial at Gourock transmits energy to aërials on the Beacon and at Fort Matilda, thereby completing the circuits of the local batteries, and switches on the fog signals. Once started the guns work automatically, giving, at pre-arranged intervals, reports which can be heard over three miles away under favourable conditions. These guns are supplied with acetylene and air in known quantities so as to produce the explosive mixture. We have here an application of wireless to other than telegraphic purposes.

RECENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

FROM THE QUARTERLIES.

AT the risk of hearing our readers murmur 'King Charles's Head' we are going to refer this month to another aspect of the problem of Turkey after the War. It is Turkey from a different point of view, not primarily official Turkey, but the Turkish peasantry of Anatolia that will concern us this time. Sir W. M. Ramsay has an article on this subject in the *Quarterly Review* for January; certainly it is a problem that should have the thought and sympathy of England in the great general settlement.

Naturally in pre-war days and again during the War, the sufferings of the Christian populations under Turkish rule have absorbed British attention and sympathy. After the War, though Greeks, Armenians and Jews must not be neglected (their case is pitiful

enough), an even greater problem will be awaiting solution in the condition of the Moslem peasants. In some ways this will be the more difficult task for the Christian nations to face; for you may give real help to the Greeks, Armenians and Jews by wise distribution of money, even by merely staving off starvation from them for a time, for they are thrifty, energetic and capable and can give themselves a new start in life. But such help is not enough for the Moslem peasantry: they need guidance and teaching more than money. For a long time past, under Turkish rule, they have been steadily deteriorating in economic capacity, and the War is doing much to hasten that deterioration. After the War no part of Turkey can be left as it is at present, a constant source of danger to the whole civilised world, and this is one side of the question on which we badly need information.

Diplomatists and statesmen are concerned with the great persons and events, with wars and treaties and massacres, with the fate of Sultans and dynasties; they know nothing of the character of the villager or of the conditions of his daily life. The East, when left to itself, has always possessed a saving power of righting itself by sweeping away effete dynasties; when a dynasty has outlived its vigour it dissolves and is replaced by a new order more worthy for the time being to survive. But European diplomacy has interfered with all that; it is to the interest of outside countries to support the established ruler; it is nothing to them that the happiness and well-being, the very life even, of hundreds of thousands of humble villagers may depend on the success of a revolution which they decline to support.

The last century has been an unfortunate one for the Moslems of Anatolia. The worst of their troubles date from the time when Mahmoud II (1808—1839) began to reorganise the Turkish Empire. He set himself to strengthen the power of the central authority, to introduce European ways and an organised official system. One of his first acts was the massacre of the Janissaries in order to break the overgrown military power, at that time the chief factor in the control of the State. But both he and his weaker successors who attempted the same policy failed because they found no strong moral basis to build upon; nothing could make the Turk into a capable and trustworthy official. In so far as they succeeded in imposing this imitation European system on Asia Minor, it was bad for the peasantry. Hitherto they had lived in a state of what must have been on the whole a beneficent sort of feudalism.

Before the time of Mahmoud and for decades afterwards there were many powerful territorial families, known for the most part as the Dere-Beys ('Lords of the Valley'), who exercised real government over the Anatolian people. Their sway was generally easy, kind and slack. They protected their own people from the exactions of the central government at Constantinople.

The power of the Sultans in Anatolia was ineffective and narrowly circumscribed. Under this system there was no mercantile development and no economic progress; things went on in the old fashion year after year and century after century; but the peasantry were on the whole happy, because they were contented and free, generally speaking, from any serious oppression.

No one maintains that there were no evils in this system; it was not perfect; it was too much dependent on the character of the individual; and of course the power of the Sultans was diminished as that of the great territorial families increased. But from the point of view of the Anatolian peasant it was far better to be under the sway of resident landlords belonging to old-established families, in continual, patriarchal contact with their own people, than to be subject to the harsh tyranny and exactions of the agents of a distant government, especially when these were subject to rapid change.

The chiefs of the Turkmen and Turkish tribes, who were as independent as the Dere-Beys, were in a better position for resisting the power of the central government, as they were massed in large numbers in the mountains or roving over the great plains. They were able to protect their people, but they could not educate them, and they could not, and did not desire to, turn them from nomads into agriculturists.

Sir William Ramsay speaks of the open-handed hospitality of the old Dere-Beys, and tells of one who said to an English guest that 'he had only three things which he did not share with his friends or his guests—his own horse, his own gun, and his own wife.' But all this has passed away; the Sultans have gradually got most of the large estates into their own hands, and the reorganisation begun by Mahmoud has meant the steady deterioration, moral and economic, of the Anatolian peasant.

What are the natural characteristics of these people? Practically all Englishmen, travellers and residents alike, who know the villager, emphatically assert that he is a lovable creature: though unskilled and slow-witted he is hospitable and kindly, simple and courageous. Anatolians are docile and contented and very easily governed, while under good officers they make fine soldiers. Surely it is worth while to try to improve the lot of such a people.

It is not that the theory of Turkish administration is wrong. The evil of it lies in its practical application.

In practice it was a vast organization of bribery. It was not merely the case that there were corrupt officials, and that some took bribes. It was that all took bribes as their main or only source of income, and that this was done almost openly on a well-recognised tariff. Everyone knew the system. Every official was in office to get money, and not to do work. . . . Every

one, with the rarest exceptions, bought his appointment, and had to recoup himself during his term of office. He could not do so from his salary, which was miserably small, and generally was not paid. . . . Moreover, the Turk was not naturally a good official. He rarely had any desire to carry out the law, or much knowledge of what the law provided, or any wish to learn what were its provisions. He was in office for a short time because officials changed very rapidly; and he had not merely to repay himself for the cost of getting his office, but also to prepare to bribe higher officials in order to get a new appointment.

The cost of everything had to be squeezed out of the peasantry. There was no regular system of taxation; the wealthy found it cheaper to bribe the officials than to pay the taxes, and the deficiency had to be made up by the poor who could not bribe. The oppression that they suffered may be faintly imagined. In this respect the Moslem peasantry suffered more than the Armenian Christians, for the latter, being more successful traders, had more money and were better able to bribe. Abd-ul-Hamid tried to improve their position, but his method was to massacre the Christians in order to give the Moslems a chance to step into their shoes, and as this did nothing to uplift and educate them but only accustomed them to false and violent ways of life, it left them worse than it found them.

Sir William Ramsay charges the British Government with having neglected its opportunities to help to restore Asia Minor, and doubts whether we are fit to undertake its improvement in the future. He says that though the Germans, by their brutal and cruel ways, inspired bitter hatred in the Turks of Asia Minor, it is to their credit that they undertook and carried through many public works of great benefit in the development of the country. Partly, no doubt, the reason has been that we are slow to see and take opportunities, in a sense lazy, partly we have been diffident about interfering and anxious not to offend the Sultan. But above all the British Government has always been anxious to keep free from the charge of favouring private interests. We may have carried this scruple too far, but at least it is erring on the right side. The much-praised German works were all carried out by the German Government under cover of the pretence that they were private enterprises. And we cannot allow that there was any thing in them of really creditable public spirit, for everything was done solely with a view to acquiring the country for themselves in a few years' time.

Still, it is clear that in future, if the British are to do any good in Asia Minor, they must have a more positive policy than in the past. What we have done in Egypt we can surely do again in the neglected parts of the Turkish Empire; and let us see to it that the Anatolian villager is among the first to profit by the change.

THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

THE April number opens with an article entitled 'The Rebirth of Russia,' by Dr. C. H. Wright. Most men, looking eastward, he says, think they are witnessing the downfall of a people. They are wrong. The Russian people has not fallen: it is being reborn. There is chaos in Russia, but out of the chaos some one will arise who will speak effectively that almighty word, 'Forward,' for which Russia has been waiting so long and so yearningly. To enable his readers to understand what is happening in Russia, Dr. Wright turns to modern Russian Literature, in which some of her great writers have sought to portray the conditions amid which the people lived under Tsardom, and their longings for something better. Outwardly Tsardom made a brave show in the world, but that seemingly splendid fabric was not the home of a people's life—it was a prison, and the foundations of it were laid in death. The Russian state system was not the political expression of the Russian people: it was a thing apart from them—always apart, even when a blind loyalty supported it. Its political objective was itself, not the Russian people. By slow degrees, and fitfully, the Russian people awoke. And for the awakened soul of Russia the established order had nothing but punishment. Thus the awakened soul of Russia became a rebel soul, and this not by any perversity or phantasy, but by general facts in Russian life.

In explanation of the present chaos Dr. Wright says that when Tsardom fell the sole apparent depositories of political authority in Russia were, roughly speaking, middle-class state socialists. These men formed the first Government of New Russia, and were taken by the rest of the world to be representative of New Russia. But they were in the Revolution rather than of it, and from the outset their position was unreal. As the Revolution went on in its course it swept them aside. The Revolution was from below, and the so-called democratic forces which brought it about did not intend a democracy of the Western type, that is, of representative institutions. They intended rather a democracy of direct action, that is, a democracy which subsists only in and through 'the executive people.' And in the long twilight of the Russian dawn the sufferings of the people had made their thoughts largely a criticism of the established order as a whole—not merely of Tsardom alone, but of the modern world and especially of the modern industrial world. Thus the Revolution soon became the Bolshevik Revolution. In the Bolshevik movement Dr. Wright sees a good deal besides treachery to Russia and mere madness. Madness is manifest, and there may be treachery, but the crimes of Bolshevism are not consequences of that constructive thought

which is the energy and hope of Bolshevism. They are the natural fruit of the age-long agony suffered by the people at the hands of Tsardom. For the moment, the Russian Revolution is largely Bolshevik. But this phase is not final. Whatever be the range of Bolshevik power, Bolshevik thoughts are not general in Russia. Bolshevism may be described as a political development from social democracy—distinguished from its parent chiefly by its belief that the new order of things can and should be established instantly by revolutionary force. The peasants, who constitute by far the largest part of the Russian people, are far from being socialist, however, and their association with the Bolsheviks is accidental and temporary. They wanted and needed more land, and the Bolshevik movement seemed to give them the opportunity of obtaining it. What the future has in store for Russia Dr. Wright does not venture to say. He is of opinion, however, that in one form or other the 'gains of the Revolution will not be lost.' The Russian people are patient and brave. They have an idealism that the English have not, a brotherliness that they have not. He emphasises the fact that while for Englishmen the Revolution is an episode in the Great War, for the Russians of New Russia the War is an episode in Russia's long struggle for freedom.

Sir Charles Mallet discusses various means that have been proposed for meeting the financial position that will face the nation when the war ends. He does not much favour a levy on capital, doubting whether such a levy would raise enough money to make it worth while. Another serious objection to it is the fact that it would hit most the man who has saved. It is the thrifty, not the spendthrifts, who have helped most to pay the expenses of the War. He is more in favour of the old device of raising a large loan at a low rate of interest with which to pay off the present War Loan. But he foresees that this would probably entail a certain amount of compulsion and difficulties of its own. At the present time, he says in conclusion, all suggestions for dealing with the problem must be tentative. But whatever means may have to be employed, he feels confident that capital will be prepared to meet whatever demands the nation may make upon it.

Mr. Harold Spender contributes a short article on the late Mr. John Redmond. Personally, John Redmond was one of the simplest of men. Family affection was very powerful with him; and the death of his brother on the field of battle was a terrible blow to him. In politics he was a Tory of the Centre. He was a small squire and against land nationalisation. He was inclined to be an Imperialist—partly because, like most Irishmen, he liked the pomp of Empire,

EMING CHRISTIAN COLLEGE,
ALAHABAD.

partly because he was very closely associated with the Dominions. He was sincerely passionate in his support of war against Germany. This was partly because he saw a Catholic country being ravaged by a great Protestant power, and partly because of chivalrous sympathy for a little nation. In Mr. Spender's opinion he was one of the world's few great orators. His life work cannot yet be summed up, but it will not be wasted.

Professor Pollard writes on 'The Use and Abuse of Diplomacy.' He is of opinion that the present widespread discontent with diplomacy is based on inadequate grounds. It was diplomacy and not democracy which built up the bulwarks against a German dictatorship of Europe, made resistance to Germany possible, and by giving the Entente nations the power of prolonging the war prevented a German victory. The defect in our diplomacy, Professor Pollard says, comes from the failure of democracy to provide itself with sufficient knowledge to enable it effectively to control the foreign policy of the country. How can democracy control British policy in the Balkans when not one elector in a hundred could outline the frontiers of Balkan States or even give a list of them, and when most of the best educated of graduates learn practically nothing of the languages, literature, history, and geography of the modern world in which they live? Schools of foreign politics are needed in all the universities, not merely for the purpose of providing suitable candidates for the diplomatic service, but for the purpose of instructing domestic politicians and the electorate in the elements of political knowledge, without which the demand for democratic control over foreign politics is mere inanity. Apart from Britain's traditional hostility to France and Russia, which led a conservative diplomacy to delay the decline of the Turks and to welcome the rise of Germany, it would not be easy, Professor Pollard thinks, to frame an indictment of her foreign policy in the nineteenth century, nor does he think there is any evidence that what is called democratic control would have added to its wisdom.

A propos of the endeavours of different sections of the Christian Church to heal their divisions and to find some formula by which they might unite, the Rev. Professor H. T. Andrews contributes an article entitled 'The Catholic Ideal.' He gives reasons for thinking that we cannot take the New Testament pure and simple as the standard of Catholicity, or assume that on this question the New Testament has spoken the last word; and he suggests as the true definition of the Catholic Ideal the following, *viz.*, 'The essential teaching of the New Testament and everything which can be proved to be a true development from it.' He lays stress on the word 'essential'

because, he says, there is much in the New Testament which is merely of local and temporary significance. His article is well worthy of perusal.

Among other articles are 'A Policy for Turkey,' by Mr. H. N. Brailsford; 'A Ministry of Health,' by Mr. Percy Alden; 'Germany and the Flemings,' by M. Henri Davignon; and 'The Native Question in British East Africa,' by 'Quali.' The Literary Supplement contains a short article by Mr. J. E. G. de Montmorency, and the usual reviews of books.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER.

THE first article in the April number of this Review is '*Welt-Politik*; the new Orientation of History,' by Mr. J. A. R. Marriott, M.P. It is a very lucid and interesting statement of the development of political ideas in the international sphere with special reference to the question of 'self-determination' and other problems of nationality arising out of the War. He points out that it is always difficult for any generation to appraise the significance of the developments of its own time, but that a glance at previous history will show that in the past political theory has governed international relations.

In the Middle Age the states of Europe were still dominated by what Mr. Marriott calls the œcumenical idea in both Church and State. After the collapse of the old order at the opening of the sixteenth century, the grand political idea was the balance of power, which really survived, and indeed created the Treaty of Berlin, although even then, and embodied in that treaty are signs of it, the idea of what may be called extra-territorial nationality may be said to have existed.

From about that date, however, this idea has been developing with ever increasing influence, until it may be said to be one of the principal causes of the present War. Italy and France need only be named as examples of this among the Allies, and Pan-Germanism is only a different phase of it among our enemies.

But a further development of ideals in our time has been the formation of colonial empires, partly due to natural expansion, partly to a natural but hardly feasible ambition on the part of European states to become self-contained, but partly also to adjust the balance of power in Europe. The lessening of distance as a separating factor, through the growth of science and its varied application, has made the possession of colonies a source of strength rather than weakness, which means that they have to be counted in in reckoning up the assets which make the balance of power in Europe.

From whatever cause, Great Britain, France, Germany, and last of all Italy, have built up colonies of one kind or another, and this has made European international politics the affair of the whole world, especially as regards conditions of peace. This *must* profoundly modify the doctrine of 'self-determination for nationalities'—Great Britain cannot afford to apply the principle to Ireland, can she afford to apply it to the captured German Colonies? It is probable, even certain, that the majority of them would vote themselves out of a German Empire such as would be in existence if they got a fair chance of expressing their views, for it would be an Empire struggling to recuperate itself at other people's expense, and thirsting for revenge. But even if they wished to return to the German Empire it is doubtful whether Great Britain could afford to allow it, for they are so placed as to be a real menace to British sea communications with the other parts of her Empire.

The second article, 'The Weapon of Peace; Germany's Friends in England,' is by Sir George Makgill. It is the kind of article very difficult to summarise because of its variety, and very difficult to criticize because so much of its evidence and conclusions are inferential. Tens of thousands of Englishmen are firmly and sincerely of Sir George Makgill's opinions, and believe with all their souls that all the difficulties which have beset Great Britain for quarter of a century are of German manufacture or inspiration. For them the case is proved, for it needs no proof. But there are a few of the King's loyal subjects who are inclined to look critically upon such views, and for them the kind of evidence adduced proves only possibilities, not certainties. The influence of pacifists is for the moment broken; for the moment they are not dangerous, and one turns with weariness and a feeling akin to disgust from the type of article whose business is to shout with the bigger crowd, only just a little louder than they. The glamour of chivalry has departed with the coming of a new age, but surely not altogether its more solid qualities.

Mr. George Dewar has written an article on 'The Great German Offensive and the Strategy of the Allies,' which is of considerable interest. It has to be remembered that the offensive was only in its first stage when the article was written, and that since then many things have happened which would modify the conclusions arrived at, but I do not think that the main contentions of the article are in the least affected. They are two: (a) that the British did not pay too highly for the ground won in Flanders in the summer of last year, and (b) that the Allied policy of concentration on the Western Front was right, and the suggested alternative of diverting forces to the Near East was wrong.

On all sides it is admitted that the high ground in Flanders was gained at heavy cost; some have suggested that the reduction in strength involved more than balanced the advantage of the positions won. But Mr. Dewar's contention is that even though the Germans win back this ground, it will be for them a costly and difficult task, and is bound to delay the offensive, which is, of course, what actually happened.

The second question of strategy dealt with is the propriety of concentrating on the Western Front. A large body of opinion has all along been in favour of at least a strong diversion in the Near East partly because the fate of that part of the world is directly, even acutely, involved, and partly because there is some chance that the Allies could concentrate a larger force there than could the Central Powers within a short time. But, as Mr. Dewar points out, except for a very short time numerical superiority has until now been with the enemy, so that he could compel the Allies to concentrate at any point or risk disaster. The Channel is the danger point for both France and England, consequently neither can leave it insufficiently protected. Had our forces been depleted, says Mr. Dewar, by a grandiose Eastern adventure at the end of March, the German rush would probably have reached Calais, and perhaps Paris.

Many articles not noticed in detail here are of real interest, one by Mr. Ellis Barker on 'Coal, Iron,—and the Dominion of the World,' and another by General Stone on 'The Abolition of Party Government.' 'The Russian Revolution in Retrospect and Forecast,' by Professor Simpson, has a certain pathetic interest apart from the interest of the matter itself.

THE FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.

'MANY-HEADED DEMOCRACIES AND WAR,' by *Politicus*, is an argument in favour of a one-man executive. 'The victories of Athens were won by Themistocles, Aristides, Miltiades, Cimon, Pericles; those of Carthage by Mago, Hasdrubal, Hamilcar, Hannibal; those of Rome by Coriolanus, Camillus, Cato, Fabius Maximus; those of Venice by her great Doges, who at the time of her greatest glory were not shadow kings but real kings; those of Holland by William the Silent, Oldenbarneveltdt, Maurice of Nassau, and Prince Frederick Henry, who ruled supreme. The Romans, though they were stern republicans and haters of kings, created the institution of the dictatorship whereby the republic could be converted into an absolute monarchy at the shortest notice.' *Politicus* thinks the Iliad may have been a political tract against divided rule. In England, Cromwell and the elder Pitt were autocrats.

The Americans deliberately chose to make the President supreme. Jefferson opposed this strongly at the time, but after his experience of the chair he changed his view. It was Lincoln's dictatorship that saved the country in the Civil War; he emancipated the slaves, for instance, without consulting his Cabinet. One bad general is better than two good ones was a saying of Napoleon's, and it has Lincoln's endorsement.

Vectis describes 'The Fight against Starvation.' He is in favour of the standard ship, in spite of the arguments some have used against it. One would have thought the advantages in repair would have been decisive. In other respects he is severely critical of the management, or mis-management rather, of construction of merchant ships, in particular by the Admiralty. The National Shipyards will do nothing to help, and the diversion of labour to them is likely, directly or indirectly, to hinder. The 'fabricated ship' is likely to prove as promising as the standard ship; its parts are made at inland works ready to put together at the yard. But 'there is no solution of the problem in sight unless the War Cabinet is seized with the gravity of the position, and in the allocation of steel and manpower accords to ship-building priority over all other demands—not excluding those of the Army and Munitions.'

Mr. A. H. E. Taylor gives us a not unnecessary warning in 'The Entente and Austria.' In the early days of the War the disruption of the dominions of the House of Austria was taken for granted: later some reactionary elements remembered that Austria had been our traditional ally in Eastern policy; they conveniently forgot that the bond was enmity to Russia. 'The Pacificists, anxious to end the War *coûte que coûte* (to ourselves), found in the uncertainty of our attitude towards the Monarchy a fulcrum which they speedily set themselves to use, and thus we had the strange spectacle of ultra-Radicals championing the cause of the most reactionary, the most effete and police-ridden State in the world, the State whose very name had been anathema to the Liberals of a former generation, a synonym for all that was unprogressive and antiliberal.' In January Mr. Lloyd George and President Wilson in official utterances seemed to suggest that federation with autonomy would solve the problem. It is to oppose this view that Mr. Taylor writes: Austria's dependence upon Germany has increased during the War. The federal solution would mean such loss of power to the dominant races that it could only be imposed after a complete Entente victory, and in that case the minor nationalities might as well have complete independence. There is no reason why we should believe the tales the Magyars set in circulation about the strange reformation of their characters, or

accede to their wish that Hungary should be preserved as a unit. The latter would mean a refusal of national unity to the Czecho-Slovaks; and this would no doubt be made worse by maintaining the present provincial divisions. It has to be remembered, too, that a reunited Poland may leave the subject races weaker elsewhere. The breach of faith with Serbia is one of the worse aspects the affair would have; the Buxton group are more tender of the interests of our enemy, Bulgaria, than of our devoted ally. 'To the argument that European interests would not be served by the Balkanisation of Austria-Hungary it is sufficient to oppose the fact that only one new State, Bohemia, would be created by the dismemberment of the Habsburg dominions, and that the process in general would mean not the creation of new small states, but the growth of existing small and weak kingdoms into strong states of a new secondary order, well able in alliance to look after themselves, and put a term to German penetration eastwards.'

COLLEGE NOTES.

THE news of the death of the Rev. James M. Russell has been received with keen regret by former students of the College. Dr. Russell belonged to the group of young men who joined the College staff during the eighties of last century, when the older professors were leaving the College one by one. The Rev. William Stevenson, the Rev. Alex. Alexander, the Rev. George Milne Rae and the Rev. George Patterson left the College in succession between the years 1880 and 1890, while the Rev. Chas. Cooper and Mr. Michie Smith stayed on to assist Dr. Miller. In the mean time reinforcement came in the shape of a number of men, fresh from Scottish Universities, resolved to find—as most of them did—their life's vocation in the work of the College. These were the Rev. William Skinner, Mr. W. B. Morren, Mr. J. R. Henderson, the Rev. George Pittendrigh, the Rev. A. S. Laidlaw, the Rev. E. M. Macphail and the Rev. James M. Russell. These young professors were welcomed as helpers in the development of the College which had already won for itself a leading place among the educational institutions of the Presidency. The foundation of College societies, the establishment of Hostels, the opening of special branches of study for the B.A., the starting of the College Magazine, the formation of class libraries, the organization of sports, the vesting of the management of the financial concerns in one member of the staff, the superintendence of school classes, the appointment of

class professors—all this gave ample scope for the Principal to devolve definite responsibility on each member of the staff. Thus the professors of the College, besides doing work as teachers, came to take part in the actual work of management. In this twofold task of teaching and administration Mr. Russell had his full share. His standing in family relationship, in common with Mr. Macphail, to Dr. Miller, seemed in the eyes of Indian students to give him a special interest in the working of the College. In addition to his professorial work, he served as superintendent or headmaster of the school, he acted as editor of the Magazine and he was, for several years before his retirement, Bursar of the College. It is in this last capacity that he may be said to have left a lasting monument of his labours as an administrator. During his régime as Bursar, the new buildings, accommodating as they do two of the biggest classes, besides providing laboratory accommodation for the Science students of the College, were planned so as to satisfy the requirements of the University authorities, and were for the most part executed. While others co-operated with him, he bore the main burden of raising the Indian portion of the necessary funds and seeing the building operations through. Those who have experience of getting building work done in this country will easily understand that the nervous strain and worry involved in pushing the building scheme forward were too much for Mr. Russell, whose health was at no time of the best. Loss of digestion and of sleep led to more than one attack of gout, until the doctors ordered him home in 1913. The present writer remembers the scene on the platform of the Central Station in Madras when the train conveying Mr. Russell to Bombay—an unwilling passenger, strong of will but physically weak—moved off amidst the regret of friends and students who loved him as a man of downright sincerity and unsentimental goodwill. These characteristics shone through every thought, word and deed of his. He did not believe in pampering students; with him there was no middle region between sense and nonsense. He insisted on clarity of thought and of expression. He discouraged verbosity, vagueness, and vapidty. As a teacher of literature and history he practised clearness of vision and a keen perception of the relation of ideas and of events. He was a man of brooding habits, of intense concentration, and of bold, decisive action. He illustrated Matthew Arnold's morality :—

We cannot kindle when we will
The fire which in the heart resides ;
The spirit bloweth and is still,
In mystery our soul abides.
But tasks in hours of unsight will'd
Can be through hours of gloom fulfill'd.

With aching hands and bleeding feet
 We dig and heap, lay stone on stone;
 We bear the burden and the heat
 Of the long day, and wish 't were done.
 Not till the hours of light return
 All we have built do we discern.

Little did his friends and students think, when Mr. Russell left Madras, that the illumination for which he was yearning would come so soon; for they hoped for him a long lease of life re-established in health and strength by well-earned rest and change to the climate of the homeland. But it has been willed otherwise, and who is mortal man to question an ordering of the All-Great who is the All-Loving too? We who are left behind can only whisper to each other—

They do not die
 Nor lose their mortal sympathy,
 Nor change to us, although they change;
 Rapt from the fickle and the frail
 With gather'd power, yet the same,
 Pierces the keen seraphic flame
 From orb to orb, from veil to veil.
 Rise, happy morn, rise, holy morn,
 Draw forth the cheerful day from night:
 O Father, touch the east, and light
 The light that shone when Hope was born.

THE Birthday Honours List published in the beginning of this month contains a few names easily recognised as those of friends and former students of the College.

The title of C. I. E. conferred on Dr. J. R. Henderson, Superintendent, Madras Museum, is a fitting crown placed on the career of one who came out as the first Natural Science Professor of this College and after serving in this capacity for a quarter of a century stepped into the Museum equipped with a knowledge of Indian objects and Indian life acquired in the course of his career as a naturalist of the liveliest curiosity and of steady research, endowed with a talent for clear and graceful exposition.

Mr. K. T. Paul, who is admitted to the Order of the British Empire, graduated from this College in 1895 and served here for a few years as a Tutor in English. He took up the appointment of organizing Secretary of the Indian National Missionary Society, then an infant association. He discharged his duties in this position with such remarkable zeal and tireless assiduity that as the outcome of his work there is now a network of branch associations throughout the land, knit together by a keen sense of duty to one another and to the people of the country at large. Having transferred the management

of the organization to other and younger men, mostly trained by himself, he has found a suitable field for his powers of management and persuasion in the Y.M.C.A. As National Secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association he has done a good bit of war-work, in recognition of which the Government have now conferred on him the Order of the British Empire. Mr. Paul has sought to combine in himself the best of East and West and of Christianity and Indian Civilisation. It is no wonder that his patriotism has found expression in war-work which is as much an Indian as it is an Imperial concern.

Mr. V. V. Govindan, who becomes a Rao Bahadur, graduated from the College in Natural Science in 1893. He is one of Dr. Henderson's 'boys.' He has found a congenial sphere of work in the Fisheries Department created by the energy of Sir Frederick Nicholson. Mr. Govindan's interest in his work is not confined to fishes: it extends to the fishermen among whom he is doing valuable, social and co-operative work. As Secretary of the Depressed Classes Mission, Madras, he is trying to help educated Hindus to translate into practice their professions of sympathy with those whom social tyranny has kept back in the race of life.

It is refreshing, in going over in Honours List, to come upon the names of former students who are doing their work in far-off and almost unnoticed corners. Mr. C. S. Gopalakrishna Rao, who appears among Rao Sahebs, graduated from the College in 1900, and having moved northwards, where his father was employed in the Commissariat Department, he is now Manager of the Office of the Agricultural Adviser, Pusa. The present writer remembers him as a smiling lad reading in the Second Form and a companion to the son of a rich dubash in Madras. He has used his opportunities well and reaped the reward of diligence.

Mr. D. Padmanabha Naidu, who is now a Rao Saheb, graduated from the College in 1893 and took the B. L. Degree in 1896. Between the Bar and the Police, he is a prosecuting Police Inspector and hopes to rise in the latter department in virtue of his legal qualifications.

Another former student who has used his opportunities as a pleader for doing civic good is Mr. M. C. Venkata Charlu of Saidapet, on whom the Government have conferred the title of Rao Saheb.

